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- **CHP Chairman Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's Speech on Budget in TGNA**

SPEAKER – Distinguished Members of the Parliament, on behalf of the Republican People's Party (CHP) Group, Chairman and İzmir Deputy Mr. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu will now take the floor.

The floor is yours Mr. Kılıçdaroğlu. (Standing ovations from CHP ranks, applause from İYİ PARTY ranks)

You have sixty minutes.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU, ON BEHALF OF THE CHP GROUP (İzmir) - Distinguished Speaker, Esteemed Deputies; I would like to greet you all with my deepest love and respect.

Fellow citizens watching us on their televisions, dear young people watching us on their social media accounts, esteemed citizens listening to us on their radios; I would like to send you all my love, respect and affection on behalf of the Republican People's Party. (Applause from CHP ranks)

Fellow Deputies, previous speakers talked about the Covid-19 pandemic, and the word "success" was mentioned. But whose success is this really? This is the success of the health care professionals. Where do the health care professionals perform their duties? In hospitals. And who are these health care professionals? They are the graduates of faculties of medicine which are attended by the brightest students raised by the Republic. Is there any success? Yes, there is definitely a success here. Did these people work around the clock? Yes, they did work twenty-four hours a day; they did not even see their children, they did not enjoy the convenience of getting together with their families, they could not even talk to them. So, what did we do with respect to this success achieved by the health care professionals? We all applauded them, because they were successful. Well then, who caused people to get sick and go to the hospitals, who was it that failed to take the precautions? Who gave false information to the citizens of the Republic of Turkey, who misinformed them? I said it again and again: the Government, a respectable Government shall not lie to its citizens. You did not provide the citizens with correct information. Still, some people insisted, the Turkish Medical Association for example said, "The number of deaths is in fact much higher". You almost lynched the Turkish Medical Association for saying that. Then, guess what happened? It turned out that it was actually the Turkish Medical Association that was telling the truth. And see what this has cost us! It is the political authority that must take the necessary measures to prevent the pandemic, and the health institutions must work to cure patients. The health

institutions have done their part; but the political authority loosened the restrictions. Why didn't you take the necessary measures? What was your reason for not taking any measures? What was your reason for organizing all those rallies? On what grounds did you gather all those people and throw tea bags over to their heads? On what grounds has the pandemic reached such a scale and on what reasonable grounds have we become the number one country in Europe? (Applause from CHP ranks). On what grounds? I need someone, just anyone for God's sake, to come out and explain it to me. On what grounds? Do not try to take credit for the success of the doctors, the health care professionals. They are the enlightened people of this country, no matter what some people might say. They worked twenty-four hours a day. We told them... ("Because it's the AK PARTY service mentality", shouts someone from AK PARTY ranks) The health care professionals are not members of the AK PARTY, the health care professionals are all civil servants. (Interjections from AK PARTY and CHP ranks, noises)

SPEAKER – Deputies, please...

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Wait a minute... Hold on a minute friends... Wait a minute...

Among the health care professionals, there are definitely voters of all different parties, but we need to praise them all. They worked 24 hours a day. Then we made a proposal and said, "As the political authority, why don't you give the health care professionals a bonus of one month's salary? Let's give them a one-month salary as bonus." You did not accept it; you did not give them the one-month salary bonus. I recently talked to an intensive care nurse and some other health care professionals on Zoom; do you know how much money was deposited in the ICU nurse's bank account last month? 7 liras, just 7 liras my friends! Are you aware of this huge injustice? Just do some soul searching! Talk to an intensive care nurse. What did the Government do? How much money was put in these people's bank accounts as bonus? I'm sorry, but not even a bonus was given to them my friends. You don't want to face the facts. But these are the facts, it's sad, but it's the truth my friends. We are the 4th worst-governed country in the world; I'm not saying it, the whole world is saying it. It is not like the Government wanted to take precautions and we opposed to it... Look, when the Covid-19 pandemic broke out, we did not criticize the Government at all for almost two months. We listed down, one by one, what had to be done. We said "First you must do this, then you must do that." We did this, because the problem was not specific to a party, it was the problem of Turkey, it was the problem

