

A Land of  
freedom and  
hope.  
Everyone's  
Turkey.

**CHP 2011**

**ELECTION MANIFESTO**





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For free people...

1. Liberal Democracy

For sustainable development...

2. A Productive, Growing, Sharing and Environmentally-Friendly Economy

For social justice and humane living...

3. Equality and Social Solidarity

For a happy society and happy citizens...

4. Quality Public Services and Government in Daylight

For modern settlements and an advanced urban society...

5. Developing Regions, Urbanizing Anatolia, Istanbul as a Global City

For a world of fairness and security...

6. Peace, Democracy and Development-based Foreign Policy

## CHP

For free people,

For sustainable development,

For social justice and humane living,

For a happy society and happy citizens,

For contemporary settlements and an advanced urban society,

For a world of fairness and security.

CHP FOR ALL...

The Republican People's Party is a modern social democrat party that is committed to the founding principles and values of the Republic.

CHP is the party of change. CHP is the party of great transformations. And CHP has its signature under the three greatest transformations that Turkey has gone through on the road to liberalization and democratization. CHP founded the Republic and gave sovereignty to its people. CHP has enabled the transition to multi-party system and hence the transfer of government through democratic means. CHP has carried to Turkey's agenda the debates on social democracy, and has initiated the efforts to build a social state that will be a palpable supporter of freedoms. With this revolutionist history as its heritage, CHP will now achieve the fourth greatest transformation of Turkey. Under the rule of CHP, liberal democracy will be established in Turkey.

#### ATATÜRK'S REFORMS & THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SIX ARROWS

are the foundations of our passion for freedom,  
our plea to be a modern society based on the will of its people, the freedom of its citizens and modernization,  
and our determination to protect and further develop the ideals of Republic, Laicism and Democracy.

#### CHP IS LIBERTARIAN:

In CHP's perception, freedom is the fundamental prerequisite for development of human personality and thought, human capabilities and creativity. It is the absolute requirement for self-realization in the society and for citizenship.

#### CHP IS EGALITARIAN:

It is CHP's priority goal to ensure social justice among the various social strata of our country, to observe justice in the distribution of wealth, and to reduce the disparities in income distribution and imbalances in regional development.

#### CHP IS SOLIDARIST:

In the society and human concepts of social democracy, responsibility is shared; and solidarity is a requirement of this understanding of responsibility. In CHP's solidarity approach, balanced and equitable distribution of income, social security for all, protection of all vulnerable individuals and supporting all who are in need of protection are priority goals.

#### CHP IS PLURALISTIC:

In our country, where different social classes, beliefs, cultures and ethnic identities live, ensuring a deeper democracy is a prerequisite for domestic peace and development.



# Liberal Democracy

In order to establish a liberal democracy in Turkey, it is necessary to have a new social contract and a new constitution that broadens, to the fullest, the freedoms of everyone living in this country and that protects them against the repressive policies of governments. The new constitution should rise from the principles of freedom, equality, social justice, democracy and laicism. In the constitution, it should be clearly stated that respect to human rights is the basis of the legitimacy of the state, the social order and social peace. The constitution should state that all civil, political, social, economic and cultural human rights are a whole, and should provide equal protections for each of them.

The process of preparing the new constitution carries great importance. A democratic constitution is one that is made through democratic means. A democratic constitution is one that embraces all the various colours of the society both with its content and with the process of its making. Therefore, the new constitution must be prepared by a parliament the legitimacy of which has not been stained with a shame for democracy such as the 10% election threshold. CHP believes that necessary amendments that will lower the election threshold can be made even within the short time before the elections.

Strengthening the parliamentary system is one of the most important building blocks of the liberal democracy that will be established in Turkey. The September 12 regime has made the executive too powerful vis-à-vis the legislature and the judiciary. The judiciary and the legislature are unable to perform the necessary checks and balances missions expected of them. Suggestions, such as the 'presidential system', that are brought on the agenda will take this design of September 12 one step ahead and pave the way for a one-man government. Such practices that add even more to the powers of the executive, that render the legislature ineffective and that increase the likelihood of conflicts between the legislature and the executive will not bring any stability; on the contrary, they will pave the way for new crises. During CHP's government, the Parliament's representation capacity and powers will be increased, and the excessive powers of the executive will be curbed.

Another indispensable imperative of liberal democracy is the institution of rule of law. To assure the rule of law, it is necessary to ensure the independence and impartiality of the judiciary. A High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) that is chaired by the Minister of Justice, in which the Undersecretary of the Ministry is a member and the majority of the members are determined via lists prepared at the Ministry, has made it impossible to talk about the independence of

the judiciary. Members of the judiciary are under the direct or indirect pressure of the executive. This picture renders all the decisions given by the judiciary questionable and harms social peace. Under CHP's rule, this picture will be changed by making the necessary reforms regarding the composition of the HSYK and the material and legal infrastructure of the security of tenure for judges, and the independence of the judiciary will be thus guaranteed.

CHP has not, and will not, accept the de facto limitation of the powers of the government and the parliament, elected with people's votes, by any force other than the democratic institutions and rules provided for in the laws. In this scope, CHP opposes to the military's interference in politics. The armed forces should be under the control of the civilian authority. To this end, CHP starts out with an extensive demilitarization programme. Under the CHP rule, Article 35 of the Turkish Armed Forces Internal Service Law will be changed. The Military High Administrative Court will be abolished. Importance will be attached to professionalism in the military; and in the medium term, the compulsory military service will be pulled down to six months for everyone. It will be ensured that demilitarization dominates both the politics and the society.

In a liberal democracy, individuals' rights and freedoms must be respected under all circumstances. Freedom and security of individuals and respect to their private lives lie at the foundation of this order. Turkey's current situation regarding these rights is depressing. As noted by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), the arrest decisions ruled in Turkey systematically violate human rights. Arrest warrants are far from being based on lawful grounds. The practices in Turkey show that these arrest decisions taken by judges do not necessarily mean that they are always legally justifiable.

Similarly, another right that is frequently violated is the requirement to respect the private lives of individuals. Illegal phone tapping and audio surveillance have become normal. Law enforcement bodies refuse to clamp down on these violations; furthermore, in some cases, suspicions focus on law enforcement bodies. It is seen that some judges give decisions for collective audio surveillance, in breach of the clearly worded provisions of the laws. Under CHP's rule, these offensive practices by a certain segment of the judiciary and the law enforcement will be stopped, and the citizens of the Republic of Turkey will no longer have to live with the dread of whether they will be 'arrested' or have their 'phones tapped' if they become dissidents.

Another indispensable aspect of liberal democracies is the freedom of thought, expression and imparting ideas. In Turkey, 57 journalists are under arrest, a number that puts Turkey ahead of even China and Iran. There are around a thousand ongoing cases initiated against journalists with a demand for their imprisonment. Media organs that try to remain independent are assimilated with arbitrary tax fines. Even books not yet published are subjected to censorship and prosecution. Under the rule of CHP, all obstacles to the freedoms of thought, expression, imparting ideas, information and press will be removed. Journalists will no longer have to fear getting in trouble when writing their articles.

However well-established its constitution, rules and institutions may be, no liberal democracy can survive without the support of organized society. Liberal democracy requires that its citizens are able to associate and organize through political parties, trade unions, professional organizations and other civil society organizations, and that these organizations are able to express their ideas freely and contribute actively to the political decision-making process. In Turkey, there are still many obstacles to organization. Under the CHP rule, both the sphere of politics and the domain of civil society will be democratized. By making the necessary amendments in the laws and foremost in the Law on Political Parties, it will be ensured that liberal democracy predominates these institutions. Participation of all civil society organizations in decision-making processes will be recognized as a political right and a constitutional principle.

Another tenet of liberal democracy is pluralism. In the political sense, pluralism ensures that the organization and representation rights of all political groups are recognized, whatever their share of votes may be. Moreover, it sets the appropriate political groundwork for ensuring conditions of fair competition for all political groups. In addition, it requires putting in place institutions and rules that will prevent those holding the majority from turning the domain of politics into a monotonic arena. In Turkey, there are at lot of arrangements that harm pluralism, such as the 10% election threshold, the broadly defined party prohibitions, the state aids that favour the big parties, and the obstacles that make it difficult to enter the elections as independent candidates. Under the CHP rule, political pluralism will be ensured fully. The election threshold will be adjusted to a maximum 5%.

In liberal democracies, the principle of plurality also applies for the society. Societal differences should be recognized and protected by the order of law. Members of a democratic society should never be exposed to discrimination on grounds such as gender, ethnicity, religion or denomination. In this sense, women are one of the groups that should receive the highest support.

Women face many problems such as violence, exclusion from education and labour markets, and underrepresentation in politics. CHP will work towards actual realization of gender equality in all areas of society. To this end, CHP supports adopting policies of positive discrimination for women, including quotas, in all areas of the social life.

It will be one of CHP's foremost goals to ensure that the problems of social segments having complaints about the obstacles to social and political pluralism are settled within the framework of a full democracy approach.

In sum, CHP promises more freedom and more democracy to Turkey and each and every citizen of the Republic of Turkey. CHP will realize the fourth biggest transformation of Turkey, working hand in hand with our citizens.

### A NEW LIBERAL CONSTITUTION

- We will bring to life a new and liberal Constitution that broadens and guarantees rights and freedoms.
- Based on contemporary examples, we will prepare the new Constitution with the participation and accord of all segments of the society. To this end, we will endeavour to ensure that the new Constitution is prepared by a Parliament not prejudiced by the election threshold of 10%.
- To ensure that debates on the new Constitution are carried out in a free environment, we will ensure that articles restricting freedom of expression in the penal code and in the legislation on political parties are amended to comply with the universal human rights law.
- The new Constitution will be a 'social contract' that guarantees a state governed by the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, the separation of powers, fundamental rights and freedoms and the social state, and that bases the legitimacy of the state on the protection and furthering of human rights.
- We will uphold the principle of equal, pluralist and constitutional citizenship so that all our citizens can effectively enjoy their democratic rights.
  - The fundamental principles of the new Constitution will be:
    - Liberalism and pluralism,
    - Equality and social justice,

- Participation,
- Prioritization of human dignity and universal human rights,
- Protection of human rights as a norm, and limitation thereof only as exception,
- A strengthened parliamentary system,
- A democratic state governed by the rule of law based on separation of powers,
- Balancing and supervision mechanisms that will prevent using the power of the government in violation of law and democracy,
- Full control of armed forces by the civilian government,
- Prohibition of all kinds of discrimination,
- Respect to international law, and
- Equality of women and men.

### **FULL PROTECTION OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS**

- For fundamental rights and freedoms, we will ensure full implementation of all international human rights instruments that Turkey is a party to, along with all relevant contemporary principles and rules.
- We will address civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights as a whole, and ensure they receive equal respect.
- To supervise conformity to all these rights, we will establish a National Supervisory Authority for Human Rights managed predominantly by non-governmental organizations working in the field of human rights, and operating in conformity with the standards set by the United Nations.
- We will take a determined stance against all kinds of violence, torture, cruelty and degrading treatment against an individual's right to life, physical integrity and physical and spiritual being. We will make sure that public employees charged with torture are immediately brought before courts and those found guilty are sentenced to serious punishments.
- We will assure all individual rights and freedoms, the foremost being the freedom of thought, of expression, the right to information, the freedom of association and the right to respect for one's private life.

- We will guarantee the rights of the child within the framework of universal principles.
- We will transform all social rights, and mainly the right to work, the union rights, the right to education, the right to housing and shelter, the right to environment and the urban rights, into obligations for the state.

### **BRINGING AN END TO OPPRESSION AND FEAR**

- We will put an end to
  - Illegal surveillance of telephone calls, which violates the right to privacy,
  - Investigations aiming to silence differing views,
  - All practices that restrict the individual choices and freedoms of citizens,
  - Illegal searches and confiscations,
  - All attempts at repression, such as the censorship, prison sentences and defamation cases initiated against investigative journalists,
  - Confiscation of books that have not yet published, and declaration of thought as a crime,
  - All kinds of pressures, including financial pressure, on the media and private sector, and
  - All illegal and repressive practices exerted on non-governmental organizations and trade unions, all of which have the intention of creating an environment of fear and intimidation throughout the society and especially among the dissidents and which are blatantly condoned by the government.
- We will clear the way for the right to legal remedies, so that it can be enjoyed at all levels within the framework of law.
- We will regard all democratic and peaceful reactions and actions as a legitimate right. We will put an end to the extreme violence exerted on students and workers demanding their rights.
- We will prevent arbitrary practices in searches, detentions and arrests. We will end the practice of using arrest as a method of punishment, and raise arrest practices to universal norms.

- We will ensure that necessary measures that will protect the principle of presumption of innocence are taken in the Code of Criminal Procedure.

## FREE MEDIA AND INTERNET

- We will remove all obstacles to freedom of press and all pressures on the media.
- We will enable the public to enjoy their right to information to the fullest through strong, independent, impartial and pluralist media.
- We will end arbitrary penal practices imposed on the media.
- We will prevent monopolization in the media.
- We will realign the media-commerce-politics relations that undermine the freedom of press, within the framework of ethics, ensuring that they are freed from interest-based ties.
- We will prevent creation of a partisan media by means of using public resources.
- We will lift the Prime Minister's power to stop radio and television broadcasts, which constitutes a significant obstacle to freedom of press.
- We will remove the obstacles to organization of media professionals, which originate from laws and from employer practices.
- We will turn TRT into an administratively and financially autonomous institution that is independent from the political ruling power.
- We will strengthen the financial and institutional structures of the local media, which are essential actors of democracy.
- We will lift the extreme regulations on the internet, which should be a domain of freedoms, and we will change the prohibitory mentality.

## JUDICIAL REFORM

- We will fully realize the rule of law and ensure judicial independence and natural justice unconditionally. We will remove the administrative dependence of judges and prosecutors on the Ministry of Justice.
- We will stop the attempts to turn the judiciary into government employees.
- We will fully expunge the warped notion of law and anti-democratic institutions and practices that are the legacies of the September 12.
- We will create a judicial infrastructure and system that is fair, fast and effective. We will establish a judicial law enforcement body.
- We will raise the quality of law education and improve opportunities for applied courses.
- We will introduce objective rather than political criteria for entering the judge and prosecutor professions.
- We will remove the influence of the executive organ in exams.
- We will realign the structure and powers of the Constitutional Court within the framework of the principle of separation of powers. We will ensure that members of the Constitutional Court selected by the TGNA are selected through qualified majority.
- We will narrow the jurisdiction of the military judiciary.
- We will abolish the Special Heavy Penal Courts introduced in lieu of State Security Courts.
- We will abolish the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors, and replace it with the High Council of Judges. We will ensure that this new structure does not involve the Minister or Undersecretary of Justice, and assure representation of judges and prosecutors in the Council.
- We will free the Council of Forensic Medicine from all political influences, and restructure it into an autonomous, efficient, productive and quality institution.
- We will support organization in the judiciary.
- We will put an end to practices that render judicial decisions ineffective and dysfunctional.

- We will increase the resources allocated to the judiciary and ensure efficient and effective utilization of physical conditions and human power.
- We will establish a penal execution system based on human dignity.

### **DEMOCRATIC ELECTION SYSTEM AND POLITICAL PLURALITY**

- We will democratize the Law on Political Parties.
- By abolishing the 10% election threshold that undermines the principle of fair representation, we will ensure that the will of the people is reflected in the parliament.
- By changing the election laws, we will ensure that the people elect their own deputies rather than having them handpicked by party leaders.
- We will ensure that intraparty democracy and participation is brought to life in the functioning and organizational structures of political parties.
- We will allow closure of political parties only in very exceptional cases in line with the case-laws of the European Court of Human Rights and the Venice Criteria.
- We will remove the barrier of prohibitive application fees demanded of independent candidates.
- We will remove the propaganda bans in the Law on Political Parties and the Law on Basic Provisions on Elections and Voter Registers.
- We will ensure that all political parties receive state assistance in accordance with fair and objective criteria. By ensuring transparency of funding of political parties, we will prevent unfair competition between parties.
- We will remove the barriers to women's active and direct involvement in politics and political parties, and to this end we will codify the quota for women. Our aim will be to achieve a representation rate above the quota.
- We will lower the minimum age for election to 21 so as to ensure that young people are able to participate in all decision-making processes.

### **ORGANIZED SOCIETY**

- By removing all obstacles to the right to organize, we will strengthen the organized civil society.
- In our approach to civil society and civil society organizations, we will be:
  - Society-centred as opposed to state-guided;
  - Supportive as opposed to restrictive;
  - Strengthening as opposed to preventive;
  - Encouraging as opposed to punishing; and
  - Inclusive as opposed to exclusive.
- We will recognize as a constitutional right the participation of civil society in decision-making mechanisms at all levels, from district municipalities to the TGNA.
- We will review the Associations Act from an egalitarian and liberalist perspective, and we will remove all bureaucratic obstacles that restrict or challenge the freedom to organize.
- To strengthen the culture of organization, we will add civil society courses to the curriculum, and ensure that students take part in social responsibility projects.
- We will increase supports provided from the public administration budget so as to ensure that non-profit non-governmental (civil society) organizations (NGOs) gain a strong and autonomous financial structure.
- At Civil Society Centres to be established within local governments, we will offer common use areas, office infrastructure facilities and secretarial support to non-governmental organizations that are newly established or have limited financial means.
- We will take incentive measures to increase women's participation in NGOs and ensure that they play an active role in the management of these organizations.
- We will bring to life supportive processes through which NGOs can fully benefit from national and international resources.

## **RESPECT TO DIFFERENCES AND PLURALITY**

- We will embrace social differences with the principle of equal, pluralist and constitutional citizenship, and we will prevent discrimination.
- We will be the protector of our ethnic and faith-based differences without distinction, and we will establish the Turkey of tolerance and peace.
- We will guarantee the cultural rights of our citizens within the frame of the pluralist approach, and we will ensure freedom for all identities.
- We will exalt social peace and wipe out prejudices.
- We will strengthen social solidarity and feelings of fraternity.
- We will ensure that each and every individual can fully enjoy all rights arising by virtue of being a citizen, regardless of language, religion, ethnicity, belief, denomination, gender, sexual orientation or sexual identity, age or political view, and we will end all forms of discrimination.
- We will ensure swift transposition into our domestic law of the EU acquis concerning discrimination on grounds of race or ethnicity, religion or faith, disability, age and sexual orientation.
- We will adopt the approach of social integration with full respect to cultural rights.
- We will ensure intercultural interaction and exchange, which are the guarantees of social peace and calm.

## **EQUALITY OF WOMEN AND MEN IN ALL AREAS**

- We will take all necessary legal and political steps to realize gender equality in all areas of the social life.
- In the New Constitution, we will task the state with the duty to “modify the cultural patterns of conduct which are based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes”, parallel to Article 5 of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

- We will expand practices of positive discrimination that will ensure equality of women and men in the public and private sector and in executive levels.
- We will make the necessary legal arrangements to ensure strong representation of women in politics, in public posts, in the judiciary and in civil society.
- We will fight discrimination against women in education, in the working life, in politics and in the area of civil society.
- We will adopt it as a public policy to combat violence against women, and we will address our social policies in this line. We will ensure that violence against women is covered under the scope of serious crimes and we will punish them heavily.
- We will establish a “Committee on Equality of Women and Men” rather than a “Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men”.

## **FULL DEMOCRACY IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA**

- We will end oppression and institute social peace in East and Southeast Anatolia.
- By instituting a pluralist and liberal democracy, we will overcome the barriers preventing our Kurdish citizens from enjoyment of their identities.
- Through commissions that we will set up by laws and that are up to international standards, we will illuminate unsolved murders and find the missing persons. By punishing the culprits, we will ease our people’s pain and ensure justice.
- We will offer the opportunity of mother tongue education to our citizens who demand it.
- We will open the Dersim archives.
- We will remove from public agencies and military posts the names that call to mind the pains and traumas of the past.
- We will convert the Diyarbakır Prison into a museum for social peace.

## LAICISM AND FREEDOM OF BELIEF

- We will protect under all circumstances the principles, values and institutions of our laic and democratic Republic.
- We will take care to separate religion and politics, and we will stop religion from becoming an instrument of political exploitation.
- We will assure the freedom of belief and worship of all citizens of all religions, denominations or belief groups.
- We will prevent any and all discrimination on grounds of religious beliefs and denominations between our citizens.
- We will actualize in all areas the equal civic demands of our Alevi citizens.
- We will make the necessary arrangements to ensure that the Presidency of Religious Affairs addresses the demands of all belief groups and denominations with sensitivity, by observing pluralism in beliefs and equality.
- We will ensure that the religious culture and morals course is no longer compulsory and make it an elective course in primary and secondary education.
- We will ensure that education in religions is carried out within the framework of the principle of laicism and unity of education.
- We will remove all barriers that prevent religious and belief groups from opening places of worship, in conformity with the universal human rights principles.
- We will fight with determination the religion-based and faith-based discrimination, the hate speech and the hate crimes committed against our citizens who are members of minority religions.