of the entire world. You need to see this. Did you ever ask the Government what their strategy on Covid-19 was? The strategy should be as follows: First you must take health measures to prevent the pandemic; then must take economic measures to solve the problems in the economy; and then, as there will be a problem of unemployment, you must take measures to address unemployment. Did they implement this strategy? No, they didn't. We guided them, we said, "Look, if you want to understand the scale of the problem, you must convene the Economic and Social Council, those people have all encountered this problem, listen to what they have to say about it, and listen to the solution they offer. Then, as the political authority, you can do whatever you want, but at least listen to the people who are experiencing the problem first." But you didn't listen, my friends, you didn't listen to them. You invited the President of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) to your meetings, you invited the presidents of different organizations. But did you invite any doctors to those meetings? No doctors... Did you invite any farmers? No farmers... Did you invite any tradesmen? No tradesmen... Then how would that work? How do you expect to solve the problem?

Fellow Deputies, and then they say, "We extended help to 156 countries, we provided aid to 9 international organizations." Didn't you ask yourself the question, for God's sake? The Government had internal discussions for months, just to distribute citizens 5 masks, 5 masks for God's sake! Then, when we wanted to distribute masks, they said "How on earth can the Municipalities of the Republican People's Party distribute masks to people! Let's prevent it." So, instead of fighting with Covid, they began to fight with the Municipalities of the Republican People's Party. It's unbelievable, seriously, it's beyond reason. (Applause from CHP ranks) Moreover, if the Republican People's Party municipalities were to help only the CHP voters, I would also be angry, and they would have the right to be angry too. We said everyone will be treated equally, we told the municipalities "You will treat everyone equally." The Republican People's Party municipalities started an aid campaign, but they seized their bank accounts. Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality has a soup kitchen bank account that has been there for years, they even confiscated the money that had been saved in that account. Not a single soul, not a single man with a clear conscience came out and said, "Oh, this is wrong". Why didn't you react, tell me? Now, that's a real shame. None of you said, "This soup kitchen has been serving food to poor people, to

the families in need for years, do not seize their bank account." No, you couldn't say it.

Fellow Deputies, I will not inquire about the budget in this meeting. What kind of budget is this, for God's sake, what is it for? As someone who worked in the Ministry of Finance for twenty-seven and a half years, I can say that to my knowledge the budget shall normally be prepared by the Ministry of Finance. Then, the Minister of Finance shall hold a press conference, in the presence of all the economic experts, columnists, civil society organizations; and the Minister of Finance shall explain what this budget would produce for Turkey and we shall all learn the details. What has been done about this budget so far? What's been done? Was there such a meeting, did the Minister of Finance make a statement?

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – This is not a cabinet system.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Who is the Minister of Finance for God's sake, who? Why doesn't he make a statement, why? What kind of budget is this, my friends, what kind of budget?

Fellow Deputies, what does this budget bring to the workers? What does it bring to the farmers? What does it bring to the pensioners? This budget is a budget of interest, this budget is a corrupt budget, a budget that serves the corrupt people! (Applause from CHP ranks) Let me reiterate, and I really mean it when I say it, this is a budget prepared to serve the corrupt people.

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – Mr. Speaker, please ask the Chairman to use proper language, this type of language is unacceptable!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Yes, I will talk about the veterans too.

Esteemed friends, look, why did we shift to a single-handed government system? I mean, why was it all tied up to one single person, why was all the power granted to one single person? Because it would supposedly expedite all the mechanisms, right? It was all going to be faster. Take the Medium-Term Program for example. Has it been published in due time according to the law? No, it hasn't. Do you ever ask yourself, "Why hasn't it been published?". Who prevented it? Has the Medium-Term Fiscal Plan been published in due time? According to the law, it has not been published in due time. Did you ask why it wasn't published in due time? Who stopped it? Which power prevented it? You are in power alone, there is nothing preventing you. But you can't even fulfill the requirements of the law. Likewise, the Budget Call and the annexes thereof, the Budget Preparation Guide, the Investment Circular, the Investment Program Preparation Circular, none of

these were published in due time. The annexes of the budget were presented to the Parliament after the budget was submitted. The annexes of the budget... They claim, "The budget was submitted at midnight," but we actually waited that night and we asked, "Will the budget be submitted?" "No", they said. On Sunday, Anadolu News Agency announced to the world, with a slightly timid message, that "The budget for 2021 has been submitted." There is no one preventing you. It is not like you were actually going to serve the people and we prevented it. It is not like you were going to publish it in due time and we prevented it. Were we wrong when we said "They didn't publish it in time"? These people are not abiding by the laws that you enacted. Yes, you see it too, I know, and they know it too. But they don't abide by the laws, and you still keep raising your hands, regardless. You have to question this in your own conscience. (Applause from CHP ranks) You have a mandate that history has encumbered up on you, you have a duty to fulfil, you have your own conscience! For heaven's sake, we enacted a law! Just obey the law. He says, "I will not obey the law." Why not? "Because I have 'tin soldiers' at the Parliament, they would raise their hands and vote for anything that I want them to". Does it really work that way? It works exactly that way. ("Shame on you!" cries from the AK PARTY ranks)

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – It's not my shame, not mine. (Applause from CHP ranks)

ÖZNUR ÇALIK (Malatya) – Don't confuse us with the CHP deputies!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Mr. President, Mr. Oktay just said: "The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, where the national will is manifested..."

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – You sent out deputies, whining.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Alright then, according to the Constitution, parliamentary questions of the esteemed deputies of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, where the national will is manifested, shall be answered within fifteen days, right? Yes, indeed. 13,606 parliamentary questions have been left unanswered for a year and a half or for almost two years, let alone fifteen days. What kind of Parliament are we advocating for here? We're advocating for a Parliament and an executive branch that responds to the parliamentary questions within fifteen days. Why don't you protest this practice? Because you never submit parliamentary questions. Well, we want to learn the facts, therefore we're submitting parliamentary questions. (Applause from CHP ranks) You have to tell the Government: "We voted for you, you got

elected and came to power, why don't you respond to the parliamentary questions within fifteen days?" And I have a reproach to make to the Distinguished Speaker. Mr. Speaker has to warn the executive branch, when they fail to respond to a parliamentary question within fifteen days.

Fellow Deputies, you see, the executive branch does not abide by the law, the executive branch does not respect the Constitution. And by keeping quiet, you are actually tolerating an executive branch that does not respect the Constitution, that casts a shadow over the dignity of the Parliament, that deems the parliamentary questions of the Deputies not worthy of being answered, all in violation of the rules. We shall not accept this, no matter who is in the executive branch, they must comply with the Constitution. But that is not the case, my friends.

The Plan and Budget Committee... We enacted a law, we came together, and passed a law. However, the executive branch does not respect the Constitution. The Central Bank must come and give an account to the Plan and Budget Committee at designated times. The same thing applies for the Social Security Institution, the Court of Accounts, the Minister of Treasury and Finance... According to the Law on Monitoring and Supervision of State Aids: "The Chairman of the Capital Markets Board, the President of the Natural Catastrophe Insurance Pool, the President of the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund, the Insurance and Pension Regulation and Supervision Agency, TURKSTAT and the Turkey Wealth Fund shall come and provide information to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey." Did they provide any information? Then why did you vote "yes" to these laws? Ask your own conscience. These institutions don't come to the Parliament and provide information in due time, they come at their own will. I'm telling you, they come whenever they please. They're not accounting to the Parliament... Well then, if it is a crime not to obey the law, which they don't, what shall we do now? Tell me, what shall we do? This Parliament, as they put it, is the place where the national will is manifested. But they don't care about the national will at all. They say "I don't care about you, I will not account to the Parliament". Tell me friends, what is that supposed to mean?

Fellow Deputies, a motion of inquiry was debated here last week, on who acquired the \$128 billion. I'm not talking about \$1, I'm not talking about \$1 billion, I'm not talking about \$50 billion, I'm talking about \$128 billion... Who was it sold to when the dollar exchange rate was low? You voted "no" to that motion. Why did

you vote no? If your children were to ask you that question at home, how would you answer, as a conscientious person, for God's sake? Tell me for heaven's sake, who was \$128 billion sold to? Let's all learn the answer. Who got the \$128 billion? Was it a farmer, was it a pensioner, was it a peasant, was it a street vendor selling "simit", was it a tea-waiter, was it a hairdresser? Who acquired the \$128 billion? The answer to that question is a mystery. The moment this institution, which is the place where the national will is manifested, says "Do not inquire this, do not touch those who get all the marbles", the dignity of this institution is eroded my friends.