## CLEAN AND REPUTABLE POLITICS

- We will regard it as an important duty for protection of the democracy to prevent corruption and irregularities that injure the reputation of politics and hence the democracy, and that damage the social legitimacy of politicians.
- We will stop immunity from being a protective shield against petty offences.
- We will limit parliamentary immunity to chair immunity.
- We will ensure that all existing files pending due to parliamentary immunities are immediately referred to courts.
- We will render the funding of politics transparent.
- We will put an end to the mentality of merchant politics. We will pass the law on Political Morals.
- We will publish on the internet the declarations of property of elected members of the parliament (MPs) and executives.
- We will make it mandatory for prime ministers and ministers to transfer the portfolio management of their assets to a trustee for the duration of their offices.
- We will revise the scope of the restrictions to accepting goods and services intended as a gift, bringing it to the standards applied in Western countries.
- We will make the legal arrangements to ensure that an MP who directly or indirectly profits from transferring from one political party to another has his/her TGNA membership automatically revoked.
- We will ensure that data on party income and expenditure are announced to the public fully and accurately.
- We will limit and audit the election spending of political parties and electoral candidates in accordance with the norms found in Western democracies.

For sustainable  
development...

## A productive, growing, sharing and environmentally-friendly economy

Following the major wounds suffered in the two big crises taking place in 2001 and 2009, Turkey has entered the 2010s with some serious problems. In 2009, the year of the crisis, an economic shrinkage of nearly 5% was seen. Among 150 developing and emerging economies, Turkey was ranking the 51<sup>st</sup> in terms of average growth performance in the 1980–2002 period, whereas it fell down to rank the 71<sup>th</sup> during the 2003–2010 period under the rule of AKP. According to purchasing power parity, in 1987 Turkey was the 14<sup>th</sup> largest economy of the world; and in 1999, when it became a member of the G–20, it was the 16<sup>th</sup> largest economy of the world; yet under 8 years of AKP rule, it has remained to rank the 16<sup>th</sup>.

In Turkey, the average growth rate is low, while the volatility of the growth rate is high. Internal savings are insufficient. Growth finance is dependent on the foreign resources entering the country. The contribution of employment and total factor efficiency to growth is weak. The engine of growth is consumption that is funded by short-term foreign resources; and a significant part of the consumption is covered directly or indirectly by imports.

In the Turkish economy, unemployment is high while the employment level is very low. The education level of the workforce and the quality of the jobs created are weak. Informal employment is high. Economic and social development is not distributed equally between regions, reinforcing the imbalances in regional income and wealth. Income distribution gets worse, while poverty becomes deeper.

The industry is losing ground, and the share of industry in the national income is declining. The resources in the industrial sector are rapidly shifting towards sectors with low productivity potentials. In the rural areas, where one fourth of our population live and engage in agricultural production, hunger and poverty rates are increasing faster compared to urban areas.

During the 9 years of AKP rule, growth remained below the historical average, the competitive power of the economy rapidly melted away, dependency on external sources increased, and unemployment and poverty continued to be a major problem. In Turkey, the growth created by the existing economic policy and strategy does not embrace the people, it lacks quality and it is not sustainable.

What is aimed under the CHP rule is high, stable, quality growth that is spread across sectors and that does not disturb social balances. To this end, the physical, financial and human resources of the country will be mobilized, and the wealth thus created will be distributed in equity to all segments of the society. The market mechanism will be used to the fullest in ensuring effective utilization of resources, while the regulatory and supervisory functions of the state will be strengthened against errors that markets may make. One of the main factors that will ensure increased and more efficient production is the human creativity and labour. In the light of this reality, CHP regards the human not only as a factor and object of production, but also as a subject who should be developed, enriched, supported and rendered effective with its social and humanistic being. The human, placed at the heart of the economy by the social state, and human development, are two fundamental factors in CHP's economy programme.

In CHP's economic vision, human development and economic development go hand in hand. This is because today, at a time when international competition is becoming fiercer every day, sustainable and quality economic growth is possible only through continuous and long-term investments in human beings and in technology in order to increase creativity and production. Wanting to achieve the high growth rates targeted for Turkey through a more balanced distribution of resources, CHP attaches special importance to factor productivity growing through employment, technology and human capital. To ensure increased factor productivity and human capital, it is necessary to erect a social state model that puts human and production in its centre. However, in order for this social state to be able to afford these long-term human investment policies and bear the fruits of these investments in the long run, it is obviously necessary to pursue policies oriented to increase stability at the macro level. Economic stability, reinforced and taken under guarantee through arrangements made at the financial and public level, is another important chain in CHP's economic policies and is an indispensable element of sustainable economic and human development. The main purpose of this competitive, innovative, social statist economic programme that places human-focused growth at its very centre is to ensure that Turkey's growth is balanced, sustainable and environment-friendly.

The main priority of CHP is a Turkey that produces and shares the fruits of that production with equity, embraces its people, achieves high-speed, high-quality and sustainable growth, and distributes its welfare level in a balanced way among regions.

Under the CHP rule, an economic order that is not dependent on imports, that grows with increased investments, employment and productivity instead of consumption fed by short-term external sources, and that rapidly renews its physical, social and technological infrastructure with a growing competitive power in global markets, will be established.

CHP adopts a state approach that sets the rules in economy and facilitates growth while not interfering in the day-to-day operation of the economy.

CHP adopts the green economy model to minimize environmental and ecologic risks, to contribute to sustainable development, and to further human development and social justice. CHP advocates the approach of sustainable development in harmony with the nature, rather than "development at all costs". Protection of the environment is not only the right of today's citizens, but also our obligation to future generations.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Turkey can achieve its goal of reaching the level of contemporary civilization only by making a breakthrough in information and communication technologies, and by realizing the social transformation that will turn us into an information society. Transformation into an information society will make Turkey a country that produces modern information technologies, makes effective use of IT solutions in all problem areas of the society and other sectors, and that has maximized its global competitive power.

In this way, Turkey will be able to celebrate the centennial of its Republic as one of the ten largest economies of the world.

## CENTENNIAL GOALS OF OUR REPUBLIC

- Until the Centennial Anniversary of our Republic, we will achieve an average of 7% growth per annum.
- We will raise Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to \$2.6 trillion, with a per capita income of \$31,500.
- We will ensure that per capita income reaches 85% of the EU average.
- We will ensure that exports reach \$650 billion.
- We will reduce overall current accounts deficit down to 2.5% of the GDP.
- We will ensure that an annual growth rate of 9.5% is achieved in East and Southeast Anatolia, which are the least developed regions of the country.
- We will ensure that the per capita income in East and Southeast Anatolia, which is around 56% of Turkey's average today, reaches 75% of Turkey's average.
- We will create jobs for an average of 800 thousand people every year.
- We will raise participation of women in the labour market to 40% and the general participation rate to 55%.
- We will pull unemployment down to 6%.

## STRONG SOCIAL STATE, STABLE GROWTH, COMPETITIVE ECONOMY

- We will ensure that the state works actively to solve the problems behind poverty, namely the high unemployment, informal employment, low wages, ineffective social security, insufficient health and social welfare systems, and problems in education and skills training.
- We will adopt a new growth strategy that is open to the outside yet resilient against external fluctuations, that mobilizes the labour and increases the production and domestic savings level.
- We will ensure that the growth strategy supports employment, by using our own resources and keeping our priorities in mind.

- In addition to turning towards new areas of activity where Turkey has high competitiveness, we will give priority to products and activities that have high added value in traditional sectors.
- We will support our manufacturing sectors, which occupy an important place in our imports, by creating new production capacities through also using the foreign direct investments.
- In our economic and social policies, we will take into consideration the priorities concerning the environment, water and global warming, and we will safeguard sustainability.

## An innovative and competitive economy growing with employment

### A PRODUCTIVE AND COMPETITIVE STATE THAT SUPPORTS THE ECONOMY

- In the light of the new trends that have worldwide recognition, we will ensure that the state plays a supportive and facilitating role in the areas of employment and competition.
- In cases where the state has no opportunities to utilize the private sector in eliminating the disparities in regional income, we will pay the way for the state to play the role of an actor that directly invests and produces.
- We will make the structure of the state more modern and more citizen-oriented.
- We will prevent favouritism in the implementation of economic and social policies, and we will emphasize transparency and creativity.
- We will make use of public resources, particularly in eliminating regional and social disparities, in developing sectors based on new technologies, in creating new job opportunities and supporting startups.
- We will not privatize T.C. Ziraat Bankası and Türkiye Halk Bankası; instead, we will ensure that these banks continue to support farmers and tradesmen in compliance with the general rules of banking.

### MOBILIZATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

- Under the CHP rule, we will ensure that the economy creates 800 thousand new jobs every year.
- We will raise the rate of general participation in labour to 55%, and the participation of women in labour to 40%.

- We will ensure that the public plays an active role in creation of jobs by the economy.
- We will consolidate the public's function as a provider of information, so that job seekers can quickly access information on available job opportunities.
- We will encourage women's employment and assignment to managerial positions in public services.
- We will solve the problem of informal employment by reducing the excessive burdens that provide a temptation for informality, by encouraging formal employment and by giving weight to inspections.
- We will increase job opportunities for our disabled citizens in the public sector. We will ensure that vacant positions are filled without delay.
- We will reduce job losses through correct management of the transformation in the service sector and the transfer of agricultural workforce to other sectors.

#### **EFFECTIVE COMBAT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT**

- We will swiftly pull down unemployment rates through high growth rates led by dynamic service sectors and industry that create employment, such as knowledge intensive strategic services, logistic production-support and the culture industry.
- We will develop national science, technology and industry policies, and we will ensure development of innovation-based sectors.
- We will give priority to perpetual improvement of employment levels by creating new job opportunities, to increasing the qualification of the workforce, to reducing the public burdens on employment and to improving the investment environment.

#### **PRIORITY TO INFORMATION-BASED SECTORS, INCENTIVES**

- It is our goal to make Turkey a producer, not a consumer, of information technologies.
- We will increase the share of knowledge-based activities, such as education, R&D, high-tech production and knowledge-intensive economic services in the economy.
- We will transform the National Innovation System into a comprehensive system effective in all phases and segments of economic activities.
- We will consolidate public investments and public-private cooperation in the areas of generic technologies and the defence industry.
- We will accelerate efforts to create a reverse brain drain, and we will build the infrastructure that will enable scientists and experts of Turkish origin working abroad to participate in advanced technology projects in Turkey.

#### **LEAP IN R&D AND INNOVATION**

- We will broaden the scope of incentives offered to R&D activities so that SMEs can benefit from these incentives.
- We will increase Turkey's share of R&D spending in GDP to the EU standard of 3%.
- We will improve university-industry cooperation and pave the way for SMEs to benefit from this cooperation.
- We will offer advisory services to all companies through expert councils set up in areas of product and service development, production, marketing and distribution.
- We will minimize brain drain and implement science and technology policies that will ensure reverse brain drain in due course.

## **FULL SUPPORT TO THE ICT SECTOR: TURKEY AS EUROPE'S IT AND SOFTWARE BASE**

- We will organize annual IT Conferences in our country and in various regions of the world to increase our competitive power in the new economy based on knowledge and intelligence.
- Where infrastructure and human resources permit, we will build techno-cities and techno-parks focusing on strategic areas including software.
- In techno-cities, we will set up entrepreneurship support units that will train and guide young people on entrepreneurship. We will also set up a national fund that will support techno-entrepreneurship with seed money or start-up funds.
- We will build awareness on using indigenous software in our country and especially in public institutions, and we will take necessary incentive measures to this end.
- We will attach importance to training of middle-level workforce in the field of IT. In particular, we will create jobs for our unemployed university graduates through accelerated training programmes.
- We will support the IT and communications sectors by minimizing VAT and indirect taxes such as the special communication tax – which does not exist in any other country in the world- and by opening new doors for software exports.
- We will take necessary measures to open the IT and communications sectors and the field of electronic communication to real and full competition.

## **IT REFORM ON THE ROAD TO AN INFORMATION SOCIETY**

- We see IT as the basis of social development, democracy and freedoms. We will realize an IT reform that will ensure a holistic transformation in many areas, such as education, culture, infrastructure, production of goods and services in the private and public sectors, and legal arrangements.
- We will define the ICT sector as a strategic sector, with a special emphasis on software.
- We will improve competitiveness, innovation and R&D efforts with cooperation and coordination between universities, the industry and the state.

- We will restructure e-Government applications in a manner focusing on the citizen. We will increase work efficiency in public institutions, ensure data exchange, and relieve our citizens from the problems caused by duplicated transactions and data repetitions.
- We will set in motion all segments of the society, from local governments to NGOs and from small-medium sized local companies to corporations operating nationwide by initiating large-scale public IT projects that will create new jobs and employment.

## **IT INFRASTRUCTURE: COMPUTER AND INTERNET FOR ALL**

- We will make the necessary infrastructure investment to offer standard broadband internet access affordable to all segments of the society with the lowest cost possible.
- We will make the necessary arrangements so that the disadvantaged segments of the society can benefit, free of charge, from internet and computer services.
- We will provide the necessary incentives to ensure that all students have access to computers and the internet at school and outside of school.

## **LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF IT**

- We will establish the Ministry of Information and Communication Technologies that will directly assume the political responsibility in this field.
- We will abolish the Law no. 5651 on “Regulation of Publications on the Internet and Suppression of Crimes Committed by means of these Publications”. In its place, we will introduce a new legal framework conforming to international standards of democracy.
- We will broaden the scope of the Law no. 5746 on “Supporting Research and Development Activities” so that small and medium sized information and communication companies can also benefit from it.
- We will amend the “Public Procurement Law” no. 4734 to meet the need for extensiveness and speed in procurement of goods and services concerning information and communication.

- We will update the Law no. 5846 on “Intellectual Works and Works of Art” to ensure that the copyrights of software producers are protected and software products are used effectively.
- We will amend the Law no. 5809 on “Electronic Communication” so as to ensure full and real competition.

### **TELEPHONE AND INTERNET SERVICES**

- We will swiftly launch a project that will ensure 20% cheaper telephone and internet services for our citizens, by creating an environment of full competition in the field of electronic communication.
- We will ensure that our citizens can access telephone and internet services from everywhere across the country.
- We will ensure that our citizens can get their telephone and internet services from any operator, easily transfer their fixed numbers to another operator and easily change their service providers.

### **SUPPORT TO INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIALISTS**

- We will base our industrialization and incentive policies on a comprehensive “Industry Inventory”.
- We will build an incentive system that creates employment, adds momentum to technological development, reduces disparities in regional development, and ensures development in a region without causing shrinkage in another region.
- We will develop organized industrial zones, small industrial zones, techno-parks and techno-cities so that companies can cluster on a sectoral and regional basis.
- By encouraging mergers and strategic partnerships, we will ensure that companies are able to benefit from economies of scale and scope.
- We will pull the energy, transport and communication costs of industrialists down to a level that will support their competitiveness.

- We will build an effective Public Information System. We will prevent resources from being inefficiently directed to a handful of sectors and creating idle capacities.
- To improve the investment environment, we will alleviate the burdens on and reduce the number of transactions for “market entrance and exit”.
- We will promote corporate social responsibility and the human and the environment factors in industrialization.

### **SMEs: ENGINES OF COMPETITION IN ECONOMY**

- We will create a favourable environment for the development of entrepreneurs and family businesses.
- We will ensure that SMEs with a suitable structure can strengthen their capacity to translate information into products, can develop technology-intensive products and production methods, and thereby can increase their international competitiveness.
- We will prepare SMEs as effective actors of the global competition environment.
- We will guide SMEs so that they can see and seize the opportunities concerning environmental policies, such as renewable energy and combating climate change, which are areas that are subject to development in the world and in our country.
- We will take initiatives to ensure that visa facilities are offered to SMEs, particularly those travelling to developed countries for commercial purposes.
- We will support SMEs with a special incentive system to promote their participation in fairs and exhibitions that will contribute to promotion of their goods in international markets.

### **ZERO-INTEREST LOAN AND TECHNOLOGY SUPPORT TO SMEs**

- We will give SMEs zero-interest working capital loans equal to the amount of taxes and insurance contributions they pay.
- We will activate the Credit Guarantee Fund for SMEs. It will be our aim to rapidly increase the loan facilities offered to SMEs, through new lending and financing schemes.
- We will turn HALKBANK into a specialized bank for SMEs and tradesmen.

- We will increase the effectiveness of institutions offering SMEs consultancy and advice on research, technology, financing, marketing, sales, project management, certification and brand creation, with priority given to KOSGEB.
- We will ensure that SMEs can engage in R&D, technology and innovation works, which they cannot perform with their own net assets, with the support of universities and the government.
- We will increase the activities of Technology Development Areas, Technology Development Centres (TEKMER) and Business Development Centres (İŞGEM).
- We will encourage mergers between SMEs operating in the same line of business in specific sectors so that they can acquire international competitiveness and so that technological facilities can be shared and improved and advantages of economies of scale can be used.
- We will give a second chance to businesses that work in compliance with business ethics but are forced to declare bankruptcy due to the systemic crisis.

#### **SUPPORT TO ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

- We will support entrepreneurs who start up businesses or open new business areas, with special credits, so as to create new employment.
- We will spread the practice of Venture Capital. By clearing the way for entrepreneurs who do not have the capital, we will ensure that they create new job opportunities.
- We will offer Business Start-up Credits and Marketing Support to women who want to turn their personal skills into entrepreneurship. We will broaden the credit facilities available to self-employed women entrepreneurs.
- With the Youth Business Start-up Programme, we will provide projects and consultancy services and funding support to young people who wish to start their own businesses, through TÜBİTAK and KOSGEB.

## **An economy that has achieved financial and institutional stability**

### **INDEPENDENT REVENUE ADMINISTRATION, RULE-BASED FISCAL POLICY**

- We will pay attention to sustainability of the public debt; we will implement a rule-based fiscal policy.
- We will keep the public debt stock under 40% of the GDP.
- We will make regulations that will ensure the independence of the Revenue Administration and make sure that the Administration is objective and at equal distance to all taxpayers.
- We will implement fiscal pardons only in exceptional cases necessitated by systemic crises, and will not make it an instrument of political exploitation.
- We will direct public expenditure to areas that will increase economic growth, employment and efficiency. We will take it as a basis to finance expenditure with resources other than borrowing.

### **TRANSPARENT MONETARY POLICY**

- The main purpose of the monetary policy is to ensure price stability. When moving towards this goal, we will make sure that elements that determine the sustainability of price stability, such as growth, employment, competitiveness and financial stability, are not put at risk.
- In inflation targeting, we will take steps that will increase the transparency of the monetary policy.
- We will make the necessary arrangements so that the minutes of monetary policy meetings are more detailed and the votes cast by each member are announced to the public.
- In harmony with the independence of the Central Bank, we will make necessary legal arrangements that will consolidate the accountability of the Central Bank.

## REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR FINANCIAL STABILITY

- In addition to policies that reduce micro risks and safeguard the resilience of the singular elements of the financial system, we will implement policies that reduce macro risks and safeguard the entirety of the system, and we will thereby prevent balloons in the assets market, mainly in foreign currencies, and prevent the fragilities created by them in real economy.
- To ensure that problems arising in the whole or a part of the financial system do not cause fluctuations in the real economy, we will establish a Financial Stability Board that will ensure concerted action by the Central Bank, the Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency, the Capital Markets Board, the Undersecretariat of Treasury and the Ministry of Finance.

## PUBLIC REFORM AND ITS NEW INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

- We will definitely make the public reform.
- We will ensure effectiveness, transparency and interagency coordination in public management.
- We will clearly define duties and centres of responsibility. We will decrease the number of hierarchical levels to ensure effective and fast performance by institutions.
- We will definitely make the arrangements that will simplify the transactions and lower the transaction costs for our citizens in their relations with the state.
- By ensuring that the social security contributions are collected by the Revenue Administration, we will minimize the number of bureaucratic transactions. We will turn the Social Security Authority into an institution that only provides social security services.
- We will gather in a Data Centre all the data related to transactions performed by citizens and businesses with the state.
- We will establish the Financial Stability Board that will ensure coordination between agencies that are essential in management of systemic risks in financial markets.

- To ensure that the TGNA performs its supervisory function effectively, we will establish the Final Account Committee. The committee will be chaired by a member of the main opposition party.
- To tidy up the disorganization in incentive practices, we will gather them under one single institution. In this framework, we will establish the Undersecretariat of Incentive Practices.
- We will establish the Land Office to provide land to villagers who do not have any land or to those whose lands are inadequate.
- We will restructure the Ministry of Agriculture. We will establish the Agricultural Markets Regulation and Supervision Agency.
- To stimulate the declining animal husbandry sector in Turkey, we will establish the Directorate General for Animal Husbandry and Dairy Products.
- To solve the problems of our fishing sector, we will establish the Directorate-General for Aquatic Products.
- We will establish the Climate Change and Development Research Centre.