Fellow Deputies, we have to defend the rights of the poor orphans. If you want justice, you should defend the rights of the poor orphans... But you have long stopped defending the rights of the poor, and you started defending the "dollar barons" like a fortress. (Applause from CHP ranks) Is this something tolerable? Can anyone accept this?

Fellow Deputies, as this motion was being debated, a respected member of parliament who had previously served as the Governor of the Central Bank took the floor and made the following statements, as covered by the press: "I worked at the Central Bank for thirty-five years, and I have never encountered a negative reserve." \$47 billion in negative, I repeat, in negative. The Central Bank's reserve is \$47 billion in negative. How did this system create \$47 billion in negative my friends? Who caused this? Who runs this country? It's not 1 lira, it's not 5 liras, it's not 100 liras, but it's 47 billion dollars in negative, and this must now be paid by our children and our grandchildren. We proposed investigating into what happened to the \$128 billion, they said no. We have \$47 billion in negative and they said "let's not investigate". Then, what will this institution, which is the place where the national will is manifested investigate? What will it investigate? Fine then, why don't you table a motion questioning "How long do the canaries live?", and maybe your deputies will then vote "yes" to it and we will all learn about canaries. (Applause from CHP ranks)

Fellow Deputies, you claim to be "local and national". That's fine, I have no doubt that you are local, but I have concerns over your "nationalness". Let me enumerate, one by one. How can you tell the nationalness of a country? By looking at its currency: the Turkish lira. When the Ottomans conquered another state and started ruling them, they would mint coins of the Ottoman Empire. Why? Because it meant, "This territory belongs to me." Is that right? Yes, that's right. Fine. Now tell me, currently, what is the percentage of the dollar deposits in the banks of the Republic of

Turkey? 56.3 percent. 56.3% of the deposits in the banks of the Republic of Turkey are in U.S. dollars. What kind of nationalness is this? What kind of politics is this, ruining the country like that? Why? Because the citizens do not have confidence. They say, "I'll keep my money, my savings, in dollars". They think the Turkish lira would depreciate. Fellow Deputies, who discredited the Turkish lira? Who turned our currency into this? Those who have been ruling this country for the last 18 years, isn't it them who caused the Turkish lira to depreciate like that, to fall into disgrace like that? Yes, it's them. Let me tell you something else: this is the situation for the deposits, so at least the money is there.

With a decree, they allowed the companies with no foreign currency income to borrow money in a foreign currency. Imagine, these companies do not have any foreign currency income, but the decree says, "You can obtain foreign currency loans." Why would they borrow money in a foreign currency? Isn't Turkish lira the currency in this country? In the past, it was prohibited. It was banned by the Government of late Mr. Ecevit. Turkish lira... Companies without foreign currency income should not borrow money in a foreign currency. If you have foreign currency income, then fine, go ahead and borrow, but do not get a foreign currency loan if you do not have foreign currency income. Because that would make Turkey go bankrupt. What did they do? They lifted the ban and now you can obtain foreign currency loans.

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – Municipality of İstanbul also obtained foreign currency loans.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – You paved the way for that, and of course, Municipality of İstanbul went ahead and... Look, I don't think borrowing in a foreign currency...

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – You have been busted!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – I am talking about citizens borrowing money from local banks in Turkey, in foreign currency. One more thing, one more thing, it's ok colleagues, one more thing. The Government of the Republic of Turkey borrowed money from its own citizens in dollars. The Government borrowed money from the citizens of the Republic of Turkey in dollars. What will you say to that? There, tell me, its own citizens, the citizens of the Republic of Turkey. The Government is the Government of the Republic of Turkey, and the borrowing is in dollars. Why? The citizens won't even lend you money, they say, "I'll lend it to you, only if it's in dollars." Who created this mistrust, who created this lack of confidence?