## LAW ON INDEPENDENT ACCOUNTANTS AND CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS WILL CHANGE

- We will change the “proportional representation” system applied in the election of the organs of Chambers of Independent Accountants and Certified Public Accountants, and their umbrella organization, the TÜRMOB.
- We will delete in the law the word “independent” included in the titles “Independent Accountant” and “Independent Accountant Financial Advisor”, as it has become null.
- We will prevent inspection of the activities and financial transactions of the organs of Chambers and Unions by the Ministry of Justice with unlimited powers, and we will limit the direct interference of the Ministry in the CPA exam.
- We will ensure that the Ministry of Finance publishes the Minimum Wage Tariff for the members of the profession every year in a timely manner.
- We will lift the special irregularity fine currently imposed on taxpayers on the basis of the declared goods and services they have sold or purchased in a month.

## An economy that has set the course of its growth with the priorities of a strong social state

### UNEMPLOYMENT FUND FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

- We will make sure that the Unemployment Insurance Fund is used for its intended purposes.
- We will increase representation of social partners in the management of the unemployment fund, and make the fund management autonomous.
- We will facilitate the eligibility criteria for the unemployment fund.
- We will determine the unemployment appropriation in view of the individual's minimum living standards (family, children, accommodation, transport and nutrition).
- We will ensure transparent and effective supervision of the unemployment fund.

### WOMEN ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT TO WORK

- We will fight all forms of discrimination against women in the working life.
- We will ensure that women's labour participation rate reaches 40% by the centennial of our Republic
- We will remove the obstacles to women's participation in the working life by improving child care, patient care and elderly care services.
- We will ensure that equal criteria are taken into consideration for recruitment and promotions.
- We will apply positive discrimination in appointment of women to managerial positions and in their public sector entry exams, and we will make the transition to the principle-based quota practice.
- We will make encouraging arrangements to increase women's employment in the private sector.
- We will ensure formal employment in areas of women-intensive labour, such as the agricultural sector, domestic work and home-based businesses, and we will develop new insurance schemes that will cover them under the social security scope.

- We will make credit facilities available to women entrepreneurs and provide them with design, consultancy and marketing support. We will ensure that women entrepreneurs are given priority in SME incentives.
- We will support and diversify women co-ops.

### MORE JOBS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

- Growth with Youth Employment will be the main axis of our employment policies.
- We will encourage entrepreneurship efforts of young people. By supporting the ideas and projects of young entrepreneurs, we will ensure that young people enter the business life easier.
- We will expand career guidance and consultancy services for young people.

### INDIRECT TAXES WILL BE REDUCED, EVERYONE WILL PAY TAXES ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY TO PAY

- We will use taxes as the main source of funding for public expenditures.
- Citizens will know where the taxes they pay are being spent. We will give the public an account of where the declared taxes of the year ended were spent.
- We will minimize tax evasions and losses, and we will combat informality.
- With a medium-term approach, we will change the current structure that is based heavily on indirect taxes, which is not only unfair but also negatively affects the competitiveness of the economy.
- We will differentiate the income tax tariffs and rates, reduce the tax burden of wage-earners and collect taxes from everyone and all sectors according to their ability to pay.

## SUPPORT TO CONSUMERS

- We will take urgent economic and social measures that will increase the purchasing power of consumers and prevent poverty.
- We will implement a national growth model in which consumers benefit from increased welfare in equity.
- We will ensure that consumers are compensated for their losses with fast, fair, affordable and easy methods.
- We will offer advisory services to eliminate unjust treatment of consumers.
- We will implement global quality assurance systems in areas of service and production in order to protect the health and safety of consumers.
- We will ensure low-cost and quality services for consumers by improving the international competition conditions of the private sector.
- We will support consumer rights organizations. We will ensure that consumers become more effective through these organizations.
- We will ensure that consumer rights, including the right to be informed, the right to be heard and the right to be represented, are implemented without exception.
- We will take measures to prevent deceptive, misleading and abusive ads and promotions.
- We will ensure that the Law on Protection of Consumer Rights is fully implemented by authorized public agencies.

## An environment-friendly economy that gives importance to regional, sectoral and sustainable development

### RURAL DEVELOPMENT

- We will process what is produced and create industrial facilities in close proximity to raw materials.
- We will develop non-agricultural operations in rural areas and increase the income level of the rural segment via rural development practices. Thus, we will reduce poverty and unemployment and alleviate migration-related problems.
- In rural areas, we will give the 2B lands that have lost their forest quality to forest villagers who do farming.
- We will clean landmines and open the cleaned lands to the use of local farmers.
- We will develop agricultural farming and ecologic farming.
- We will build an organized agricultural structure with high competitive power, and we will ensure stability in agricultural markets.
- We will give special importance to improving the living standards of women employed in agriculture and mobile-seasonal agricultural workers.
- We will restructure the labour and social security practices applicable for agriculture workers.
- We will develop direct marketing channels from producer to consumer, and ensure that affordable and healthy food reaches the tables of consumers.
- We will make the agriculture insurance widespread. As the government, we will pay in full the insurance contributions of small producers.

### SUPPORT TO TRADESMEN

- We will increase tradesmen credits by 5 folds. We will increase the credit amount of Guarantee Societies. We will make low-interest loans available to tradesmen from Halkbank.
- We will offer zero-interest loans to tradesmen in the amount equal to taxes and insurance contributions paid for one year by the tradesman. We will increase project-based incentives of KOSGEB.
- We will give the incentives to those in need, not those with power.

- We will reduce the income tax rate of tradesmen by 5 points. We will ensure that the expenditures of tradesmen are deducted from tax.
- We will abolish the Social Security Support Contribution paid by tradesmen.
- We will not take Special Consumption Tax (ÖTV), for once only, from taxi operators when making a transition to vehicles equipped with safety cabins.
- We will fully eradicate pirate (informal) taxi operations.
- We will provide tax concessions to cluster companies such as purchase, marketing and logistics firms set up by tradesmen.
- We will pass a hypermarket law protecting SMEs and tradesmen, similar to those found in European Union member states.
- We will protect bazaar stallholders and rearrange the law on fruit and vegetable markets.
- We will set up Tradesmen Desks at municipalities and complete the transactions of tradesmen with speed.
- We will ensure that transporters are represented at UKOME.
- We will reduce the price of diesel fuel for truck drivers.

### **AN AGRICULTURALLY SELF-SUFFICIENT TURKEY ONCE AGAIN**

- In agriculture, we will pursue a human-focused, environmentally-friendly policy that will support our farmers and production potential, save our country from dependence on imports and increase the welfare of our farmers.
- Addressing agriculture as a priority strategic sector, we will realize a radical agricultural reform.
- We will swiftly complete agricultural infrastructure investments. By 2023, we will consolidate 110 million decares of land, with irrigation investments on 4 million decares.
- We will promote widespread use of advanced greenhouse farming techniques, rational use of seed plants, fertilizers, chemicals and other fertility-boosting inputs, and improvement of quality, and we will give the agricultural sector a modern operational structure.

- We will produce and distribute to our farmers high-yield and quality seeds and brood stocks, and save our producers from being dependent on other countries.
- In agriculture and animal husbandry, we will increase domestic production and decrease imports. With rational production planning, in a short time, we will make Turkey a country selling goods to external markets.
- To stop external dependence in agricultural technologies, we will establish special agro-techno centres where the public, private sector and universities will work in cooperation.
- To get a bigger share from the total global export market, we will ensure safe and quality production with high added value.
- We will develop agriculture-based industries, and establish Small Scale Agricultural Industrial Areas, Organized Agricultural Zones and Organized Agricultural Industrial Zones.
- We will establish the Hazelnut Stock Market in the Black Sea Region. We will revitalize Fiskobirlik. We will be the friend of hazelnut producers.

### **FULL SUPPORT TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY**

- We will say “stop” to the decline in animal husbandry in Turkey. We will put an end to import policies that kill production.
- With the right animal husbandry policies, we will increase our sheep, goat and cattle assets, and we will increase productivity via breeding and rehabilitation programmes.
- We will promote vegetal production to ensure that coarse and mixed feed demand is supplied from domestic sources, and we will maintain the appropriate parity between feed prices and milk and meat prices.
- We will improve animal health measures and eradicate animal diseases.
- We will make Animal Health Insurance widespread.
- We will improve and expand milk and meat processing facilities. In areas not entered by the private sector, we will achieve this through public means.
- We will support animal husbandry projects with low-interest loans.

- To develop chicken husbandry, we will institute contract-based chicken production. We will increase export incentives for chicken.
- We will promote and foster fisheries and production of all aquatic products, in accordance with the protection-utilization balance.

### **FARMERS EXEMPT FROM TAX BURDEN**

- We will bring down the high costs of seeds, fertilizers, diesel fuel, pesticides, electricity etc. in agricultural production.
- To support agriculture and farmers, we will lift special consumption tax and VAT on diesel fuel, and pull down diesel price to TL1.5. We will also alleviate the tax load on other inputs, thus giving strong support to farmers.

### **A MODERN TOURISM POLICY**

- We will create a sustainable tourism sector distributed across the four seasons and all potential regions of the country.
- We will raise the international competitiveness of the sector by branding authentic tourism products, avoiding the pitfall of cheap pricing.
- In tourism, we will emphasize environmental sensitivity, protection of our natural and cultural values and the most effective utilization of our resources.
- We will give incentives to investments in newly developing tourism regions so as to ensure a balanced distribution of the tourism supply across the country.
- We will directly support tour operators to ensure more tourists from abroad.
- We will revise the law regulating working principles of travel agencies.
- We will give TÜRSAB the power to inspect and audit travel agencies.
- We will ensure that Umrah and Hajj services are carried out only through travel agencies under the supervision of the Presidency for Religious Affairs.
- We will develop the conditions applicable to tourism certificates with the Ministry and sector organizations. We will ensure that all businesses have a standard certificate.

- We will abolish Tourism Infrastructure Associations due to the problems in their functioning. We will create a new coordination unit with sector organizations having weight in its management.

### **TOURISM FROM MOUNTAINS TO SEAS**

- We will provide the infrastructure and credit support that will bring to fore the unique tourism potential of each region.
- We will build infrastructure and facilities that will increase the potential for winter tourism.
- We will transform festivals and fairs into major elements of national tourism, and especially promote congress tourism.
- We will give incentives to investments in thermal spas and hydrotherapy centres and facilities oriented to health tourism.
- We will reduce taxes and fees to increase the competitiveness of yachting and shipping companies and ports and berthing facilities.
- We will reorganize our ports so that they can also be used for tourism purposes.
- We will develop incentive projects to support the touristic yacht and boat building sector.
- We will reorganize the zoning plans of all our coastal areas with environmental sensitivity within two years.
- Under the coordination of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, we will restructure national and regional promotions and advertisements.
- We will develop the promotion strategy together with tourism organizations, chambers and local governments.

### **EDUCATION HAND IN HAND WITH THE SECTOR**

- To ensure efficient tourism education, we will make sure that local governments, chambers and tourism organizations are included in education and training activities.
- We will restructure our educational institutions with an aim to ensure diversification in tourism.

- We will make the necessary arrangements so that higher education and university students can work in the tourism sector while studying.

### **SUPPORT TO DOMESTIC TOURISM**

- We will abolish all the laws and regulations that make things harder for the hospitality sector.
- We will support cheap energy production and lower the costs of the hospitality sector.
- We will put an end to the high VAT and special consumption tax burden that cripple the service sector.
- We will provide incentives that guide and support the small businesses in the sector.
- We will make “low season” discounts in the insurance contributions of employees.
- We will give holiday support to all public employees equal to half of their monthly salaries on the condition that they spend their vacation in a certified touristic facility.
- Through school holidays arranged in echelons, we will increase the stable customer capacity in domestic tourism.
- We will transfer the operations of holiday and education facilities of public agencies located in tourism regions to sector organizations.
- We will make the necessary arrangements and investments for trouble-free holidays for our disabled citizens.

### **NATIONAL MARITIME POLICY**

- We will prepare a coast master plan covering all components of the sector with the purpose of preventing improper and haphazard exploitation of our coasts and ensuring the development of the maritime sector in a planned, efficient and environment-conscious way.
- We will ensure that our deep water port capacity, which is critical for our imports and industrial input supply, is large enough to meet the demand.

- We will support the private sector in developing the necessary logistic infrastructure to ensure low-cost and fast access to external markets, including lease of ports in major external markets.
- We will promote sea transport and increase the share of seaways in cargo and passenger transport.
- We will remove the barriers to shipyard investments in Turkey, a country surrounded by seas on three sides.
- We will ensure workplace safety and end occupational accidents and fatalities in the growing shipyard sector.

### **PUBLIC-PRIVATE COOPERATION IN ENERGY, PRIORITY TO RENEWABLE RESOURCES**

- We will adopt an energy policy that gives priority to our domestic resources, that is sensitive to the environment and that is human-centred. In addition to sustainable development of our country, it will be our aim to ensure our citizens’ wellbeing and right to life.
- We will meet the annual energy demand that will be required by an average annual growth rate of 7% through maximum use of domestic resources and private sector-public and public-private partnerships.
- We will ensure that investments are well-timed and made in accordance with an energy planning observing the public interest, with environmentally-friendly technologies.
- We will reduce external dependency by using renewable energy resources, such as solar and wind, together with environmentally-friendly technologies and by increasing energy efficiency.
- We will ensure security of supply via diversification of countries from which energy resources are imported and by ensuring sufficient, uninterrupted, quality, reliable, clean, timely and affordable energy supply.
- We will make the industrial facility and infrastructure investments required to make Turkey a critical energy transit and terminal country in its region.
- We will ensure that natural resources, mines and water resources are used in the most efficient way within the framework of economic criteria and the principle of environmental sensitivity, in line with national interests and the good of the society.

## NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY

- We will approach the matter of nuclear energy with universal responsibility and with a sensitivity that takes into consideration not only today but also the future generations .
- Under a national strategy, we will pursue a nuclear policy focusing on new-generation nuclear reactors that are expected to have lower costs and higher operational safety, and through which we will have a say in all phases from technology production to waste management.
- We will undertake studies involving technology transfer and focusing on new-generation reactors, by observing the highest safety criteria in nuclear technology.
- Through a referendum, we will leave it to our people to decide on whether or not to build a nuclear power plant in Akkuyu.

## ENVIRONMENTALLY-FRIENDLY PRODUCTION

- We will actualize effective financial and administrative incentive measures to establish the environmentally-friendly production concept without compromising the international competitiveness of our investors.
- We will increase public investments and incentives so that Turkey's renewable energy potential is used at the maximum level.
- We will encourage environmentally-friendly production technologies in public procurements and in the incentive system. We will abolish the exceptions applicable to provisions on environmental protection in the public procurement legislation.
- In order to support the domestic production of eco-technology products, which have a high economic potential, we will provide R&D support through TÜBİTAK and other relevant agencies.

## ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION AND WASTE MANAGEMENT

- We will develop measures to prevent pollution at its source and we will ensure recycling of wastes.
- We will raise consumer awareness on waste separation and we will support recycling practices with economic measures.

- We will ensure that the price of environmental pollution is paid by users and polluters. However, we will not allow this payment option to transform itself into a right to pollute.
- We will increase the number of wastewater and solid waste treatment/disposal facilities for the protection of urban and rural environment.
- We will give priority to measures that will abate air pollution. Instead of the low-quality coal distributed through public means, we will provide free-of-charge natural gas to those in need, thereby cleaning our air.
- We will take legal and administrative measures that will prevent the visual pollution and noise pollution that adversely affect the quality of life of urban people.

## ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

- We will address Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) with transparency and care as a requirement of a human-oriented, environmentally conscious approach rather than a mere formality.
- In addition to EIA, we will ensure a comprehensive Social Impact Assessment.
- We will attach importance and priority to strategic EIA studies.

## MANAGEMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

- We will put an end to exploitation of our natural resources, which are the common assets of our people, as subjects of commercial income as a result of corruption and bad management.
- We will adopt the approach that humans are not the owners of ecological balance but a part of it.
- We will implement long-term plans for protection and development of our water resources, the strategic importance of which is increasing day by day.
- We will promote dissemination of awareness-raising activities for effective and sustainable utilization of water.
- We will allocate the necessary resources to combat erosion that rapidly strips away our fertile soils.

## CLIMATE CHANGE

- We will ensure that combat against climate change is observed in all policies.
- We will prepare the National Climate Change Strategy Document including the exploration of opportunities and threats that the global climate change will create for Turkey, mainly in the agriculture and tourism sectors, and development of adaptation strategies.
- We will give weight to public transport and sea and railroad transport to combat global warming.
- We will make it mandatory for thermal power plants that seriously threaten the health of our citizens with the air pollution they create to raise their incineration technologies to EU standards. We will ensure that technologies with low carbon and high efficiency are used.
- We will support practices that lead to savings in energy and water consumption.
- We will expand the use of clean energy resources such as wind, solar and geothermal.

## A strong, productive Turkey that distributes wealth across its people

Under the CHP rule, we promise a Turkey that

- rapidly increases its production in competitive sectors,
- mobilizes the entirety of its physical and human resources,
- has an economic structure based on efficiency and creating added value and employment,
- in which the State acts within the frame of the principles of transparency and accountability,
- where civic rights and guarantees are at the forefront,
- where employers are not subject to arbitrary practices and threats of the government,
- and where combating poverty and unfair income distribution is a priority.



# Equality and social solidarity

Turkey has not yet managed to achieve a social and human development level parallel to its economic power. While it is often emphasized that Turkey is among the 20 largest economies of the world, our country makes the bottom of the list in many development rankings, the foremost being the human development index.

In Turkey, income distribution is rapidly deteriorating and poverty is becoming more deeply entrenched. The relative poverty rate based on the spending made by our citizens to meet their basic needs has increased under the AKP rule, despite the positive global economic developments. The expenditure-based relative poverty rate, which was 14.7 percent in 2002, went up to 15.1 percent in 2009.

The mode of social aids delivered to families in Turkey undermines human dignity. Social aids do not focus on turning those in need into self-sufficient individuals. The current system has failed in fighting social exclusion and increasing participation in the labour market.

Social aids are distributed by an excessive number of agencies, without any rules and with no organization. In addition to the lack of coordination between these agencies, there is no common database where the aids can be monitored from a single point. There are no objective criteria to determine who will receive what aid; most aids, such as food, clothing and coal, are distributed haphazardly. And in procurement and distribution of aid materials, we frequently see excessively high prices, irregular spending, and corruption.

As a result of all these, families not deserving aid somehow become eligible for it while those who are really living in poverty but do not directly apply to social aid agencies have no access to these aids. Families that really need aid are seen as people who are “in need” and “fallen”, an approach which hurts them.

CHP’s main priority is to institute an order where our citizens can live humanely with equity and dignity without having to worry about the future. CHP is determined to establish a strong social state that guarantees the freedom of its citizens, that ensures equality and justice in all areas of the social life, and that is based on equal opportunities.

Humane living is the most fundamental right of every citizen. Humane living can only be possible within an order where social welfare, happiness and income are distributed equally, and where all citizens receive an equal share from education and health care services. Eradicating poverty is among the main duties and responsibilities of the State. Preparing the conditions necessary for the development of the physical and spiritual beings of its citizens should be the priority aim of any social state governed by the rule of law, for “social” means “related to the society”, or in other words, “for people”.

The social democrat Republican People’s Party holds it above all its goals to create a strong social state in Turkey. A social state aims to ensure that all its citizens live as independent and free people. A social state guarantees the labour and bread of its people. A social state secures equality between its citizens and justice for the society as a whole. A social state ensures equal opportunities and strengthens social solidarity. The social balance required to protect political and economic independence can only be realized through a powerful social state.

The Family Insurance aims to protect the family as the smallest unit forming the society. For when families are not left without jobs and food, it means the whole of the society is being protected. The Family Insurance scheme that CHP wants to bring to life with great determination is an important step that will be taken in the process of building a strong social state in Turkey.

With the Family Insurance, CHP will develop a modern social security system and a social protection network. The Family Insurance aims to protect all citizens from exclusion, regardless of their beliefs and ethnicity, and eradicate poverty. With the Family Insurance, our citizens will live as independent, free and equal individuals without having to depend on anyone. A social support approach that assures the dignity of the individual and the family with objective criteria is the main starting point of the Family Insurance scheme.

CHP sees it as its main priority to realize a social justice encompassing all segments of the society. To this end, it is aware of the importance of developing special social support programmes for social segments that have fewer opportunities. In this scope, CHP orients its social policies particularly towards women, children, young people, the retired and the elderly. It mobilizes the social state in full force so that these groups can equally benefit from opportunities and services.

CHP believes that equality of women and men is an indisputable prerequisite of democracy and socioeconomic development. With the knowledge that it cannot become a modern country without ensuring gender equality, CHP gives special importance to programs aiming to empower women. CHP sees the Family Insurance scheme as a major step towards empowering women and ensuring their participation in the social life.