Fellow Deputies, those who have been ruling this country for the last 18 years, are the ones who have discredited the Turkish lira. (Applause from CHP ranks) We should not be valuing other currencies more than ours. My colleagues who studied economics would probably know about the Gresham's Law, "Bad money drives out good." Everyone would hold on to the good money, and try to get rid of the bad. Currently, the Turkish lira is bad money, but foreign currency is good money, everyone is keeping their money in foreign currency. 56 percent of the deposits in banks are in foreign currency. I wonder if you have heard of İhsan Salman, a citizen who lives in Iğdır? You have already forgotten him, haven't you? But your brother here hasn't. What did he do, dear Salman? He was a barber Salman, a barber. He said, "Whoever converts \$250, I will give him three free shaves." Look, he is more nationalist, more patriotic. (Applause from CHP ranks) You didn't even protect his rights; you didn't even watch for him.

Fellow Deputies, the Turkish lira depreciated against the dollar by 23.6 percent; and against the euro by 29.7 percent, since the beginning of the year. Let me tell you what that means. Currently, there are 30 large companies sustaining Turkey in the İstanbul Stock Exchange. These 30 companies, which include companies such as Akbank, İş Bank, Garanti Bank, Halkbank, OYAK Cement, Ereğli Steel and Iron, Koç Holding, Sabancı Holding, Doğan Holding, TÜPRAŞ, PETKİM, Türk Telekom, Turkcell and Turkish Airlines, had a total market value of \$150 billion in 2017, \$150 billion. What is their net worth today? \$60 billion dollars. It used to be \$150 billion... And now they are worth \$60 billion. Who caused this value loss? Who did this? In 2018, the country's national income in dollars was \$892 billion. Back in 2018. Now, the country's national income is \$736 billion; the national income that melted away in two years is \$156 billion. Who took these \$156 billion, who took it away? Have you ever wondered who took it out of people's pockets and gave it to whom? During that time, you came here to the Parliament and listened to the tale of Alice in Wonderland, and every once in a while, you applauded. You weren't even excited about it, even I could see it. This country turned into this ruin in eighteen years... People voted for you and you made them curse the day they were born.

RAMAZAN CAN (Kırıkkale) – Why did they vote?

ÖZNUR ÇALIK (Malatya) – You're the one making them curse!

RAMAZAN CAN (Kırıkkale) – Why didn't they vote for you?

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – People will take their votes back, don't worry, they will not vote for you again, you'll see.

(Applause from CHP ranks) You will see, God willing... Look, I'll say it again: God willing, you'll see how this nation will send you packing in the first elections. (Standing ovations from CHP ranks)

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – Will it be Muharrem İnce or you?

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Who does he work for? Who does he work for?

(Noises from AK PARTY and CHP ranks)

SPEAKER – Deputies, please...

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Listen friends, we are running out of time. (Noises from AK PARTY and CHP ranks)

SPEAKER – Please, you can't use such language here.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Friends, please...

In the last 18 years, how much was paid from the budget as interest payment? \$492 billion; the interest payment from the budget over the last 18 years is \$492 billion. How many millions of dollars do we pay every day? Turkey pays an interest of 75 million 573 thousand and 63 dollars every day. Turkey pays 3 million 148 thousand 878 liras interest every hour. Can you tell me... That's what I mean when I say that this is a budget that serves those who are corrupt. (Applause from CHP ranks)

Esteemed Deputies, you voted, fine. They created a second budget: Turkey Wealth Fund. So now, some of Turkey's assets are in that Fund, but do you have any information about it? No. Are you auditing it? No. This Parliament, the place where the national will is manifested, is it auditing it? No. Why not? Well, if the assets are there, if Turkey Wealth Fund is there, then why not... Where does all the money go?

Fellow Deputies, if we are talking about assets that worth 177 billion, then they must be audited. The Fund must be audited. Otherwise, I read the reports too. But there must be an audit. Just as the budget is controlled for the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the Fund must also be controlled, as it is the second largest budget in the country. Because there is a wealth of 177 billion liras in that Fund.