Similarly, CHP is determined to bring to life policies focusing on participation of women in education, labour markets and politics, and wage an effective war against violence against women to free Turkey from this shame.

CHP knows that in order to eliminate social disparities, it is necessary to guarantee children's right to life, healthy development and good nutrition. Offering equal opportunities to all citizens from the very beginning of their lives and reducing to the extent possible the effect of conditions such as the family's socioeconomic status or the child's place of birth or the child's access to the opportunities of life are the conditions sine qua non for CHP's goal of a "better society". Through economic, physical and social investments to ensure that children can complete their physical, emotional and intellectual development, an important step will have been taken in the combat against social disparities.

It is among the priority goals of CHP to give young people all the opportunities and facilities in their social and private lives so that they can enjoy their youth. CHP is determined to create all kinds of environments in which young people can develop their personalities freely and free from any pressure and in which they can use their creativity, and CHP is committed to take young people under the full protection of the social state so that they can overcome the economic barriers they encounter. CHP's youth approach will cover and take into consideration all young people of all statuses living in Turkey, and will see the "unseen young people", who are mainly the young people who work while studying and young girls who stay at home with no school or work to go. CHP will not give up even a single youth of Turkey, and will take concrete steps to provide them with equal opportunities in all areas of the social life, including in education, employment, politics, culture, arts and sports.

Our pensioners are our citizens who have worked, produced, sweated, paid their taxes to this country and paid their retirement contributions, for which they deserve equal remuneration in their retirements. CHP will ensure, under the umbrella of the social state, the improvement of the financial conditions of our pensioners via a rational, efficient and effective social security system, and put in place arrangements that will make life easier for them. To this end, CHP will

ensure without delay that pensioners get a share from the increase in national income and that the adaptation law is passed.

One criterion indicating a country's level of development is the social state services provided by that country to its citizens with special needs. It is among the main duties of the social state to provide and extend education, rehabilitation, vocational training, employment, care and protection services to the disabled. With this knowledge, CHP is determined to improve the opportunities of our disabled citizens and increase their access to all areas of the social life.

In our country where the aged population is growing rapidly, developing comprehensive and implementable laws to ensure that our citizens lead a quality life in their old age is inevitable. Ensuring that our elderly citizens are able to lead a quality life as respectable, independent citizens who are not dependent on anyone, including their families, is among the priority goals of CHP. As a requirement of the social state, CHP will provide all protective social services and social supports that protect the elderly, and will prevent practices that exclude the elderly in all areas of the social life.

Preventing poverty and inequality is a process that has important human, economic and political consequences in the society. Development of democracy and economic and social development can only be achieved through free individuals who have more choices and more opportunities. Moreover, the most important goal of development is liberating individuals and ensuring they have more opportunities. The freedom of individuals is determined not only through political and civil rights, but also through social and economic regulations in the society. Our goal is a strong Turkey with strengthened feelings of social solidarity, citizenship, fraternity and national unity, where all citizens have equal opportunities.

## Social state as a guarantee of civic rights

- By introducing the Family Insurance, we will strengthen the social state and end poverty.
- ‘We will abandon the concept and practice of ‘citizens in need’ and replace it with ‘citizens eligible for aid’.
- To combat poverty, we will give priority to public social expenditures, and provide social supports as a civic right rather than an act of kindness.
- We will not expose the poverty of our citizens, and we will not allow poverty to become an instrument of political exploitation.
- All our citizens will be under the Social State guarantee from birth till death.
- We will offer, without discrimination, the basic services we see as civic rights, such as education, health and minimum social security.
- We will eliminate regional disparities in access to public services.
- We will make use of information and communication technologies to ensure a faster and more reliable state-citizen relationship.

## EQUALITY IN ALL AREAS

- We will provide equal opportunities and equal treatment to our citizens in all areas.
- We will ensure equal opportunities in education; we will not leave any of our children outside the educational system.
- We will swiftly eliminate all injustices in income distribution and ensure social justice between the different strata of the society.
- We will apply positive discrimination for disadvantaged groups.
- We will implement regional development programmes to reduce disparities between regions.

## FULL COVERAGE SOCIAL SECURITY

- We will strengthen the National Social Security System that protects all our employees throughout their lives against risks such as unemployment, sickness, maternity, incapacity, old-age, death, occupational accidents and occupational diseases, and dependency on care and protection.
- We will prepare a new basic law on social security with the cooperation and accord of all social stakeholders.
- We will provide timely, adequate, equal and high-quality health care services for all.
- We will continue the Green Card scheme and improve it.

## Family Insurance

### INSTITUTIONAL AND EFFECTIVE COMBAT AGAINST POVERTY

- With the Family Insurance:
  - All citizens will have social security, and there will be no families living in poverty;
  - Poverty will end;
  - Our children, women, elderly and disabled citizens will be protected and strengthened;
  - Everyone will have access to education and health care services;
  - Social solidarity and coherence will be improved;
  - Informality will be reduced in employment;
  - Individuals and democracy will be strengthened;
- As a priority, we will prepare a poverty inventory and ensure that social supports reach those who are in real need.
- We will make “family insurance” payments to all households that have an income below the minimum, according to their specific circumstances. This payment will not be below TL600 per month, and may go up to TL1,250 per month depending on the number of old-aged or disabled individuals cared by the family.

- We will not expose the poverty of our citizens and we will not make poverty an instrument of political exploitation.

### **END TO A SOCIETY OF INDEBTEDNESS!**

- We will provide in-cash support to ensure our citizens' freedom to elect.
- We will prevent haphazard and favouritism-based practices that have become widespread in provision of welfare supports, and we will prevent all forms of corruption, including high and irregular spending.
- We will eliminate institutional chaos and we will use our resources effectively, economically and efficiently. The only address of application for those in need will be the Family Insurance Authority (AS-KUR).

### **NO CHILD WILL GO TO BED HUNGRY**

- With the Family Insurance, our children will not have to work. All children will benefit from health and education services equally.
- Under the Family Insurance, we will give every family social welfare support for up to two children, in the amount of TL45-100 per child.
- Under the Family Insurance, we will provide monthly in-cash education support to all children going to school.
- We will provide book and stationery support at the beginning of every school year to all children continuing their education.
- We will cover the education expenses of all children included under the scope of the Family Insurance Scheme, including dormitory fees, from this insurance scheme.

### **EMPOWERED WOMEN, EMPOWERED SOCIETY**

- It is our greatest goal to strengthen the role of women in the family and in society. We will give the welfare supports included under the Family Insurance directly to women, depositing them to the women's bank account every month.
- By creating supports that encourage preschool education, we will increase our women's participation in labour.

### **DISADVANTAGED GROUPS OF THE SOCIETY UNDER THE ROOF OF THE SOCIAL STATE...**

- To all families in need, we will provide monthly adult support of TL125-190. In the case of broken families or where the responsibility to earn family bread falls on the woman, we will increase the amount of this support.
- For the care of the elderly living with their families, we will provide a welfare support of monthly TL100-150. We will also cover the health expenses of the elderly included under the Family Insurance.
- Under the Family Insurance, we will provide welfare support to all our disabled citizens in an amount equal to the adult welfare support.

### **SOCIAL COHESION SUPPORT**

- To support our citizens in overcoming their economic and social hardships, we will organize social cohesion programmes targeting families.
- Within the scope of this support scheme, we will organize training courses on subjects such as parenting and reducing juvenile delinquency, and we will cover the expenses related to these courses, such as transport, food, child care etc.

### **BETTER HEALTH CARE SERVICES**

- All citizens covered under the Family Insurance will be deemed insured under the universal health insurance and will be able to receive treatment in any public and university hospital they wish, without any payment.
- Our citizens covered under the Family Insurance will receive 50% more adult welfare support in case they have a serious health condition.

### **EFFECTIVE COMBAT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT**

- Under the Family Insurance, we will support the attendance to vocational training courses and registration at İş-Kur (Turkish Employment Organization) for all our citizens.
- In public-guaranteed employment projects, we will give priority to families covered under the Family Insurance scheme.

## More jobs, more social security and fairer sharing

### WAGES THAT HUMAN DIGNITY DESERVES, AND WORK SECURITY

- We will ensure that the right to work, which is an integral part of the right to life, is enjoyed under fair and convenient conditions and with wages that enable humane living.
- We will set the minimum wage so that employees can lead a life fit for human dignity.
- We will regulate the working life within the framework of universal rules and in conformity with the EU acquis and the conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO) that protect labour and labour rights.
- We will reintroduce the “minimum monthly pension” as a security for widows and orphans.

### UNION RIGHTS FOR ALL

- For all citizens who want to defend their rights and interests through trade unions, we will enable this fundamental right and make necessary legal arrangements to guarantee it.
- We will give all employers the right to union membership, the right to collective agreement and the right to strike, allowing no restrictions or interference.
- We will make the arrangements that will encourage trade unions established by workers, public employees and employees from all segments to organize collectively under umbrella organizations.
- We will protect trade unions against interference from any power, the foremost being the political authority.
- We will provide absolute guarantee of the right to work and proper working conditions for union workers, public employees, workplace union representatives and union managers.

- We will ensure a structure in which the will of the members is directly and effectively reflected in the management and operations of trade unions.
- We will end the notary public’s role as a regulator of worker-union relations. We will base union membership on methods reflecting the free will of the worker.
- In the collective agreement process, we will remove the obstacles created by the 10% threshold on sectors for trade unions, and we will institute a mandate system that works effectively and free from pressures.
- We will remove the arrangements that undermine the essence of the right to strike and that in effect prevent enjoyment of this right.
- We will stop strikes from being a right that can only be practiced during the collective agreement process; and we will codify general strikes, strikes for rights and solidarity strikes.

### END TO CONTRACT LABOUR AND JOB INSECURITY IN THE PUBLIC

- We will adopt the principle of having public services rendered by full-time, permanent workers and civil servants with job security.
- We will actualize the practice of “equal pay for work of equal value” and remove the wage injustices between public employees.
- We will end practices such as contract labour, contract personnel (4/B) and temporary personnel (4/C) in the public. We will transfer these personnel to civil servant or worker cadres.
- We will end contract labour in health care services and local governments, SEEs and all public agencies and organizations. We will employ contract labourers as cadre staff in accordance with ILO norms.
- We will end the practice of discrimination with regard to the rights and freedoms of wage-earners employed in different positions.
- To end the teacher shortage in the public, we will forthwith make the appointments of teachers waiting for investiture. We will ensure that all contract teachers become cadre members.
- We will solve the problem of informal employment by alleviating the excessive burdens that encourage informality, by encouraging people to become formally employed and by giving weight to inspections.

- In the recruitment and promotion of the public personnel, ethical values and professional competence will be the main criteria, and we will stop discrimination on the grounds of language, religion, denomination, ethnicity and gender.
- We will take unity of the family as a basis in the management of public personnel.

### **LIFELONG LEARNING AND QUALIFIED WORKFORCE**

- We will implement an effective workforce planning.
- We will consolidate the links between education and workforce policies and take it as a basis to raise the human resource equipped with the qualifications demanded by the labour market.
- To increase the qualifications of the workforce, we will develop active employment and vocational training policies.
- We will ensure that activities such as “skills training”, “lifelong learning” and “on-the-job training” oriented to train the workforce during the production process and equip them with new skills become widespread and effective.
- We will implement short training programmes so that those who have lost their jobs and unemployed women and young people can acquire new skills.
- Through cooperation between İş-Kur and the industry sector, we will implement a long-term training programme oriented to increase the skill levels of unqualified workers across the country. We will support this programme with the existing internal training modules of companies operating in the manufacturing industry.
- Under the programme scope, we will gradually place 500-750 thousand unemployed citizens under 9 to 12-month training programs. We will ensure that these citizens receive payment equal to the minimum wage throughout the training.

### **STRONG CONNECTION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT, INSURANCE FOR STUDENTS OF VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS**

- We will consider students of technical vocational high schools and vocational higher education schools as full-time insured individuals, and encourage vocational technical education by ensuring that the insurance contributions are paid from appropriations in school budgets.
- We will draw an employment map of Turkey via regular analyses on professions needed nationwide in all provinces, and we will shape vocational education

based on this map.

- We will strengthen social dialogue in Vocational Education. To this end, we will make the necessary arrangements to strengthen the institutional capacities of social stakeholders in education.
- In addition to the “Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Boards” set up on regional basis to build social dialogue, we will establish the “Employment and Vocational Training Board” at the national level, the “Sectoral Employment and Vocational Training Boards” at the sector level, and “School-Industry Consultation Boards” at the school level.
- We will establish boarding education units in organized industrial zones. We will transform organized industrial zones into vocational training campuses.
- We will restructure the existing Vocational Training Centres with an aim to equip all citizens of all ages with a variety of skills, in line with the concept of lifelong learning.

### **BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS FOR ALL**

- We will introduce the “Basic Labour Law”, and we will not leave a single worker outside the scope of the labour law.
- We will not allow workers to be worked overtime in an excessive manner. We will ensure that our citizens find more time to enjoy life.
- We will realign the Occupational Health and Safety legislation with the active participation of social partners and in a way covering all workplaces and all employees.
- We will stop shipyards, mines and construction sites from being death traps, and end the mentality that regards occupational fatalities as fate.

## Women will be empowered

### A TURKEY WHERE WOMEN LIVE WITHOUT EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE

- We will endeavour to prevent violence against women, protect victims of violence and ensure that they build a life where they will never again be subjected to violence.
- We will allocate sufficient appropriations from local and national budgets for services aiming at combating violence against women.
- We will adopt it as a public policy to combat violence against women and we will shape our social policies and public institutions accordingly.
- We will create consultation centres that offer free-of-charge counselling, psychological support and legal assistance.
- We will open at least 5 new women's shelters every year.
- We will make the necessary amendments in the Turkish Penal Code so that not only the custom killings but also the honour killings are heavily penalized, and we will issue the Güldünya Law.
- We will rearrange the service systems offered to victims of violence, and we will close the training gaps of the professionals working in these services through special programmes.
- We will issue the Framework Law on Equality.
- We will establish the Committee on Equality of Women and Men instead of the Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men.
- We will ensure that all international instruments to which Turkey is a party in the area of women's rights, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, find their reflection in the society and in our law system.

### ASSURANCE FROM THE STATE, NOT THE HUSBAND, FATHER OR NEIGHBOUR

- We promise a Turkey where women and men are equal, where we can all benefit equally and fully from all basic services, mainly health and education services, and from civic rights.
- We will provide health insurance to all women who do not have their own insurance plans.
- We will give full support to women with regard to family planning.
- We will offer all health care services and nutrition and medicine support to all women during pregnancy, birth and postpartum period, free of charge.
- For equality of women and men, we will give priority to ensuring equal opportunities in all areas; we will actualize the principle of positive discrimination.
- We will put an end to the care mentality that prevents women from working, that ties them to the house and that offers no social security.

### FULL SUPPORT TO GIRLS AND WOMEN IN EDUCATION

- We will establish an education system where girls can fully benefit from educational opportunities. We will support the family with this purpose.
- We will create opportunities for all women who have dropped out of school to complete their educations, such as summer schools, evening schools, vocational training courses and Open University etc.
- We will give priority to women in vocational education.
- We will provide dormitory facilities for our female university students.
- We will increase quotas for girls in scholarships and free public boarding schools.
- By establishing Adult Learning Centres or Multi-Purpose Community Centres in all quarters, we will increase the skill levels and employability of women.

## **A WOMEN'S QUOTA UNTIL GENDER EQUALITY IS ENSURED**

- We will implement quotas and positive discrimination that will ensure equality of women and men for all posts that are based on nomination, appointment and election.
- We will encourage all women to participate in politics and stand as candidates.
- By amending the Electoral Law and the Law on Political Parties, we will codify the quota.
- We will strengthen the women's branches of political parties.

## **DAY CARE CENTRES FOR ALL CHILDREN**

- First of all, we will open free or government-supported nurseries and preschools operated with contributions from families in places with low social development for children of working women, civil servants and labourers.

## **Children will have the right to play**

### **CHILD CENTRES**

- We will establish Child Centres aiming at providing the most humane conditions possible for mothers and infants both before and after birth.
- At these centres we will offer all citizens free primary health care services before and after birth.
- Upon birth, we will give the family a half gold coin as contribution, as well as diaper and baby food support for babies.
- To prospective mothers, we will provide "pregnancy guidance", "parenting guidance" and services for health, nutrition, motherhood and social and cultural development.
- We will encourage fathers to also take part in Parenting Guidance programmes.
- In line with our goal of "primary health support for all children", we will ensure that all children receive free health checks at birth and after birth at these centres. Through these health checks, we will raise immunization rates to 100%, and ensure

that gender disparities with regard to nutrition and development as well as regional disparities are eliminated.

- Toys and playgrounds that are of great importance for the social, cognitive and emotional development of children will be an important part of these centres.

## **FREE & QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL CHILDREN**

- We will ensure that all children throughout the country access preschool education, which is the most essential component of early childhood development.
- We will abandon the practice of contribution fees at schools.
- We will improve education services in terms of quality and quantity. We will design and create playgrounds and sports facilities, gardens, classrooms and cultural event areas in accordance with the needs of children.
- We will subject educational institutions to infrastructural arrangements that can serve disabled children, and we will ensure that disabled children can access educational institutions. We will make sure that educators receive special training on disabled children.
- We will ensure that education services are full-day and free of charge. We will turn schools into centres of attraction for children, not only through classroom education but also after-school study hours and social, cultural and physical activities and events.
- At school, we will provide children with basic foodstuffs such as milk and fruits in addition to lunch.

## **FREE AND QUALITY HEALTH CARE SERVICES FOR ALL CHILDREN**

- In line with our goal of improving mother and child health, we will increase the number of maternity and child health hospitals and the quality of services offered in these hospitals.
- We will open children's hospitals, which currently exist only in big cities, in all provinces nationwide.
- We will provide free and quality health care services to expecting mothers, infants and children. In our economically underdeveloped regions and rural areas, we will raise the quality of free services provided to children and infants.

- We will initiate intensive information campaigns on mother and infant health.

### **CHILD-CENTRED SERVICES**

- We will prevent child labour by providing families with income that can afford a humane living.
- We will make physical and social investments so that children can complete their physical, emotional and cognitive developments.
- We will organize our cities in consideration of the priorities and needs of children. We will revise and improve the spatial arrangement of all units serving children, such as hospitals and schools.

### **A SOCIAL STATE FOR CHILDREN**

- We will focus firstly on children who have fewer opportunities, and we will address the nutrition, health and education services accessed by these children within the framework of the rights of the child.
- We will develop policies to prevent gender inequalities, which affect the lives of children both in early ages and in their adult lives.
- We will make “vital child services”, which encompass nutrition, health, education, and emotional, cognitive and social development goals, accessible for all children.
- We will increase awareness on the rights of the child in the society. We will implement a child policy based on the rights of the child and which also considers international conventions.
- We will see the child as an individual and aim for their empowerment rather than their dependency. We will make the “best interests of the child” a priority in all social policy applications.
- We will create a “Child Budget” that will enable implementation of child policies, and we will create a realistic structure in which the nationwide shortcomings and interregional disparities in child-related practices can be monitored.

## **Young people will enjoy their youth**

### **AN EMPOWERED, EQUAL AND FREE YOUTH**

- We will empower all young people and increase their choices within the framework of the principles of equality and respect to human rights. Young people will enjoy their youth!
- We will support equal opportunities for our youth and combat all forms of discrimination.
- We will end all forms of pressure on the youth.
- We will lower the duration of the compulsory military service, first to 9 months and then gradually to 6 months. We will enable university students to do their military service during summer holidays, in two or three-month periods. Thus, we will prevent our young people from having to cut their ties to life in their most productive years.

### **WE WILL SEE THE UNSEEN YOUTH**

- “We will see the “unseen” youth and develop youth policies that take into consideration not only the students but also all the young people who are working or at home.
- To this end, we will develop special measures for specific youth groups such as young people who are studying while working, young girls who are at home, and young disabled people, not ignoring a single one of our youths.
- For our +2 million young girls who remain at home, in order to help them in joining the outside world, we will reach them through female teachers and support their participation in catch-up education and distance education programmes.

### **YOUNG TURKEY POLICY**

- We will bring to life an integrated, multi-dimensional Young Turkey Policy that is based on intersectoral cooperation. We will uphold the Youth issue in all policy areas.
- By developing a Youth Framework Law, we will take under legal guarantee the services and practices defined in the Young Turkey Policy.

- We will quickly launch the Youth Action Plan and guarantee that youth policies reach all corners of Turkey.
- We will establish the Youth Policies Coordination Authority (GENÇ-KUR), which will serve as a coordination platform between central government organs, NGOs and local governments for the proper execution of the Young Turkey Policy.
- Under GENÇ-KUR, we will create a Youth Budget with resources incoming from the central budget.
- By establishing a Specialized Youth Committee at the TGNA, we will create an institutional focal point for advocating youth rights.
- We will encourage establishment of “Youth Studies” departments offering undergraduate and graduate programmes and research institutes at universities.
- We will strengthen the capacities and facilities of youth NGOs, and encourage participation of young people in NGOs. We will provide resource support to the projects of youth NGOs.

### A PARTICIPATING YOUTH

- Young people are not only the guarantee of the bright future of Turkey, but also the partners of today. Under the CHP rule, young people will personally participate in decision-making processes.
- By amending Article 58 of the Constitution, which concerns the youth, we will end the mentality that regards young people as a group that should be protected and watched over; instead, we will regard them as equal partners in all areas of the social life.
- We will set off with the youth. It is our most important goal to increase the participation of young people, especially young women, in politics, employment and all areas of the social life.
- In this age of information, we will give special importance to young people’s access to information technologies. We will provide access to the internet and computers to all young people.

### WIDENED OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

- Via the Youth Discount scheme, we will ensure that young people get discount prices in public transport, in cultural, arts and sports events and in department stores and restaurants.
- With the contributions of local governments, we will ensure that all young people, and young women in particular, are informed and gain awareness on their rights.
- In urban centres, we will establish Youth Houses, which will be open to all young people, serve all segments, and be a gathering point for young people who are tolerant, who see differences as an asset and who are open to the world.
- We will add momentum to voluntary youth works to improve the productivity of young people, to diversify their areas of interest and to help them find their independence.

### A DYNAMIC YOUTH

- We will launch the Dynamic Youth initiative so that young people can acquaint themselves with different cultures, environments and world views.
- In this scope, we will expand youth exchange programmes between provinces and countries and provide public support to ensure that these programmes are accessible for all young people.
- In interprovincial youth exchange programmes, we will ensure that young people, and young women in particular, meet with young people and families living in other provinces, so as to familiarize them with the cultures and traditions of other regions of the country.
- Within the scope of international exchange programmes, we will strengthen connections with high schools and universities located particularly in the EU, and we will ensure that young people from all social segments benefit from these programmes.
- We will organize youth summer schools so that our young people can spend their times and energies in a useful way and discover their own talents and inclinations during summer holidays.

## Pensioners will get a share from national income increase

### HIGH INCOME FOR HUMANE LIVING

- To our retired citizens, we will provide an income that will allow them a humane living in dignity. We will raise the retirement salaries of all pensioners above the poverty threshold.
- By issuing the Adaptation Law much expected by the retired, we will eliminate the yawning gap between pensions.
- We will add a share from the national income increase to pensions.
- We will lift the Social Security Support Contribution deducted from the salaries of our retired citizens who are working.

### INCLUSIVE HEALTH CARE SERVICES

- We will offer all public health care services to our retired citizens with no requirement for payment of a contribution share. For these services, which also include health examinations and medicine purchases, we will make no deductions from the salaries of our retired citizens.
- We will ensure that unmarried daughters living dependent on their retired parents remain under the social security scheme of their parents until their death, as was the case before.

### MORE QUALITY LIVING CONDITIONS

- We will take care of our elderly and retired citizens who are in need of care.
- Via culture tourism projects that will be run in cooperation with TÜRSAB by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, we will provide our retired citizens with opportunities to travel and go to vacations at reasonable prices.
- We will provide guidance and counselling services to make it easier for our retired citizens to adapt to the new living conditions accompanying retirement.

### CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT WITH THE RETIRED, FOR THE RETIRED

- We will reinstate “kıraathane”s (reading cafés), where our retired citizens spend a lot of their time, as centres of culture where patrons once again come to read newspapers, magazines and books.
- We will ensure that our retired citizens transfer their life experiences to young generations. Through Intergenerational Bridges projects, we will ensure that our young citizens keep our social values alive and our retired citizens have a lively social life.
- We will change the mentality of profession-based social facilities. All our retired citizens will be able to benefit from the services offered in existing facilities and those that will be newly erected.

## Unlimited Access for the Disabled

### PUTTING AN END TO SOCIAL DISABILITIES

- We will make sure that our disabled citizens have the facilities required by the modern social life in all areas. We will solve the problems of our disabled citizens through the common sensitivity of all.
- We will ensure that our disabled citizens have 100% access to all areas of the social life.
- We will prevent handicaps or chronic illnesses from turning into social obstacles.
- We will fulfil all the obligations imposed on the State by the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons With Disabilities. And we will ensure that the Optional Protocol to this Convention is ratified with speed.
- We will speedily rearrange all physical spaces to conform to the requirements of persons with disabilities. We will ensure that all barriers are removed under the responsibility of local governments.
- We will ensure equal opportunities for our disabled and chronically ill citizens.
- We will make all transport vehicles, movie, theatre and concert halls and all common use areas disabled-friendly.

- We will pass the antidiscrimination law that will also define types of discrimination.
- We will establish a mechanism that monitors discriminating practices, and we will reverse the burden of proof in court cases concerning discrimination.

### **SPECIAL EDUCATION TO OUR DISABLED CHILDREN AND YOUTH**

- It will be the priority duty of the state to deliver the necessary education free of charge to all disabled citizens.
- We will ensure children who demonstrate slow development or cannot achieve full development or have mental disabilities receive education with special methods. We will implement special projects so that these citizens can find employment opportunities and integrate with the society.
- We will make sure that hearing-impaired and visually-impaired citizens can receive quality education in comfort at all levels of education, including university.
- For our citizens with disabilities, we will create modern technical infrastructure and equipment opportunities, special libraries and online learning environments.
- We will meet the demand for branch teachers in institutions delivering vocational training to the disabled. We will provide, through governmental means, the necessary vocational education and crafts training to all disabled citizens who are capable of doing certain jobs.

### **SOCIAL LIFE FOR THE DISABLED**

- We will increase the availability and use of sports equipment designed and produced for the disabled. Through sports, we will facilitate the social integration of persons with disabilities.
- We will establish specially-equipped education and technology centres so that our disabled citizens of all ages in all regions can easily access information sources.
- For persons with disabilities, we will develop the strategy of “suitable employees for suitable jobs”. Throughout the country, we will offer Job and Profession Consultancy and guidance services for job adaptation.
- We will take the legal measures that will ensure effective participation of organizations for people with disabilities in matters that concern people with disabilities.
- We will ensure that books for the visually impaired are transferred to digital media.

### **BROADENED SOCIAL RIGHTS FOR THE DISABLED**

- We will pay disability salaries on a permanent basis to all citizens with disabilities regardless of whether they are working or not.
- We will pass the Care Insurance Law and provide care services to all citizens with disabilities who are in need of care, regardless of any poverty criteria.
- We will ensure that the quotas allocated to people with disabilities in the public and private sector are used fully.
- We will offer tax advantages and interest-free credit to persons with disabilities who want to be independently employed or start up their own businesses.
- We will pass the Sheltered Workplaces Law aiming to include persons with severe disabilities in the production process with social rehabilitation services.
- We will revoke the legal arrangements that artificially downrate the degree of disability by biased application of the concept of “whole-person impairment rating”, causing loss of rights.

### **Respectable, independent old age**

### **INCOME FIT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY, AND QUALITY AND MODERN CARE**

- We will ensure that our elderly lead a quality life as respectable, independent citizens not dependent on anyone, including their families.
- Our elderly will receive support under the scope of the Family Insurance.
- We will prevent all practices that exclude the elderly in all areas of the social life.
- We will solve the problems caused by the care of the elderly in families, and we will speedily implement institutional supports and services.
- We will establish social, psychological and financial support systems for family members who care for the elderly in their homes, and improve the existing systems.

### INSTITUTIONAL CARE IN A COSY ENVIRONMENT

- We will invest in capacity and infrastructure within the frame of a brand-new approach to care in order to meet the future demand for elderly care services.
- For elderly women who are forced to live alone, we will provide daily life supports and day care systems.
- We will increase the number and quality of institutions delivering day care services. Hence, we will reduce the dependence and responsibility of our women who are caring for the elderly members of their family at home.
- We will not allow degrading acts and attitudes towards our elderly at institutions providing care and support services for the elderly.
- In the place of patient and elderly care services offered in return for money and in a manner disrespectful to private life, we will develop free care services that are sensitive to human rights.

### SPECIAL HEALTH CARE SERVICES FOR THE ELDERLY

- We will establish geriatric hospitals where preventive medicine, early diagnosis and treatment services will be provided.
- We will assign allied health personnel for all our elderly citizens who are in need of home-based care.
- We will conduct regular health screenings with specialized teams to protect the eye health, dental health and general state of health of our elderly citizens.



# Quality health care services, government in daylight

Public services, social welfare, development and justice are essential for increasing the quality of life of the citizens. Ensuring that social policies effectively reach citizens, empowering social segments that are fragile and in need, protecting the family, encouraging individual responsibility and ensuring independence are important factors that strengthen human development. Basic services such as education and health should be provided to all citizens in a rights-based manner.

A country's modernization and social development with free, well-equipped and happy citizens depends on its ability to ensure that public services reach citizens in the most effective way. Public services aim to ensure that citizens live their lives in the most efficient way possible, while protecting them against risks and dangers which may be challenging to overcome on one's own.

Being a social democrat party, one of the most fundamental aims of CHP is to provide quality and extensive services to the public. Since the public sector plays a priority role in delivering a major part of the services oriented to the public, delivering these services to the public in the most efficient way is one of the main priorities of CHP. With a modern understanding of social service, CHP aims to deliver efficient and widespread social services to citizens, with future-oriented investments and new regulations.

It is one of CHP's major priorities to deliver basic services such as education, health and minimum social security, all of which are civic rights, to all citizens, without discrimination, and eliminate the disparities between regions with regard to access to public services. Beyond all these, CHP's public service approach is based on delivering its citizens the highest standard of services designed in consideration of the varying demands of different social segments, within the framework of a new organizational model.

CHP's priority goal is to realize a comprehensive and modern education reform and thereby establish a brand new education system that fits the requirements of the age of information and that is modern, laic and democratic. The importance of education in economic and social transformation is seen clearly in successful country experiences. In this framework, in order to realize economic and social

transformation, education policies must be developed in an institutional fashion, based on science, love, tolerance and peace, and free from the daily conflicts of politics. CHP is committed to ensuring that the education system is built on an equality-based system on a foundation that will offer equal opportunities to all children, young people and adults and clear the way for them, with educational institutions that are loyal to the principles and reforms of Atatürk, that have adopted the democratic and laic values, and that fulfil the function of raising citizens who respect human rights and freedoms.

The current level, structure and characteristics of the health care services offered today in Turkey are way behind the EU countries and obviously inadequate for a country of Turkey's development level and potential. The ongoing chaos in the institutional structure is an important source of the problems. At the same time, the health sector faces economic and social injuries caused by major rent-seeking structures, irregularities and corruption.

Health is the most vital requirement of being a human and the most fundamental element of social and economic policies. Contemporary social democracy regards health as a fundamental right and aims to provide health care services, which have gained more dimensions and become more expensive with the development of the information economy, in equity and with a focus on quality and sustainability. Within the context of health-related social goals, reduction of poverty, ensuring equity in regional distribution of services, achieving breakthroughs in educational and social infrastructures and in the areas of information and communication technologies, and ensuring that women benefit from health care services on an equal basis are the priority goals of CHP.

CHP is determined to build a fast, reliable and economic transportation system that supports growth and development, and to offer it to the service of all citizens with equal opportunities. CHP's main priority in the area of transport is to ensure effective utilization of our resources and transport potentials and to effect a modern structuralization. In this way, balanced, effective and efficient planning, coordination and routing will be ensured in land, sea, air and rail transport networks.

The right to environment is a universal human right. Ensuring the Right to Environment, which includes rights such as clean air, clean water and green environment, is one of the main priorities of CHP. CHP advocates that every human being has the right to a natural and healthy living. Protection of the environment cannot be sacrificed to commercial concerns. CHP regards the protection of the environment not only as the right of today's citizens, but also as an obligation

towards future generations. To this end, CHP aims to effectively expand the services oriented to protect the nature and the environment.

CHP shapes its sports policies on the basis of the principle of equality. Developing existing sports practices to meet the needs of all citizens, bringing all sports services to regions and social segments that have fewer opportunities, and creating sports areas and green areas in all neighbourhoods are the main priorities of CHP.

For social development, enlightenment and modernization, it is essential that art is liberalized, supported and spread across all segments of the society. With this mentality, CHP advocates that censorship and arbitrary bans imposed on arts and cultural activities must be ended, and culture and arts must be made accessible to all segments.

CHP aims to ensure the country's peace and calm. Based on confidence in our citizens and society and by realizing a renewal that will institute the public authority in full and ensure citizens' trust towards the state, CHP will uphold the will and understanding of holistic combat against terrorism with the support of all organs of the state, the public and the media, instead of an approach based solely on "armed combat".

For a liveable world that we can bequeath to future generations, CHP aims to disseminate in all areas a social responsibility approach that directs the public, private and civil sectors to producing joint solutions and ensuring sustainable development and social justice. Corporate social responsibility projects that are based on the principle of volunteerism particularly in education, health and environment matters will be supported under the CHP government.

CHP aims to make the "government in daylight" approach sovereign in public administration. It is among the main priorities of CHP to eliminate, with the "government in daylight" approach, the maladministration, waste, corruption and discrimination that disrupt income distribution and impoverish our people, and to thereby increase our wealth and share this wealth in equity. CHP will make ethic values such as justice, integrity, honesty, impartiality and responsibility the basis of public management. It will accept international standards and the EU acquis as a road map in modernizing Turkey's public administration.

Democracies rise on the shoulders of citizens who actively participate in public decisions, who are sensitive to social problems, who hold governments accountable for their acts and expenditures, and who are fully and accurately informed. The common name CHP adopts for the principles it asserts for democratization, transparency and good administration in public management is "government in daylight". This concept is the prerequisite for economic and social development.

## Education

### EDUCATION LEVEL WILL GO UP

- While endeavouring on the one hand to render our illiterate adult citizens literate, on the other hand, to uproot illiteracy, we will ensure that all children attend preschool and primary education, and we will not leave one single illiterate youth or adult.
- In line with the lifelong learning approach, we will widen the learning opportunities of our children, youth and adults at all levels of education, and ensure that they benefit from the education system for a longer time and get more quality education.
- We will increase opportunities of accessing preschool education by giving priority to groups who need these opportunities the most.
- At all levels of education, we will increase the public education spending per student.
- We will include all children and youth up to 18 years of age in compulsory education.

### PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

- For preschool education, we will provide "child education support" to families covered under the Family Insurance scheme, and we will make preschool education free of charge for these families.
- We will make preschool education compulsory for children aged 4-5.
- We will start a curriculum development initiative for preschool education with the participation of education specialists and pedagogues.

- Among teacher candidates, we will appoint only those meeting the pre-defined standards as preschool education teachers.
- We will make opportunities for mothers to make their transition to the working life by offering full-day education at preschool education institutions.

### **PRIMARY EDUCATION: NO CHILD WILL BE LEFT TO FADE BEFORE BLOOMING**

- We will revise primary education programmes in line with the general objectives of the Turkish national education and highlight the function of raising citizens who are dedicated to the principles and reforms of Atatürk, who have adopted democratic and laic values, and who respect human rights and freedoms.
- In primary education, our main principle is that “The best school is the one closest to home.” In this context, we will minimize the use of the transport scheme in education.
- We will swiftly improve the management and education environments of Regional Boarding Primary Education Schools (YİBO), while gradually reducing the number of students and student capacities in these schools.
- In primary education, we will not appoint teachers who are not specialized in the field and who do not meet prescribed standards.

### **STRUCTURING BASED ON PROGRAMME TYPE IN SECONDARY EDUCATION**

- In order to free the Turkish education system from the current structure, which is based on differentiation of schools, we will shift to a structure based on “programme types” rather than “school types” in secondary education.
- We will ensure that all high schools have equal opportunities.
- While maintaining the main structures of “general secondary education” and “vocational-technical secondary education”, we will keep the door open for lateral transfers at all levels, and we will ensure that every student can gain “vocational skills” in secondary education prior to starting life.

### **ALL GIRLS IN RURAL AREAS WILL ATTEND SECONDARY EDUCATION**

- In order to increase the access to secondary education for children in rural areas, we will accelerate construction of “dormitories” in areas where secondary education institutions are located.
- In order to ensure elimination of the gender disparity in secondary education, we will design some of these boarding schools as “boarding secondary education schools for girls.”
- To increase participation in secondary education by children in rural areas, we will increase the practice of school transport in these regions.

### **EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN EDUCATION**

- As a requirement of the social state principal, we will take care of not only our progressing children but also those lagging behind, and we will endeavour to raise them higher.
- We will not leave any of our children uncared for and we will direct them to their adult lives by equipping them with skills via skills training programmes.
- We will spread catch-up education programmes for children who are at the age of compulsory education but who have either never went to primary education or dropped out of school.
- At all levels of education, we will adopt a practice that is based on equality and international standards in distribution of educational opportunities between schools
- We will widen the formal and informal education opportunities of our children and youth who are in need of special education, thereby reaching a wider group.
- We will abandon double-shift education, and make the transition to “full-day” education at all levels.
- We will end the practice of “merged classes” which result in crowded classrooms.
- We will raise the average PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) scores of our children above the OECD average. We will lower the ratio of our children who are under the basic competency level below 15%.

## “TEACHERS AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS DETERMINE A SCHOOL’S QUALITY”

- We will take the necessary measures to find the best candidates for school administrators and to ensure their training and continuous development. We will encourage completing graduate and post-graduate programmes for school administrators (and education inspectors).
- We will stop the constant lowering of standards in teacher training and recruitment in secondary education, and introduce higher standards in teacher training.
- At all levels of education, we will encourage master’s and doctorate degrees for teachers.
- In determining the teacher demand, we will take OECD norms as our basis. We will make a transition to education and human power planning according to these norms in a short time.
- According to needs projections, we will determine the additional teacher demand and create a great employment opportunity for teachers waiting for investiture.
- We will abandon the practice of “contract teacher” in teacher recruitment.
- We will end the practice of “paid teacher”, and we will fill these vacancies with suitable teacher candidates through cadre-based appointments.
- We will review the educator cadres at adult learning centres and vocational training centres, and we will give priority to teachers who hold diplomas in vocational and technical teaching when appointing teachers to these institutions.

## WE WILL NOT LET EXAMS ENSLAVE STUDENTS

- We will abolish the SBS placement test and give our primary education schools a healthier operation.
- We will ensure that basic skills of our students based on lessons such as reading comprehension, science, social sciences and mathematics are improved.
- We will undertake programmes that enrich and support school curricula so as to develop basic life skills such as effective time-management, physical fitness, understanding the feelings of others, health communication etc.
- We will gradually abandon the university entry exam. We will introduce a reliable process of transition to higher education in which young people can fully reflect their secondary education achievements and families and young people can be confident of the results.
- Until the finalization of the restructuring and development of the Student Selection and Placement Exam (ÖSYS) system, the following urgent measures will be taken:
  - We will trust our students taking the exam, the test building supervisors and the test observers. Instead of extreme security measures, we will focus on quality test development, evaluation and placement.
  - By abandoning coefficient applications and secondary education achievement score calculations, we will ensure that students are placed within the scope of common courses.
  - We will not take test entry fees from tests that are a part of the national education system and tests that are mandatory for students due to governmental decrees (such as SBS, ÖSS, and KPSS).
  - We will end the multi-headed test organization, and establish a national test centre with autonomous structure.
- At this new test centre, we will initiate the work to develop “individual-specific tests” in addition to the usual pen and paper tests.

## **AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITIES ADOPTING UNIVERSAL VALUES**

- We will abolish the Council of Higher Education (YÖK).
- Our universities will not be silenced. We will ensure that universities transform into thinking institutions that freely express their thoughts and ideas and that have social responsibility.
- We will ensure scientific, administrative and financial autonomy for universities, and we will promote academic research and activities via lump-sum budgeting.
- We will make administrative arrangements that will ensure that our universities carry out their education, research and social service duties to universal standards.
- We will enable the necessary conditions to ensure that our university students graduate as qualified individuals with leadership qualities and ethic values. We will make continuous education attractive for students after their graduation.
- We will encourage our universities to build close relations with the industry, and we will encourage all branches of the industry to invest in universities and in enabling favourable conditions for researches of the academia.

## **UNIVERSITIES SEEKING KNOWLEDGE AND RESEARCHING**

- We will make all necessary arrangements to make the culture of scientific research a priority founding purpose of our universities.
- We will bring unlimited freedom to scientific research.
- We will provide our universities with all kinds of resources for scientific research. In particular, we will raise the salaries and personnel rights of the academia employed in public universities to EU standards.
- We will allocate larger shares from the national budget to national organizations that support scientific research (SPO, TÜBİTAK, etc.), and we will make these supports more easily accessible. We will encourage research centres in particular to benefit from these funds.