Let me give you the figures: Do you know how much was the Fund's short-term debt in 2017? It was 26 billion liras. What about the short-term debts of Turkey Wealth Fund in 2019? It went up from 26 billion liras to 951 billion liras. Have you ever questioned this in your conscience? Where did all this money go? They took the money, and then they borrowed more, but where did all the money go? Long-term debt was 32 billion liras, it went up to 271

billion liras. Have you ever questioned this at all? There are so many poor people, there are families that feed on the left-overs from vegetable markets, there are families that feed on garbage containers. Where's all this money going, where's it going? For God's sake, where is all the money going?

ENGİN ALTAY (İstanbul) – To the supporters of Erdoğan!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Look, Borsa İstanbul is also placed in the Turkey Wealth Fund. They sold 10 percent of it to the Qataris. We asked how much they sold it for. They said “for \$200 million...” Why \$200 million? What is Borsa İstanbul's profitability ratio? 52 percent. It's 52 percent profitable, so they will get the return on their investment in 152 months. What a lucrative sale! Well indeed, he has shown mercy, he could have sold it for 1 lira too. All because there's only one man in charge and he is not bound by the Public Procurement Law. What is the ruler of Qatar called, the King of Qatar?

ENGİN ALTAY (İstanbul) – The Emir.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Just like the Emir of Qatar granted him free airplanes, he could have given 10 percent of Borsa İstanbul for free too, there is nothing preventing him from doing so. Do you realize what kind of a regime you created?

Public-private partnership projects... Well, didn't your Honorable Chairman address the nation and say, "O Kılıçdaroğlu, not a single cent will come out of here, out of people's pockets!" He said it, not once, not a hundred times, but a thousand times. Well, just take a look at the budget now, billions are now being spent out of people's pockets. When a Party Chairman speaks, he must base his remarks on data, he must base his remarks on information, now tell me, why on earth did he say that?

RAMAZAN CAN (Kırıkkale) – You just can't just stand it, can you?

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – I can stand it. Every word I say is true, it's all true.

(Interjections among AK PARTY and CHP ranks)

ÖZGÜR ÖZEL (Manisa) – Mind your manners!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Just a second friends, just a second, Mr. Özgür, hold on a second...

But here's the problem: those who concede to others, cannot acknowledge the facts. Let me tell you again: those who concede to others, cannot acknowledge the facts. (Applause from CHP ranks, noises from AK PARTY ranks)

Well, you were talking about being "local and national," right? There's an "anti-nation" alliance here. Let me repeat, this is

an "anti-nation" alliance. Why do I say so? Well, are they making tenders? Yes. Who makes the tenders? The Government of the Republic of Turkey, meaning, the Republic of Turkey. Who gets awarded the tender? A citizen of the Republic of Turkey. Ok then, where are the services or goods procured? They are procured in the Republic of Turkey. Then why use U.S. dollars and not Turkish liras? Ok, let's imagine we accept the use of U.S. dollars, and a dispute emerges. Not the Turkish courts, but the London courts shall hear the case... Is that what you call being local, for God's sake? Is that what you call being national, for heaven's sake? (Applause from CHP and İYİ Party ranks) Well, you are not just paying these people in dollars. We call them the "gang of five" by the way, you pay the gang of five not only in dollars, but you also pay them the difference in the exchange rate, as the Turkish lira keeps weakening. Between 2014-2019, how many liras of exchange difference was paid? I am not saying it. The Court of Accounts report is saying it: 61 billion 719 million 322 thousand liras of exchange difference was paid. What did you give the farmers? You told the tradesmen, "Close down your businesses", you told the coffee shop owners, "Close down your shops", you even banned playing cards. What in God's name did you give them? What did you give to the coffee shop owners? What did you give to the tradesmen?

YAŞAR KIRKPINAR (İzmir) – 500 billion.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – You gave it as a loan, as a loan! You gave them loans and you will persecute them to pay you back. (Applause from CHP ranks)

I would like to call out to all my fellow citizens from this podium: God willing, we will come to power. God willing, and you'll see, we will end this robbery regime. We will nationalize and take away all these investments of the gang of five that will exploit even our grandchildren. ("Bravo" sounds from CHP ranks, constant applause)

Calm down colleagues... I'm running out of time. Thank you.

I asked, "What did you give to farmers? What did you give to tradesmen?" Did you give them 1 lira, or anything for free? Did you give them 1 cent? No, you didn't. Did you give anything to the greengrocers? No, you didn't. What did you give then, and to whom?

YAŞAR KIRKPINAR (İzmir) – 500 billion.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – You gave it to Qatar.

ZİVER ÖZDEMİR (Batman) – We gave it to the poor.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Exactly, "500 billion." Do you know what happened? Thank you by the way, you actually reminded me. A Qatari company acquired the match broadcasting rights for \$500 million. They said, "We will broadcast the matches for \$500 million." And then, when the dollar skyrocketed, they said, "We will not honor this agreement and we will not pay you any money". Well, normally one would go to the court, right? But they thought as they were shielded by the Palace, they did not have to pay anything. What did the Minister do? He gave them a discount of \$90 million.

See, you didn't give 1 cent to thousands of tradesmen, not even 1 cent! But you gave a discount of \$90 million to a Qatari company instantly. \$90 million! For God's sake, aren't you going to ever question your conscience? That's \$90 million! You gave it to just one entity, you gave it to an entity who actually had to pay you. There was an agreement in place, they had to give that money to you, but they came out and said, "We won't pay it." Does it end here? No, they actually did one more thing. The Qatari company said "Take no offence but we're not buying it! The dollar is increasing, we don't know how much more it will increase, so convert it into Turkish lira and fix the rate". They've done as they instructed. They converted it into Turkish lira and fixed the rate at 5.80 liras. Can you tell me, for God's sake, for God's sake, can you explain it to me? You give such a favor to a company, and then you tell the workers, "We'll give you 1,168 liras a month, which makes 39 liras a day, so you can live like a king!" Is this what you call justice? Is this what you call humanity? Is this what you call conscience? What is this for God's sake?

Fellow Deputies, they have cast their eyes on farmers' assets. We enacted a law, together, didn't we? Article 21 of the Law on Agriculture says, "Every year, at least 1 percent of the national income shall be given to farmers as subsidy from the budget." The law says "shall be given", not "might be given".

YAŞAR KIRKPINAR (İzmir) – It's given.

RAMAZAN CAN (Kırıkkale) – It's given.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – No it's not my friends. Ignorance is a strange thing, of course I wouldn't know it, ignorance is a bizarre thing... And there is no use in arguing with ignorant people. (Applause from CHP ranks) But I am telling you...

Turkey's national income is known by the public, you can look it up, you can check TURKSTAT's figures, and calculate how much 1 percent of the national income makes. The current

Government owes the farmers 211 billion liras, they expect to receive it but they never do. You should have given them 1 percent of the national income, every year, with the relevant increase. Well, you don't know the first thing about this budget, my fellow colleagues, you don't even know what the budget implicates. The incentive allocated in this budget is exactly the same amount as last year, it did not even increase by 1 percent. And I am really astonished at your ability to comment without knowing the first thing. But I bet you will immediately raise your hand and vote yes to it, like soldiers. I'm definitely sure. (Applause from CHP ranks)

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – They also applaud you, like soldiers.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – You are seizing the farmer's assets; you are confiscating their tractors and cattle. Fellow Deputies, there is the Enforcement and Bankruptcy Law in force. Who in his right mind would seize the assets of the farmers, the assets through which they make their living? You did it. This is what the farmers have become, the tradesmen have become, this is what the people collecting waste paper from the garbage have become: miserable. There are people who feed on the left-overs from vegetable markets, whereas for some of you and your friends – and when I say you, I do not mean those sitting on this side, I mean those sitting in this part of the hall- getting one salary is apparently not enough, getting two, three, even four salaries is not enough, so you are getting five salaries a month. Given we have such high unemployment, how is your conscience OK with one person getting four or five salaries? And we are talking about high-amount salaries here. How could this be morally justified? How can this be justified by a clear conscience? Who could justify this? (Applause from CHP ranks) Tank Track Factory... I will talk about it, yes. Tank Track Factory is a matter of honor for this country. Tell me, which country in the world has ever handed over its own tank track factory to another army? Well, they say "It's not worth \$20 billion, but it's actually worth \$250 million". Did I ever utter the words \$20 billion? I just explained who got the \$128 billion! Let alone \$20 billion, even if it's \$1, even if it's just a dollar, it's still the honor of the country we're talking about! That factory contains all the classified know-how of this country. Well, if Qatar manufactured tanks, then I would say ok, at least Qatar is a tank manufacturer so we as the country will benefit from their expertise. Please tell me, does Ethem Sancak have any experience in tank manufacturing business at all? Tell me for God's sake, tell me! (Applause from CHP ranks)