## **GLOBALLY RECOGNIZED UNIVERSITIES**

- By supporting R&D and promoting scientific publications, we will ensure that at the end of four years, 10 of our universities enter the global top 500 ranking list, with at least 3 universities ranking in the top 200.
- By supporting joint programmes with universities in EU member states, we will ensure that our universities play a leading role in the process of full membership to the EU.
- We will make it easier for our university students and academicians to participate in international exchange programmes.
- Through international research projects, we will provide direct financial and administrative support to activities carried out by our academicians and university students with different countries and particularly with the EU countries.
- We will provide opportunities that will encourage universities to give more weight to master's and in particular doctorate programmes. We will offer incentives that will encourage interdisciplinary research centres and institutes.

## **STUDENT-FOCUSED EDUCATION AT UNIVERSITIES**

- We will abolish university tuitions and within maximum two years we will solve the dorm problem completely. In dorms, we will ensure that our students benefit from technological tools and devices in a healthy and safe environment.
- We will make the legal arrangements that will ensure more effective representation of our students in university management.
- We will offer low-interest Higher Education Living Support to our university students. We will show the necessary flexibility in the repayment of these loans, taking into consideration the financial conditions of each loanee.
- We will lower the cost of taking Open University programmes. In addition, we will develop degree and vocational certificate programmes through internet-based distance learning methods.

## Health

### QUALITY HEALTH CARE SERVICES FOR ALL, NOT JUST THE WEALTHY...

- Accessing timely, adequate and quality health care services is a fundamental human right. We will ensure that health care services are easily accessible, quality and equal for all our citizens.
- We will ensure that all citizens live in a healthy environment and in healthy conditions with continuous physical, psychological and social health.
- We will ensure that early diagnosis services are offered to all citizens at the nearest health unit in their residential areas.
- We will end practices that hurt human dignity at health institutions, such as being taken hostage or forced to undersign an IOU for release.
- For a healthy generation, we will initiate a nutritional support programme for our children at schools.
- We will ensure that our citizens are able to easily access oral and dental health services at easily accessible clinics and private health institutions, and we will spread preventive dentistry in all regions.

### EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL IN HEALTH CARE SERVICES

- We will ensure that citizens can access preventive and primary health care services provided by adequate and qualified health professionals at their nearest health centre.
- We will give priority to preventive health care services, such as nutrition, proper housing and hygiene, which constitute the most fundamental link between poverty and health care services; we will take communicative and epidemic diseases under control at the level achieved in European countries.
- We will not require contribution fees for health bills from our citizens living in poverty.
- We will eliminate the major regional imbalances in the quality, quantity and accessibility of health care services.

### HEALTH PERSONNEL WILL ENJOY THEIR RIGHTS FULLY

- We will end the practice of subcontracting in the delivery of health care services.
- We will end the currently implemented performance-based practice in health care services, and develop a reasonable, satisfying and fair wage policy that is based on the principles of “team service” and “appraisal and measurement of service outputs” and that covers all the health employees in a settlement area.
- We will ensure that there is an adequate number of quality physicians and health personnel. We will not compromise quality in the education of health professionals. We will end the policy of opening new faculties and increasing the cadres of medical schools for the sake of increasing the number of physicians.
- We will eliminate the interregional disparities in the distribution of services and human power in the health sector.
- We will provide additional income and other social benefits for physicians and health professionals working in hardship areas.
- In the health sector, we will render services more effective and efficient through incentive methods instead of compulsory service.
- In addition to well-trained physicians, we will ensure full education and training of biomedical engineers, medical physicists and academic personnel.
- We will ensure that health professionals receive in-service training on a continuous basis and closely follow up the developments in the world of medicine.

### WE WILL IMPROVE THE HEALTH INFRASTRUCTURE

- We will transform the area of health into a structure that has a strong infrastructure with sufficient and quality human power, that is preferred by the public, that provides preventive, home-based as well as outpatient treatment services, and that serves in coordination with regard to patient referrals and surveillance.
- We will ensure production and development of patient information systems, software for medical devices, and weighted data/image processing and information systems.
- For R&D programmes on medical technologies, we will make widespread an effective techno-park system by supporting solidarity and cooperation between disciplines and between universities, the industry and the government.

- We will facilitate and popularize the acquisition and protection of national and international patent and royalty rights for new technologies, ideas and products developed.
- In order to ensure the continuity of preventive health care services, we will eliminate the shortage of physicians, midwives, nurses and clinical officers with a team service approach.
- We will increase the share allocated to health in the budget and from national income. We will allocate 10% of the general budget to health care services, as recommended by the World Health Organization.
- We will render secondary and tertiary health care services and training hospitals financially and administratively autonomous, and we will support them in building cooperation and coordination with the Faculties of Medicine located in their regions for academic and educational activities.
- We will raise the medical law to contemporary norms and standards. We will enable patient rights and establish funds to indemnify those injured during treatment.

### **REALIGNMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**

- We will free the health sector from high rents, irregularities and corruption, and turn it into a transparent sector based entirely on rules.
- We will restructure the Ministry of Health. Within the Ministry, we will establish the “Directorate-General for Health Programmes” that will prepare health programmes and monitor and fund their implementation.
- For the implementation of these health programmes, we will create implementing directorates-general in the areas of “primary health care services”, “inpatient treatment institutions”, “health human power”, “medical technology and pharmaceuticals”.
- We will ensure delegation to provincial organization of the powers that are heavily concentrated in the central organization of the Ministry of Health. We will protect and strengthen the provincial organization of the Ministry of Health.

- We will provide primary health care services through Family Health Centres, which will have advanced facilities and which will be responsible for the health of its community.
- At Family Health Centres, we will provide effective diagnosis and treatment facilities with individual-oriented preventive health care services.
- We will develop urban-type Family Health Centres and ensure that specialized physicians are employed at these centres in cities. We will also ensure that large-type Family Health Centres employ dentists, laboratory specialist and other health specialists.
- We will ensure that hospitals become institutions that serve a smaller number of patients but with higher quality services.

### **NATIONAL PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY**

- To promote conscious consumption of pharmaceuticals, we will cooperate with professional chambers and ensure necessary inspections. We will limit advertisements and promotions for pharmaceuticals.
- We will support national production of pharmaceuticals, vaccines and medical tools and devices, and promote product-development and raw material production in this area. We will promote the use of generic drugs.
- In the production of medical materials, we will create competition conditions and make domestic producers able to compete with foreign producers. With the increased domestic production, we will ensure a reduction in the cost of health care services.
- We will support long-term planning for medical equipment needs by all health institutions from the smallest unit to the largest hospital, and make sure that when, how and where these equipments are needed are always known.

### **WOMEN AND CHILDREN**

- We will give special importance to ensuring access to health care services for women.
- We will provide family planning education and services to all citizens who require them, free of charge. We will support all families in having as many children as they want.

- We will ensure that all births are assisted by the health personnel and take place in a safe environment.
- In order to decrease the maternal, infant and child mortality rates, which are currently too high, down to the level of European countries, we will build the necessary infrastructure, starting with the relevant health personnel and maternity care and neonatal care. For families living in poverty, we will provide pregnancy, postpartum, infant and child nutrition support and free medicine.
- Especially in rural areas and in poor urban neighbourhoods, we will carry out programmes to raise awareness on sexual health, postpartum maternal health and infant health.
- We will make health screenings continuous, particularly for children and women, and we will quickly reach 100% realization rate in immunization through free periodic vaccination campaigns for children.
- We will ensure that all our citizens, particularly babies, children and breastfeeding mothers, have a sufficient and balanced diet and can access safe food.
- We will provide the facilities of primary health care units, crèches and lactation rooms in all large-size enterprises and organizations in the public and private sector.

## Transportation

### EFFECTIVE TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING

- We will build a fast, safe and economic transport system that supports growth and development.
- We will ensure effective utilization of resources and potentials in transportation, and we will realize a modern structuring.
- We will ensure balanced, effective and efficient planning, coordination and routing in land, sea, air and rail transport networks.
- We will redesign the National Transport Master Plan in accordance with our social and economic priorities, current requirements and modern transport systems.
- We will ensure that transportation sub-sectors complement and support each other.
- We will modernize transportation infrastructures and support development of transport systems within a setting of rule-based competition.

### INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS IN HIGHWAYS

- We will build a highway network that meets international standards. We will raise surface quality and increase transport safety on highways.
- We will build a highway network and service infrastructure that will provide safe transport in all seasons for all villages and towns.
- We will increase highway safety and erase road fatalities with the “Goal: Zero Fatality” programme.

### EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION OF SEAWAYS

- We will utilize at maximum level the transport opportunities offered by our seaways.
- We will increase the transport capacity of the Turkish Maritime Trade Fleet.
- We will make the necessary arrangements to ensure that Turkish ship owners flying foreign flags prefer the Turkish flag, and we will prevent the flight to foreign flags.

- We will apply 50% discount to port charges, health fees and beaconage for transit cargo arriving at Turkish ports for shipment to neighbouring countries; we will thereby increase cargo traffic between borders and ports located near borders and ensure that the local population benefits from this traffic.

## BREAKTHROUGH IN RAILWAYS

- Regarding railways, we will give weight to infrastructure investments, particularly in high-speed rail lines, and considerably increase the share of railways in transports.
- We will project railway connections for all our major ports.
- We will make Turkey an international logistic target in the planning of railway investments.

## RAIL SYSTEMS AND ENVIRONMENTALLY-FRIENDLY SOLUTIONS FOR INNER-CITY TRANSPORT

- We will give priority to rail systems and public transportation for fast, cheap and easy transport in our cities.
- We will expand subway and rail transport networks in big city centres.
- For our medium-sized cities, we will develop alternatives such as roads allocated exclusively to public transport.
- We will ensure that the electro-mechanic equipments of rail systems are produced nationally.
- In urban centres, we will enable transport solutions focusing on pedestrians and bicycles and integrated with public transport systems; instead of arbitrary practices, we will plan in the light of scientific data.

## TURKEY WILL BE A LOGISTIC BASE

- We will create logistics centres in large production and consumption hubs. In these centres, the subsectors of seaways, railways and highways will meet within an effective and balanced structure.
- We will make Turkey a transshipment and distribution base of Europe and Asia.

## Environment and nature conservation

- We will say “stop” to the environmental plunder.
- We will protect our natural richness, biological diversity, water basins and forests, which are our national heritage.
- We will safeguard the ecological balance and give special importance to preserving the wildlife and the habitats of flora and fauna.
- We will prevent the sacrifice of our natural and archaeological sites, which are the identities of our cities, to rent-seeking zoning, and we will provide financial supports to ensure that these sites are utilized while being protected for future generations.
- We will update the Environmental Law in line with the international conventions to which we are a party, the EU acquis and our national needs.
- We will ensure that international and EU grants and loans are used effectively and for their intended purposes in environmental projects.
- In developing and implementing our environmental policies, we will work with NGOs and universities working in this area.
- We will make environmental awareness and nature preservation consciousness a part of our national education system.

## ANIMAL RIGHTS

- We will remove protection of animals from the scope of the Misdemeanours Law and include it under the scope of the Penal Law. We will ensure that mistreatment of animals is prosecuted.

- In all cities, we will open animal care homes serving all victimized, incapacitated, old-age animals and animals that have suffered traffic accidents.
- We will end the practice of collective killing of animals by municipalities even if there is “suspicion” pursuant to Law no. 3285; instead, we will register all animals and neuter all homeless cats and dogs.
- We will not allow any new pet shops, and will exert tight control and inspections on existing ones.

## Sports

### SPORTS FOR ALL

- We will ensure equal opportunities for women and men in sports.
- We will improve existing sports practices in a way to meet the demands of our young citizens.
- We will develop special projects to promote sports in East and Southeast Anatolia.
- We will make an adequate number of sports facilities also usable by persons with disabilities.
- We will open the public sports facilities to the public; we will ensure that they are efficiently used by schools, amateur sports clubs and citizens.
- We will support construction and operation of sports facilities by public and private enterprises to provide our citizens with facilities where they can engage in sports
- We will increase the number of our registered athletes, which has fallen behind most European countries.
- We will make sure that all neighbourhoods have sports areas and green areas.
- We will employ sports and health experts who have the necessary technical knowledge and create “Athlete Training- Health and Performance Centres”.

### FULL SUPPORT TO YOUNG TALENTS

- We will discover our talented children and youth and guide them towards an active sports life.
- We will conduct regular “screening of sport talents” nationwide and create a database of athlete profiles.
- We will give financial support to promising athletes, including social security.
- We will create the necessary environment so that our successful young athletes can continue their education while pursuing a professional sports career.
- With new arrangements in the education system, we will create conditions that facilitate and encourage students to participate in all types of amateur sports.
- Instead of general high schools for sports, we will build branch-based sports high schools to ensure that talented athletes get the right education.
- We will change the sports policy that has become dependent on foreign athletes, and we will focus on our own assets.

### JUSTICE IN SPORTS INCOME

- We will change the regulation on rewards and gifts granted to national athletes in order to stop the injury it causes to the public conscious, and we will ensure that the rewards are distributed on the basis of the principle of equality.
- We will give equal shares to all our sports clubs from the revenue generated from legal betting games.
- We will update the Sponsorship Law in line with today’s conditions, and increase the incomes of our clubs and athletes.

### INTERNATIONAL TOURNAMENTS AND PROMOTION

- We will identify a realistic target date for organization of Olympic Games in our country, and we will put in place a strategic action plan in line with said target date.
- By establishing world-class sports facilities, we will develop sports tourism and contribute to the promotion of Turkey.

## RIGHTS-BASED LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS

- We will prevent politicization of sports by ensuring a fully autonomous structure for all federations.
- We will introduce necessary laws and regulations to prevent violence in sports, with the participation of all relevant parties; in addition, we will develop social projects focusing on this issue.
- We will enable the necessary conditions so that our sportspeople can effectively enjoy their social security and union rights.

## Culture & Arts

### FREEDOM TO CULTURE AND ARTS

- We will end the arbitrary bans and censorship on cultural activities and arts.
- We will make the Arts Law so as to remove all legal obstacles to the emancipation of art within the framework of the modern understanding of arts.
- We will preserve the autonomy of the art institutions of the state and prevent their abuse for political purposes.
- With broad participation, we will develop a culture strategy document identifying Turkey's culture-related future objectives.

### FOR ART AND ARTISTS

- We will ensure that insurance contributions of professional artists are paid by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
- We will modernize the legislation on patents and intellectual property.
- We will protect copyrights and make the necessary legal arrangements for an effective combat against pirate products.
- We will minimize taxes in the area of culture and arts.
- We will make sure that all our artists have social security.

- We will encourage unionization of artists.
- We will improve the personnel rights and working conditions of all our artists employed by the State.
- We will support and encourage private art projects and alternative art branches.
- We will provide the necessary material and spiritual support to strengthen traditional arts and the artists practicing them.
- We will leave the management of art institutions mainly to artists.
- We will provide free translation and promotion support to our writers in order to contribute to the development of the Turkish literature in the international arena.
- We will ensure that performances of independent artists reach the public.

### CULTURE AND ARTS FOR ALL

- We will include more culture and arts in education and ensure that more resources are allocated to these activities at schools.
- We will ensure that children with artistic talents are discovered at early ages and provided with the highest level of educational opportunities so that they can develop their talents.
- In all provincial and district centres, we will open Culture-Arts Houses which will become the gathering points for those interested in all branches of art.
- In order to bring arts and culture to our citizens, we will provide supports that will ensure that travelling theatres, exhibitions and concerts reach a wider audience.
- In our big cities, we will build modern, well-equipped libraries with information infrastructure, which will become centres of attraction.
- In order to encourage reading among citizens of all segments, we will increase and enrich travelling libraries.

## OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

- We will build an institutional archive and protection system to ensure that our country's historical, cultural and natural assets are handed down to next generations.
- We will initiate necessary legal procedures at the international level to retrieve our cultural assets that were illegally taken out of the country.
- We will own the legacy of Atatürk, which was trampled on by the September 12 regime, and we will reinstate the Turkish Language Authority and Turkish Historical Society.

## WE WILL PROTECT OUR MUSEUMS

- We will develop contemporary museology and implement the principle of protecting cultural heritages within the geographies they belong to.
- We will accelerate works on virtual museums.
- We will offer incentives and infrastructure facilities to ensure the development of private museology.
- We will convert the Madımak Hotel into a Museum of Tolerance and the Diyarbakır Prison into a Museum of Peace so that the tragic events of the past are not forgotten.

## SPECIAL SUPPORT TO PERFORMING ARTS AND CINEMA

- We will provide incentives and tax facilities for the development of the Turkish cinema industry.
- We will lower the taxes imposed on box office revenues of movies and theatres.
- We will provide the necessary support to increase the competitiveness of the Turkish cinema in the global market.
- We will build the necessary infrastructure, either through incentives or direct investments, in provinces that do not have theatre or movie halls.

## Terror, security and peace

### A SECURE AND PEACEFUL TURKEY

- We will effectively combat terrorism and absolutely ensure the security of our borders and Turkey's peace and quiet.
- In our foreign relations, we will take into serious consideration the attitude adopted against terrorism by countries, and we will determine our commercial and economic collaborations in accordance therewith.
- In the fight against terrorism, we will use to the full extent the rights conferred on Turkey in international conventions and particularly in the North Atlantic Treaty and the United Nation's counter-terrorism conventions, and we will emphasize at the international level the legal obligations of other countries in this framework.
- We will identify the domestic and foreign financial sources of terrorism and prevent transfer of these funds.
- We will take effective protection measures against terrorism in various regions of our country, and to this end we will ensure close cooperation and coordination with NGOs and all relevant organizations.
- We will take any and all measures to end the victimization of our citizens who have been harmed by terrorism.

### A NEW SECURITY SYSTEM IN COLLABORATION WITH THE SOCIETY

- We will ensure a remodelling that will ensure full institution of the public authority in which citizens have trust in their government and the government has trust in citizens and the society.
- We will uphold the will and understanding of holistic combat against terrorism with the support of all organs of the State, the public and the media, instead of an approach based solely on "armed combat".
- In all public services, we will ensure 24/7 communication and interaction between the State and the public.

## **MORE RIGHTS TO SECURITY PERSONNEL**

- We will provide the police with all the necessary means for effective fulfilment of their duties. We will improve the personnel rights and working conditions of the police.
- We will provide more effective psychological support to the police so that they can continue to do their inherently difficult jobs effectively.
- We will create the necessary environment and provide all administrative, financial and technical facilities to ensure that the Security Organization (Turkish National Police) can carry out its duty in the most effective way.
- We will keep the Security Organization out of all political formations and free it from relationships based on self-interests and from organized sieges.
- We will protect our veterans and the families of our martyred soldiers, gendarmerie and police officers.
- We will make the financial and institutional arrangements that will ensure that our veterans and the families of our martyrs live in health and safety throughout their lives and that will assure all levels of education for their children.

## **Government in daylight**

### **CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

- We will take the EU acquis as a road map in the modernization of our public administration.
- We will encourage the supervision of public administration by non-governmental and professional organizations and particularly by media organizations, and make public supervision independent and compliant to international standards.
- We will improve the e-Government infrastructure that will ensure connection and harmony between all public organizations, and we will ensure effective utilization of this service.
- Unless unavoidable, we will serve via the internet or telephone, and we will bring the service to the residence of the citizen in case his/her signature or statement is required.
- We will end partisanship and arbitrariness in public administration.

- We will put merit to the fore in bureaucracy. We will end the appointment system that is based on personal relations and religious, ethnic or political connections.

### **TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY**

- We will ensure transparency in the public for effective combat against corruption.
- We will ensure that citizens are informed and can hold public officials accountable at all levels of the decision-making process.
- We will use the opportunities offered by the advancing technology to ensure information exchange and participation.
- We will renew the Information Act, abolish arbitrary exceptions and differentiate between the authority disclosing the information and the authority giving the non-disclosure decision
- We will ensure that in information and ethics boards, public officials are the minority and civil society representatives are the majority.
- We will ensure as soon as possible the security of the information created in electronic media by public agencies.
- We will remove the immunities of bureaucrats and politicians, which constitute the most important obstacle to accountability, and we will narrow the scope of the concept of trade secrets in public affairs.
- We will make it mandatory for all public administrators, particularly ministers and local governors, to make public on the internet their up-to-date declarations of wealth.
- We will take the declaration of the citizen as a basis in public administration.
- We will simplify the regulatory legislation, particularly the tax legislation, and we will clearly define the powers and responsibilities of all public employees of all positions.

## **EFFECTIVE SUPERVISION**

- We will remove the obstacles to combating effectively the corruption and irregularities in the judiciary, the executive and the legislature.
- In the parliament, we will set up a Final Account Committee chaired by the opposition.
- We will ensure that the supervision system is preventive, corrective and guiding.
- In the public administration, we will ensure that those committing the offense of bribe or misconduct in office are swiftly tried and punished.
- We will increase the effectiveness of civilian supervision in particular by the media and NGOs.
- We will subject all acts and actions of the executive to judicial supervision. We will remove all exceptions in this area and ensure full implementation of the decisions ruled by judicial organs.
- We will up the penalty for bribe and corruption offenses, and we will remove the statute of limitations for these offenses.
- We will restructure the Court of Accounts (Sayıştay) and broaden its powers, ensuring that it gains more effectiveness.
- We will make certain that foundations and associations that use public resources and have donation collection authorizations are audited.
- We will make legal arrangements that will prevent international instruments from being used to close the door on supervision.

## **REFORM IN THE PUBLIC PROCUREMENT SYSTEM**

- We will revise the Public Procurement Law based on EU standards.
- We will make public tender proceedings and purchases transparent and hold them open to fair competition.
- In public procurement tenders, we will treat all companies equal, without discrimination for or against any person or entity.

- We will include all public agencies and organizations, including energy, telecommunication and transport, under the scope of the public procurement law.
- We will ensure that the exceptional procurement methods that are closed to competition and that have reached 30% of the overall public purchases and become a source of corruption are used according to their intended purposes.
- We will speedily launch the electronic tendering system in public procurements.
- With changes made in the public procurement system, we will ensure at least 10% (approximately TL12 billion) savings every year in public procurements.
- In privatization tenders, we will make all privatization transactions transparent with an approach that evaluates pre-tender and post-tender practices in tandem.

## **HONEST LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**

- We will make it mandatory for local governments to make open to NGO supervision their acts and decision processes that cause changes in the zoning plan or result in rent earnings, and to refer to the option of referendum when necessary.
- We will make the activities of municipal economic enterprises transparent and ensure effective inspection and supervision of these entities.
- We will prohibit public organizations and in particular the municipalities from accepting donations from private or legal entities with whom they have direct or indirect interest relations.

## **FAIR MARKETS**

- We will ensure that the Competition Authority functions more effectively.
- We will prevent abuse of dominant position in markets.
- We will rearrange the Law on Capital Markets Board for the safety and benefit of small investors.
- We will not allow under any circumstances an environment of manipulation in İMKB or in capital markets.

## CORRUPTION ALLEGATIONS WILL BE INVESTIGATED

We will put under the scope

- Enterprises concerning which there are suspicions that they have been privatized under their values and on which unlawful profits have been made after privatization;
- Public contracts awarded regularly to specific companies through restricted negotiating procedure closed to competition;
- Housing construction works done by TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) in return for land and with no legal basis;
- Energy contracts signed through the international agreement method so as to avoid tender proceedings;
- Overnight customs arrangements made with the intent to transfer funds to specific companies;
- Tender processes taking place for coal and food aids;
- Tender processes by greater city municipalities with the aim of transferring funds to specific media groups; and
- Gold and fuel smuggling allegations.

For contemporary  
settlements and  
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# Developing regions, urbanizing Anatolia, and Istanbul as a global city

Under the rule of CHP, the main principles of a new municipal approach focusing on social policies, environmental policies and entrepreneurship will be reintroduced in local governments. Hence, local governments will once again become democratic, solidarist entities that create resources and regulate consumption.

Municipalities will be rescued from being used as an instrument of creating rent. Sacrifice of public resources and powers to gain undeserved earnings or in the service of specific interest groups will be stopped. Through nationalization of urban rent, these resources will be returned to the urban community as services. To this end, first of all, transparency and accountability will be ensured in all decision-making processes and particularly those involving zoning and development plans. The urban transformation process will be restructured with a mentality that is in complete harmony with the nature and the city as a whole and that respects the historical, cultural and social heritage. Necessary measures will be taken to ensure that resource allocations of local governments are free from any and all forms of ideological or partisan discrimination. Service areas of local governments will be clearly defined, and power ambiguities and overlapping in these areas will be eliminated.

Instead of a development approach based on competition between local units, intercity solidarity mechanisms based on exchange of experiences and cooperation in service delivery will be launched.

With the idea that they are the cradle of civilization, local governments will be designed with a democratic and inclusive perspective. In particular, the “neighbourhood” will be brought to fore as a collective representational unit, thereby clearing the way for urban residents to meet at grassroots to express their demands, expectations and needs. Steps will be taken to boost the local media’s function of producing and disseminating information about the city. By introducing direct participation mechanisms such as referendum and recall elections, it will be ensured that the public has a direct say in government.

CHP will give weight not only to enrichment and diversification of the production and consumption geography in all our cities, but also to creation of enriched public spaces such as gymnasiums and stadiums, universities, libraries, congress centres and, most importantly, education institutions, and to increasing the

quality and quantity of basic art events and cultural and sports activities. In other words, CHP will create an environment where an urban culture in the real sense is offered to citizens in cities.

Disparities between regions are constantly increasing in Turkey, and this situation is causing a multitude of problems such as intensive migration from rural to urban and between cities, social injustice, waste of resources and cultural discord. The Central Anatolia, East and Southeast Anatolia and Black Sea regions have entered a relative stagnation or even an economic decline, especially in the last ten years. In connection with this stagnation and decline, these regions have given migration to other cities, their number of MPs has decreased and as a result they have suffered a loss in their political representation. To prevent this blood loss, CHP will implement as soon as possible the development plans for “Southeast and East Anatolia”, Black Sea” and “Central Anatolia” regions. CHP has adopted it as its priority goals to ensure regional economic and social development and eliminate disparities between regions.

On a global scale, Turkey has rich resources in terms of its agriculture potential. With this awareness, strengthening the agriculture sector and ensuring rural development is an indispensable policy for CHP. On the other hand, considering that the majority of our population now live in urban areas, CHP regards Turkey first of all as an urban society. Based on this perspective, it is among our main priorities to solve the problems of our cities, such as poverty, unemployment, housing, infrastructure and environment. CHP adopts a vision that foresees that cooperation between our cities will result in faster development in terms of the economic and social development of our country.

Under the CHP rule, urban growth centres will be established all around Turkey and their economic cooperation with sub-centres will be ensured. CHP will turn twenty cities in different geographical regions of Turkey into economic centres of attraction. Hence, these cities, which will have up to 1 million in population, will concentrate on specific activities according to the strengths they possess, and will become major actors of the national and international economy. Another purpose of this breakthrough will be to ensure healthy urbanization in Anatolia and alleviate the burden on our large metropolises.

## Local governments

- We will withdraw the reservations to the European Charter of Local Self-Government, and we will reform the local governments.
- We will not let central government organizations discriminate between municipalities, and we will guarantee this impartiality through laws.
- We will turn local governments into more powerful administrative and financial structures within the unitary state.
- We will free local governments to a large extent from the financial dependency on the central government, and create a new financial structure based on the own resources of local governments.
- We will build a structure in which the central government shares services with local governments not to evade responsibility but to ensure effectiveness in public services.
- We will ensure integrity of services between central-local governments.
- We will establish urban conciliation boards that will solve disputes between local governments and citizens without referral to courts and that will operate in transparent structures.
- We will ensure integrity and harmony between the planning legislation and the local governments, and we will make an extensive reform in the zoning legislation.
- We will end the “borrowing municipality” approach which creates deeper relations of dependency. We will interfere in financial dependency processes which bring weak local governments against strong multi-national companies and financial institutions.

### STRONGER MUNICIPALITIES

- We will reopen the municipalities which were shut down due to their being level 1 municipalities or due to their having a population under 2 thousand.
- We will increase the jurisdiction and number of municipalities.

- We will stop the population indicator from being the only criteria sought for establishment of municipalities and distribution of resources, and we will take into consideration the locality’s historical and geographical status, economic and social structures and functions between settlement units.
- We will increase the revenues of local governments to an extent that allows them to fulfil the duties given them.
- Within the framework of our “Municipalities All Around Turkey” approach, we will associate villages with a municipal government and give them a share from the General Budget Tax Income Revenues.

### THE MUKHTAR SYSTEM WILL GAIN THE IMPORTANCE IT DESERVES

- We will increase net mukhtar salaries to the minimum wage level and ensure that their social security contributions are paid by the State.
- We will build the necessary infrastructure and improve the personnel rights and working conditions of mukhtars so that they can serve according to the requirements of this age.
- We will restructure mukhtar offices as the initial service unit, and ensure that neighbourhood mukhtars have a say in municipal councils.
- In big cities, we will narrow the sizes of neighbourhood mukhtarships by dividing overly large neighbourhoods, and reregulate them as entities with a population not exceeding 10 thousand.
- We will give mukhtars active roles in Quarter Committees. Neighbourhood mukhtars will have a say in Municipal Councils, and village mukhtars in Provincial General Assemblies.
- We will change the Village Act and ensure that villages are governed better and that village mukhtars can fulfil better their function as the representative of the State in the village; we will also ensure that village guards are reintroduced to villages that need them.

## Urbanization and housing

### EFFECTIVE URBANIZATION

- We will establish the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning.
- We will include organizations such as professional chambers, universities and NGOs in the processes of developing and implementing urban policies.
- We will ensure that all provinces and districts have healthy drinking water and adequate sewer networks.
- We will implement a long-term settlement plan sensitive to fault lines.
- We will meet the urban physical and social infrastructure demands changing parallel to increasing population and economic, social and technological developments, with a contemporary planning approach.
- We will prevent the sale of buildings that have become an integral part of a town's identity, such as schools, hospitals, train stations etc.

### BREAKTHROUGH IN HOUSING

- With smart designs, we will develop quality, low-cost, environmentally-friendly housing projects that reinforce the community spirit.
- Our main priority will be to make sure that all citizens in the low and medium income group own a house.
- We will build affordable rental houses for citizens who do not have the means or inclination to buy a house.
- We will raise the standards for green areas, parking spaces and social accessories, and we will take effective measures against earthquakes and fires.

### QUALITY, AFFORDABLE HOUSING FOR ALL

- We will increase housing loans through the mortgage system, and double the share of these loans in overall loans, raising it to over 20%.

- We will ensure loans equal to 100% of the house purchase price for our low and medium income citizens.

### SOUND BUILDINGS THAT ARE READY FOR EARTHQUAKES

- We will undertake it as our duty to prepare our cities for earthquakes in regions with high earthquake risks, especially in Istanbul and the Marmara Region which house more concentrated populations.
- We will specifically address the urban structure and housing problems of Istanbul. We will swiftly solve the problem of earthquake-prone buildings, which continues to be the nightmare of our citizens in Istanbul.
- To this end, we will provide all the necessary means for the restoration of 120 thousand buildings that have a very high earthquake risk in Istanbul in the 2011-2015 period.

### URBAN TRANSFORMATION

- We will speed up the urban transformation model, which was initially developed and implemented by social democrat municipalities.
- In large urban areas, consolidating and raising the buildings will be our basic principle.
- With urban transformation and urban renovation projects, we will reduce the share of land prices in building costs.
- We will enable our citizens to organize and directly participate in the decision-making processes of urban transformation processes through their representatives.

### COOPERATIVES WILL BE STIMULATED

- With new organizational arrangements, we will stop the approach, which ignores small and medium sized companies that have served the construction sector for long years, and which overlooks the co-ops.

## Anatolia: urbanizing with centres of attraction

- We will turn the Adana-Mersin Region into a trade centre akin to Singapore. We will turn the region where the oil and natural gas resources of the Caspian Region, Russia and the Middle East meet into an export centre that sells products such as petro-chemistry, iron-steel, agro-industry and fertilizers to the whole world and particularly to the Middle East and Africa by completing the necessary infrastructures, and we will give this region a function akin to Singapore.
- We will structure the region of Kars-Ardahan-Iğdır into an important logistic base on the trade route for goods between China- Europe and Caucasia-Iran-Europe. We will make Kars one of the most important logistic centres on the East-West Corridor with the completion of the Kars-Tbilisi-Baku and Kars-Iğdır-Nakhchivan railroad projects and the parallel establishment of transport systems such as ro-ro and ro-la, and by moving a part of Turkey's truck park capacity to this region and building warehouses, storage facilities and customs sites. Hence, we will be taking a major step towards reaching the logistic potential of Turkey, which is estimated to be around \$100 billion.
- We will turn Izmir into a centre for health tourism like Thailand. By making the necessary legal arrangements, we will make Izmir, which already has the capacity to deliver health care services as well as a great tourism potential and sound infrastructure, into a centre of health tourism with worldwide recognition. Thus, we will ensure that Izmir gets a share of at least 10% from the world medical tourism pie of over \$100 billion on a global scale and welcome over one million patients-tourists. In parallel, we will transform Izmir into a biomedical industry giant that produces on a global scale, with the trigger of the increased capacity for health tourism.
- We will ensure that Samsun becomes a brand city like Shanghai in the area of ship building and repair. Considering the increasing commercial importance of the Black Sea and the busy sea traffic, Samsun is suitably placed to become a centre of shipbuilding and repair, and we will complete, through the State, all the necessary infrastructure investments needed to turn Samsun into a brand city in this area. In the region, we will establish a shipbuilding free industry zone, thereby also ensuring the development of the machinery manufacturing industry.

- We will ensure that global hazelnut prices are determined not in Germany but in the Trabzon-Ordu-Giresun region. In the region where a significant portion of the world's hazelnut production is realized, we will introduce licensed warehousing and establish a hazelnut exchange where global hazelnut prices are determined. In parallel, we will also develop the food industry that uses hazelnut as an input.
- We will transform the Diyarbakır-Mardin-Adıyaman-Urfa Region into a centre of faith, culture and gourmet tourism. The Diyarbakır Sur İçi (section surrounded by the City Wall) will be evicted and necessary restoration works will be completed; boutique hotels, restaurants, art galleries and museums will be built in the Sur İçi, transforming the region into a tourism centre. The tourism accommodation capacities of Mardin, Adıyaman and Urfa will be increased, their historical venues will be speedily restored, and powerful incentives will be offered so that the region can use its culinary potential for tourism purposes. It will be ensured that the region is promoted and marketed as a package, so that tourists will prefer staying for longer periods.

## Ankara: a strong capital

- We will not allow the clearing out of the Capital. We will consolidate the functions of Ankara as the capital, and clear the way for Ankara to become a leader of science, R&D and high-tech for all Anatolian cities with its education, university and planning institutions.
- We will make Ankara the main communication centre of Turkey and the main hub for Anatolia's air, land and rail transport.
- We will place Ankara as an ideal urbanization model pursued by all Anatolian cities.

## Istanbul: a global city

- We will position Istanbul as one of the three leading global cities of Europe, together with London and Paris.
- For Istanbul, we will adopt a growth policy that respects the nature and foresees healthy development, based on quality workforce and oriented to the service sector.

- We will create an Istanbul that creates high added value and competes with the other global cities in culture, scientific research and creativity.
- We will develop our vision and policies for Istanbul in harmony with the principle of reducing the heavy pressure of the population on the city.

#### **ISTANBUL AS A “CREATIVE CITY”**

- With its engineers, academia, artists, media professionals, designers, architects, thought leaders, analysts, banking professionals, consultants and other qualified workforce, we will turn Istanbul into an inspiring, brand and design-focused “creative city” that is a leader in innovation.
- We will support all social groups that will improve Istanbul’s quality as a creative city; and we will act with full awareness and determination to create the professional and urban living environment in which these groups can achieve the best level of self-development.

#### **ISTANBUL AS AN INFORMATION CITY**

- By boosting the size and capacity of the creative segment in Istanbul, we will make this segment the engine of the economic dynamism of the city.
- We will ensure that Istanbul becomes a city that rapidly prospers and attracts visitors, qualified workforce and investments from all around the world and all regions in Turkey.
- We will turn Istanbul into a worldwide centre of institutions providing high quality education and vocational training.
- In Istanbul, we will invest in the information economy and particularly in the IT infrastructure as the most important factor in increasing qualified human capital.
- It will be our target to make Istanbul one of the main bases for R&D spending by public and private sectors in Europe.

#### **ISTANBUL AS AN INTELLECTUAL CITY**

- We will turn Istanbul into one of the major cities of the world and increase its preferability by the qualified workforce and by creative classes.
- While supporting the information economy of Istanbul, at the same time we will also encourage its cultural industry. We will position Istanbul as a global cultural centre with its historic fabric, natural beauties and geographical location.
- We will support all cultural aspects of Istanbul, and present to the whole world a lively city image with its cafés, theatre halls, art galleries, restaurants offering selected dishes from world and local cuisines, concert halls, antiques galleries, cinema studios, design workshops, festival venues and special bazaars and marketplaces.

#### **ISTANBUL AS A CITY OF CULTURE**

- We will create an Istanbul where people from all walks of life find acceptance, which shelters different identities in peace and which sees diversity as a positive strength. We will make Istanbul the regional representative of the atmosphere of tolerance where differences live side by side in harmony.
- We will adopt it as an indispensable prerequisite of a dynamic and enriched urban life for the local governments to have a broad notion of tolerance for a multicultural urban environment that will increase creative activities and productivities.
- We will address Istanbul as a city project where individuals from all religions, denominations, ethnic groups, races, sexual orientations, genders and nationalities live in freedom.

## ISTANBUL AS A SAFE CITY WITH A SOUND INFRASTRUCTURE

- We will solve all infrastructural problems of Istanbul, particularly its transportation problems, and ensure that it ranks among the cities with the highest quality of life in Europe.
- We will upgrade the underground rail transport infrastructure of the city to the level of global cities while maintaining the priority of preserving the historic and cultural fabric, and we will lengthen the metro network to at least 80 km ASAP.
- We will stop sea transport from being a weak alternative to land transport, and place it at the centre of Istanbul's transport network.
- In Istanbul, which is deprived of the squares found in all developed cities of the world, where common culture flourishes and that identify a city's character, we will create areas where the people of Istanbul can show they exist in the public sphere.
- Instead of the 3<sup>rd</sup> bridge project that threatens Istanbul's nature and that will cause an unsolvable transport problem, we will consider all alternatives, including floating viaduct models or re-construction of existing bridges, and we will hence save the green from massacre and the city from desertification.
- We will fully implement the earthquake improvement plan without losing even a single moment so as to prepare Istanbul as best as possible for a possible disaster.

## Regional development

- In order to eliminate regional disparities, balance demographic movements and reduce service costs, we will turn some provincial centres into regional development centres in which we will intensify investments and infrastructure services.
- We will accelerate public infrastructure investments in backward regions mainly for education, health and transportation. We will ensure the integration of these regions with national and international economy through private initiatives, private-public partnerships and, where these fall short, through enterprises set up directly by the public.
- In underdeveloped regions, we will swiftly prepare industrial inventories and create regional production and development clusters in suitable sectoral qualities.

- We will make it easier for underdeveloped regions to access financial resources.
- We will ensure that Turkey's alignment with EU regional policies is increased and funds associated with this process are used on a wider scale and more efficiently.
- To quickly reduce the disparities between regions in economic and social development, we will quickly complete all regional development projects, particularly those in the implementation phase such as GAP, DAP, DOKAP, ZBK, and YHGP.
- We will increase the effectiveness of Development Agencies and make them more inclusive and democratic by increasing local participation.
- We will render Development Agencies more functional by redefining their areas of responsibility and the geographical units they cover.

## RICHNESS OF EAST AND SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA WILL FIND VALUE

- In this region, which has a very high capacity for solar energy, we will encourage investments and erect the high-tech solar battery industry here.
- For the purpose of increasing both the production and employment in the region and to substitute the rapidly increasing import of goods, we will set up and develop petrochemistry-based industrial clusters.
- We will take sugar refineries out of the privatization scope and we will boost the sugar industry.
- To reinstate the former glory of animal husbandry, we will make use of the Animal Husbandry and Meat Products Authority and the sugar refineries.
- By launching the school milk programme, we will distribute milk to at least 500,000 children every day in the region.
- We will not leave the underground riches of the region idle, and we will raise the mining sector to the highest level in the region.

## THE RIGHT INCENTIVE AT THE RIGHT PLACE

- We will offer zero-interest and long-term loans to selected investments in the East and Southeast Anatolia regions.
- On sector basis, we will initiate a new, tangible and effective Investment Incentive.
- In order to enable establishment of new plants and factories, we will provide powerful incentives to domestic and foreign capital on the condition of direct investment.
- We will support SMEs and family businesses in the region, and make widespread the utilization of Small Enterprise Credits.
- For development, we will speedily build the institutional structure that will deliver the economic incentives and social aids directly to the local population and to unemployed and poor masses.

## REGIONAL PLANNING

- We will invest in universities, hospitals, sports facilities and culture, arts and entertainment centres that will transform Gaziantep, Diyarbakır, Erzurum and Van into centres of attraction for the whole Middle East region.
- We will support with sectoral clustering the development of priority and sustainable sectors of GAP, namely the renewable energy, organic farming, organic textile, organic food, technology and tourism sectors.
- We will speedily fill the gaps in infrastructure in the whole region, mainly in the areas of education, health, transportation and communication.
- We will speed up safe voluntary return to evacuated villages within the framework of security and socio economic development measures.
- We will speedily complete the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP) in a balanced way with regard to all its aspects. We will prevent utilization of funds allocated to GAP for purposes other than originally intended.
- We will clear the landmine areas and give these lands to landless villages. On these lands, we will develop export-oriented organic farming projects.

## INTERREGIONAL INTEGRATION

- In order to integrate the region with Turkey and peripheral countries, we will open the inlands to the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports and to neighbouring countries via railroad investments of a total size of over TL16 billion. We will transform East and Southeast Anatolia into global logistic hubs.
- We will complete the Kars-Tbilisi railroad with speed and develop the economic and commercial relations between East Anatolia and Caucasia and the Middle East.
- We will give speed to supports and promotions to attract international direct investments that want to take advantage of the trade potential of the Middle East and Gulf regions.
- We will complete the Ankara-Diyarbakır high-speed rail line.

For a fair and  
safe world...

## Peace, democracy and development-based foreign policy

Under the CHP rule, the Turkish foreign policy will be shaped on the basis of values aiming at creating a fair world for all people. With CHP, Turkey will come to fore as a reliable and respectable member of the international community that knows its responsibilities, that cooperates in all areas to reach common goals, and that sets an example with its diplomatic courtesy. CHP will make Turkey the heart of regional peace, development and democracy.

CHP's foreign policy will be 'citizen-centred'. The main axis of CHP's foreign policy is to increase the security and welfare of the citizens of the Republic of Turkey regardless of where they live in the world. CHP, to this end, will ensure that the legitimate rights of our citizens under the international law are defended and protected vis-à-vis all countries and on all platforms effectively.

CHP believes that the foreign policy should protect the rights and interests of all our citizens. For this reason, it is aimed to consult to the views of all segments of the society and ensure their involvement and contributions when formulating the foreign policy. Under the CHP government, an opinion exchange mechanism will be established by ensuring regular flow of information with all relevant agencies and organizations and in particular with the political parties that have groups in the TGNA. The participation of the civil society in the formulation of foreign policy decisions will be made more effective and institutional. In other words, under the CHP rule, the area of foreign policy will also be democratized like all the other policy areas.

The intellectual and historical sources of the 'values-based foreign policy' that will be pursued by CHP exist in the history of our Republic and in social democracy. In this scope, the 10 main principles that will shed light on CHP's foreign policy can be listed as follows:

CHP's foreign policy will be peaceful. Being peaceful is one of the most important goals underlined by our founding leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, with the words "peace at home, peace in the world". In this scope, CHP will ensure peaceful solution of all its diplomatic issues through diplomatic channels. Using force will be out of the question, unless Turkey suffers an armed attack or unless demanded of us by the international community in line with the international law.

Under the CHP government, Turkey's foreign policy will be egalitarian. Turkey will uphold the principle that every country, every nation is equal, with equal rights, and deserves equal respect, in all areas, regardless of its size or power. Turkey will not act as a "big brother" towards any country, and will approach all states party as "equal partners".

Under the CHP government, we will consider what we can learn together with each of our partners and with each of our neighbours.

Another main tenet of the Turkish foreign policy will be respect to human rights and freedoms. In order to contribute to sovereignty of the values and rules of human rights in all corners of the world, Turkey will actively support all efforts exerted by international agencies in conformity with the international law. In this sense, Turkey will first of all ensure full protection of human rights in its own country, deepen its democracy, and set an example in its region.

CHP's foreign policy will be solidarist. Acting in solidarity with underdeveloped and developing countries is of vital importance for CHP, which is a member of the Socialist International and which aims to build a fairer world. CHP will support the steps to be taken in order to lay the groundwork for fair representation and sharing with global institutions and rules so that every country can get the share it deserves from the wealth of the world. Contribution will be given to the reforms that will be realized in this line by global governance organizations, particularly the United Nation. Turkey, with one leg in the developed world and another leg in the developing world, will be a key facilitator in development of relations based on cooperation between these two groups.

Another indispensable principle of the Turkish foreign policy will be respect to international law and confidence in multilateral institutions. CHP believes that ensuring the rule of law is essential to instituting social peace and order in and between countries. International law constitutes the most important foundation of legitimacy in international relations. We still remember the founders of the Republic, who were fully aware of this principle and who made meticulous efforts to honour their obligations arising from international law since the early days of the country. CHP will continue this legacy and Turkey will become an exemplary country by fully observing its international obligations in all areas.

Another important matter rendered indispensable by the international law and globalization is the necessity that countries refrain from taking unilateral decisions and then forcing these decisions on other countries, and take international decisions within multilateral institutions or groups, through consultation with stakeholders and in cooperation. CHP will adopt this principle in all the policies it will pursue in

its region and on a global scale, and will refrain from imposing decisions. CHP

thinks that today, at a time when all problems in all sectors from trade to environment and from finance to migration have gained a cross-border characteristics, multilateral organizations are the most important instruments through which suitable solutions can be developed.

Being integrationist is another most important principle of the foreign policy that will be brought to life under CHP's government. Commercial, financial, cultural and scientific integration between countries, as seen in the EU example, goes beyond classic cooperation and gives more long-lasting and more effective results. Increasing welfare and at the same time cementing peace through these forms of integration is an important international objective for social democrats.

With this understanding, CHP will continue in particular the integration efforts with the EU with determination; in addition, it will speed up regional integration efforts. In this scope, execution of free trade agreements, treaties on mutual encouragement and protection of investments, protocols on free movement and treaties on cultural and educational cooperation will be accelerated, and more importantly, effective implementation of these treaties and agreements will be ensured. With these integration efforts, Turkey will be placed at the centre of the global mobility on the North-South and East-West axis. With CHP's policies, Turkey will not only open up to the world but will also integrate with it.

Economic diplomacy is a very important area that needs to be underlined with regard to the integrationist policies that CHP will implement. The quality and quantity of foreign economic relations specialists will be increased. Legal and institutional facilities will be increased to ensure that our entrepreneurs trading with or having investments in foreign countries can report the obstacles they encounter and receive the protection of the State. Protecting the legitimate rights of our entrepreneurs and increasing the investment opportunities will be among our priority foreign policy objectives.

The European orientation that has its roots in the history of the Turkish foreign policy will be continued under the CHP government. CHP defines Europe as a whole of values based on a foundation of democracy, human rights and social state. Being a part of a Europe thus defined will add strength to Turkey. Turkey's EU membership process has come to a stalemate due to the mistakes made by the AKP government and the attitudes of conservative parties in Europe. CHP was the government that initiated Turkey's EU candidacy, and it will be CHP that will carry this process to a happy ending.

As a social democrat party that has built its ties with Europe on a foundation of universal values, another important principle that CHP will highlight in its foreign policy will be universalism. Expressing its stance against the clash of civilizations, AKP continues an introvert civilizationist discourse, and is influenced from prejudices based on religion or ethnicity when determining its policy. This mentality will end under the CHP rule, and relations with all countries will be built on universal values.

CHP will be committed to continuing the policy of instituting regional peace and security alliances, one of the most important characteristics of the foreign policy of the Republican period. CHP will endeavour to make it so that all our neighbours also become our allies.

Lastly, the foreign policy to be pursued by CHP will be shaped on the basis of realism. There will be no place for adventurism, heroism and irresponsible behaviours arising from concerns over domestic politics in the foreign policy of CHP. CHP will refuse the mentality that tries to do everything at once and fails to get positive results in any area in foreign policy, and will bring forth a policy with well-defined priorities, that focuses its energy on these priorities and that observes the decorum required by the diplomatic life.

With its values-based and citizen-centred consistent policies, CHP will repair the relations that suffered wounds during the AKP period, will clear the way for Turkey's EU membership, and will make Turkey the centre of regional peace, development and democracy.

## EU MEMBERSHIP

- CHP is for Turkey's EU membership. It sees EU membership as a social transformation project for the democratization of Turkey and preparation of its economy for the age of information. It was CHP who initiated Turkey's EU candidacy process, and it will be CHP who will carry it to a happy ending.
- CHP will surmount the obstacles in the EU-Turkey relations that have reached the point of a bottleneck, with the discourses it will develop based on universal values together with European social democrats.
- Under the CHP government, Turkey will develop projects for the future of the EU in the process until the realization of its EU membership, and will actively participate in the debates on the EU of the future. CHP believes that the social democrats must unite under the EU umbrella to establish an order of fairness, peace and freedom in the world.
- In our relations with the EU, we will aim for full membership on equal conditions with other members. We will demand with determination that the EU membership conditions are applied equally for each candidate state in harmony with the ideal of a solidarist Europe.
- With this understanding, we will strongly support acceleration and finalization of a reform process in keeping with the EU legislation and the practices of other member countries. As a priority, we will end the justified concerns that Turkey is going further away from conformity with the Copenhagen criteria, by introducing liberal democracy with all its institutions and councils.
- In the areas of free movement, agricultural supports and regional development, we will insist on lifting of the restrictions imposed by the EU.
- We will not accept association of Turkey's EU membership with the Cyprus issue and tying our membership process to prerequisites and unilateral compromises. We will underline on every platform that consideration of the legitimate demands of the Turkish Cypriot community regarding the Cyprus issue by the EU authorities is the most appropriate policy that fits the European ideals.
- We will endeavour to explain it, together with all our social democrat partners, to European circles that Turkey's EU membership is the best way to falsify the political movements favouring the clash between civilizations, the visibility of which are reaching concern-raising dimensions.

## RELATIONS WITH THE USA

- In our relations with the USA, we will overcome the problems experienced in the recent years and adopt a new approach based on equality, mutual respect and reciprocal consideration of each other's legitimate interests.
- With the USA, we will build a new and contemporary partnership that is balanced, open to economic and cultural interactions and not limited to strategic and military relations.
- To balance the growing anti-Americanism in Turkey, we will take measures oriented to boost social trust, such as exchange programmes for students, businessmen and local governors and organization of joint cultural and arts events and activities.

## MEMBERSHIPS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ALLIANCES

- We will contribute actively to the organizations in which Turkey is a member, not only as regards our own problems, but in all matters falling under the areas of interests of these organizations. We will show at every opportunity that we are a responsible member of the international community.
- In order to protect the world peace, we will place at the centre of our policy the prohibition of using or threatening to use force, which is expressed in the United Nations Act for all countries, and we will ask all other countries to fully adhere to this prohibition.
- We will advocate that all members of international organizations such as the UN, the Council of Europe, OSCE, OECD, UNESCO, OIC and BSECO should act, contribute and benefit in equality. We will support efforts to stop these organizations from becoming an arena for leading states.
- A foremost condition for protecting the world peace is closing the yawning economic gap between the countries. We will support new international initiatives and arrangements oriented to establish a new and just economic order in the world. We will ensure that Turkey plays a guiding role in the designing of these initiatives and arrangements
- We will strengthen our relations with the NATO, of which we are an active member. We will support the NATO in effectively fulfilling its duty of protecting peace and stability as a deterrent force and re-definition of NATO's position with more weight

given to protecting international peace and security.

## CYPRUS

- With regard to the Cyprus issue, CHP will support all negotiations that will be carried out to reach a fair solution agreeable to both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. CHP will work with all its power to ensure that the Cyprus issue is settled permanently and East Mediterranean is turned into a basin of peace.
- Turkey will support solution of the Cyprus issue in a way that protects the earned rights of the TRNC and the Northern Cyprus Turkish community and ensures political equality between Turkish and Greek Cypriots.
- Turkish Cypriots are the grounds of Turkey's presence and right to guarantee in Cyprus. Turkey's relations with the TRNC will be developed in line with the principle of sovereign equality of the Turkish Cypriots, and on the basis of respecting the democratic will of the Turkish Cypriots and not interfering in their internal affairs. As long as the Turkish Cypriots demand it, Turkey will continue to support them.
- In this context, CHP vehemently condemns the threats of financial and economic sanctions directed by the AKP government to the Turkish Cypriot community, who is already struggling with international embargoes, and the discourses that hurt the dignities of Turkish Cypriots.
- To the TRNC, an independent and democratic state recognized by the Republic of Turkey, the respect required by the international rules of diplomacy and the sovereign equality of states will be shown in full.
- The Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus does not represent the Turkish Cypriots. Turkish Cypriots have been deprived of their rights to representation in the international arena. Until Turkish Cypriots gain equal representation, Turkey will continue to give them all the necessary support for their representation in all areas.
- All political, diplomatic and legal initiatives will be taken to lift the embargoes imposed on the TRNC and practices that result in the isolation of Turkish Cypriots from the world.
- In case a perpetual peace based on the equality of the two communities on the island cannot be reached in reasonable time, efforts for acceptance and recognition of the TRNC in the international arena will be increased.

## TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS

- For the purpose of developing the Turkey-Greece relations, we will seek a solution to the Aegean issue, based on the principle of equity through constructive dialogue and negotiations. We will underline that the issue has no solution other than mutual agreement and peaceful problem-solving techniques.
- Instead of a sea that divides the two countries, the Aegean Sea will be transformed into an area that brings our two people together in economic, social and cultural areas. To this end, exchange programmes will be organized for students, businessmen and local governors between Greek islands and settlement areas located on the Aegean coast. All measures will be taken to increase border trade.
- The members of the Greek minority living in Turkey are equal citizens of the Republic of Turkey. With the liberal democracy that will be instituted, their full enjoyment of all their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and minority rights will be guaranteed.
- As an important indicator of the special importance we attribute to the protection of human rights on a global and regional basis, we will demonstrate political determination for the protection of the rights and benefits of the Turkish population living in Western Thrace, originating from the Treaty of Lausanne and other international treaties.

## MIDDLE EAST

- CHP is of the opinion that the main reason of the instability and upheaval in the Middle East and its adjacent regions is the ongoing Palestinian question. It concludes that the solution to the issue will be the main step that will bring peace and stability to the region and beyond. With this understanding, CHP advocates that Turkey needs to make realistic and active contributions to all peace efforts to solve the issue.
- We will support result-oriented initiatives with all relevant parties for a permanent solution to the Israel-Palestine Question based on the principle of two separate states and in a way that will end the victimization of the Palestinian people, within the framework of the UN resolutions.
- We will support creation of conditions in which all nations of the Middle East can live within systems based on human rights, democracy and social justice, through peaceful ways by these nations themselves.

- We will support all progress made in the region in the areas of democratization, freedom of press, women's rights and civil society.
- We will not see as solutions any outside interventions that may cause instability and new crises in the region.
- Vis-à-vis Middle East issues, we will pursue a policy that respects all faiths and parties while adopting a policy of shaping the solutions in line with the principles of equity and humanity.
- We will take care to formulate our active policies regarding the Middle East in a way that will not cause Turkey to lose its reliability or credibility vis-à-vis the parties.
- We will support development of economic relations and building long-lasting friendships with all the Middle East and Islam countries, particularly those in our close vicinity. To further the trade and investment relations with the regional countries, we will raise foreign trade specialists who know the languages, economies and laws of these countries very well and we will increase the number of trade attachés where these specialists will work.

## IRAQ

- CHP is of the opinion that protecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq is vital not only for that country but also for the whole region.
- We will give the Iraqi nation all the necessary support to ensure that Iraq's re-structuralization results with a participatory democracy in which all strata of the Iraqi society will be represented with equity and in which their rights will be protected, in line with the contemporary and universal values.
- We will respect the political order foreseen in the Constitution adopted through public voting in Iraq.
- As long as the administrative units included in this political order with constitutional legitimacy remain committed to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq, we will develop our relations and contacts with the Central Iraqi Government and local governments in all areas necessitated by the common interests of Turkey and Iraq, in a manner conforming with the delegation of authority foreseen in the Constitution of Iraq.

- We will strongly defend non-interference in the internal affairs of Iraq by regional or non-regional countries.
- And we will expect from Iraq that it prevents all acts and attempts against the public order and territorial integrity of its neighbours, and that it does not allow any threat to be directed to Turkey from Iraqi territories.
- With this understanding, we will support increasing Turkey's political, economic, cultural and social relations with Iraq in a way that the two countries can contribute to instituting a perpetual and sustainable stability in the region.

## RUSSIA

- With the Russian Federation, we will support developing economic relations, increasing cultural interactions and continuing these relations based on mutual respect and cooperation.
- By balancing and diversifying the foreign trades of Turkey and Russia, the two most active members of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, we will make great contributions to regional peace in the medium and long term.
- In this framework, we will balance our relations in the energy field through diversification of our resources.
- We will carry the relations further by solving the problems encountered by the citizens of both countries with regard to travelling and residency, and on the other hand by facilitating cultural cohesion.
- To this end, between Turkey and Russia, we will design joint education and training programmes and we will support development of the technological cooperation infrastructure, expansion of cultural exchanges and interactions, and efforts for friendship and cooperation by both countries.

## SOUTH CAUCASUS

- In South Caucasus, we will make constructive and active contributions to ensuring peace and stability and, afterwards, development of the region within a sustainable environment of peace and stability.

- We will further strengthen our ties of brotherhood with our neighbour Azerbaijan based on mutual trust and respect.
- We will aim for good neighbourhood relations with Armenia.
- We will solve the issues between Turkey and Armenia through dialogue.
- We will take all necessary measures to ensure that Armenians who are citizens of the Republic of Turkey are not adversely affected from the problems experienced between Armenia and Turkey.
- In order to start a softening process between Turkey and Armenia and the Armenian Diaspora, similar to the one between Turkey and Greece, we will support increasing negotiations between society segments such as non-governmental organizations, students and businesspeople.
- Armenia must withdraw from the Azerbaijani territories it has occupied, must discontinue its attempts at genocide allegations against Turkey through the Armenian organizations in the world and in violation of the international law, and must quit its acts and attitudes that give the impression that it has some designs on the territorial integrity of Turkey. In the event that Armenia takes the steps that will prove that it has adopted a change of mentality in this direction, we will support honouring all these steps.
- On the other hand, as long as Turkey continues to be blamed on unjust prejudices with Armenian allegations, we will continue to uphold the determined stance and actions demonstrated to date under the leadership of CHP against these allegations and this injustice.

## RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS

- We will build close political, economic and cultural relations with Central Asian Republics and other independent states, and create and develop multidimensional cooperation opportunities and mechanisms.

## **THE BALKANS**

- We will maintain our view of protecting the political framework emerging after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. In this context, we will emphasize the need the employ care in not creating new enmities in the region.
- With the Balkan countries, we will create and develop multidimensional political, economic and cultural bilateral and regional cooperation opportunities oriented to protect the mutual interests of our countries and foster and establish stability in the region.
- We will advocate with determination that our kin living in the Balkans and other parts of the world are citizens of their countries with equal rights, and we will defend their human rights and freedoms and their right to live in safety with cultural and participatory political rights.

## **EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN**

- In view of Turkey's security and ensuring peace in the region, we will attach importance to stability in the Eastern Mediterranean and we will stand firm against unilateral attempts to change the international political and economic order in the region.

## **FAR EAST AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

- We will politically and economically further our relations with China, Japan, Southeast Asia and India.
- In view of the contribution of trade and cultural interactions between developing countries in particular on the world peace and sustainable development, we will attach special importance to relations with these geographies.
- We will diversify and enrich the foreign relations of Turkey with joint investments, R&D programmes and student exchange programmes with these countries.

## **AFRICA**

- We will increase and diversify our relations with African countries.
- We will contribute to the efforts made by the African Continent for establishment of democracy, for development and for combating poverty.

- With this understanding, we will aim for furthering trade with African countries and executing this trade in a balanced way.
- Again with this understanding, we will support realization of bilateral and multilateral cooperation projects with African countries, including student exchange programmes, economic investments, tourism and cultural exchange programmes.

## ANNEX: NEW INSTITUTIONS TO BE ESTABLISHED BY CHP

Ministry of Information and Communication Technologies

Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning

Parliamentary Committee for Investigating Unsolved Murders

TGNA Committee on the Equality of Women and Men

TGNA Specialized Committee on Youth

TGNA Final Account Committee

High Council of Judges

Family Insurance Authority (AS-KUR)

Youth Policies Coordination Authority (GENÇ-KUR)

National Human Rights Supervisory Authority

Undersecretariat of Incentive Practices

Directorate-General for Animal Husbandry and Dairy Products

Directorate-General for Aquatic Products

Directorate-General for Health Programmes,

Directorate-General for Primary Health Care Services

Directorate-General for Inpatient Treatment Institutions

Directorate-General for Health Human Power

Directorate-General of Medical Technology and Pharmaceuticals

Animal Husbandry and Meat Products Authority

Agricultural Markets Regulation and Supervision Agency

Financial Stability Board

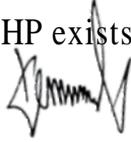
Climate Change and Development Research Centre

Land Office

For me there is no proponent,  
only and solely the citizen  
exists. And without exception,  
every citizen should get the  
share s/he deserves from the  
wealth of this country.

Every citizen should be able to  
breathe a sigh of relief. That is what I  
believe in.

If CHP exists, it exists for all.



**Kemal KILIÇDAROĐLU**  
Leader of the Republican People's Party