Erdoğan says – and very rightfully I have to say - "There is absolutely no such thing as the sale of the factory to Qatari investors." Well, that's right, it's true because it was given away for free. If it were to be sold, then they would have gotten paid in exchange. Not even 1 lira, not even 1 dollar, not a cent, not a penny was received, it was given away for free. That's why we say, "The Tank Track Factory has been given away as a favor." Fellow Deputies, Erdoğan said "This is not a privatization". It seems like he didn't even bother to read the decree he signed, most probably... The decree makes a reference to the Privatization Law, four or five times. How can a person not read the decree he signed; how can he not even take a glance at it, to see what it is about? It seems his love of Qatar blinded him. (Applause from CHP ranks) He also says another thing, referring to me: "He's still making unfounded claims, even though we have exhibited everything with documents". What document did he exhibit? I didn't see it, and if there's any document that you have seen, I would appreciate it, if you would be kind enough to present it to us. And when he tried to conceal the second decree, I was the one who made it public. We made it public together. Why are you hiding it? On what grounds are you keeping it away from us? What did the workers of the Tank Track Factory say? They said, "Tank Track Factory is our motherland, and you do not sell your motherland." All hail to those workers! For protecting the Tank Factory and their motherland. (Applause from CHP ranks) Let's move on, let's move on.

On November 9, 2018, The Presidency of Defense Industries posted a tweet: "The mass production of 250 ALTAY main battle tanks and life cycle logistic support..."

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – Start over.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – No.

The agreement they signed covers the establishment and operation of a Tank Systems Technology Center. The tweet continues: "The first ALTAY Tank will be delivered to the Turkish Land Forces Command within eighteen months. May this be auspicious for the country." Where's that first tank? Wasn't it going to be delivered in eighteen months?

ENGİN ÖZKOÇ (Sakarya) – Eighteen months? It's been two years.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Where is the tank? It was supposed to be delivered within 18 months.

ENGİN ÖZKOÇ (Sakarya) – They can only produce battery-powered tanks.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – They could have at least bought a toy tank, at least a toy tank. (Applause from CHP ranks) Where is this tank? You gave away the factory for free, you were supposed to get a tank in 18 months. You gave it away for free, the factory's gone, and there's no tank. You gave it away for 25 years, for free, 25 years! I'm asking the Government. Ethem Sancak purchases materials from different suppliers, issues an invoice of the materials that he purchases, adds a 25 percent profit to it, and says, "You will pay this much to me." They owe us an explanation. I know these invoices exist, I've seen them, and I have copies in my possession. Why? He outsources these materials, he doesn't produce anything, he delivers these materials to them and takes 25 percent profit. He claims he is going to build a tank with those materials. What tank? Where's this tank?

SALİH CORA (Trabzon) – When you have enough courage to go up on a tank, we will build tanks.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Fellow Deputies, did they not seize the money that belonged to the martyrs and veterans of July 15th? Didn't they confiscate it?

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – No.

ZÜLFÜ DEMİRBAĞ (Elâzığ) – There is no such thing.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – All that money would have disappeared, if it weren't for us! It would have vanished into thin air.

Let me tell you something even stranger. A total of 47 citizens were martyred in the terrorist attack in Beşiktaş, 40 of them police officers. A fundraiser was organized for them, and 52 million liras were raised. Does anyone know the amount of the salary assigned to one of the citizens whose son became a martyr in the attack? Of course, you don't know. Why don't you know? That's the problem. Why don't you ask?

ÖZNUR ÇALIK (Malatya) – That's impertinent!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Let me remind you Madam: 121 liras and 96 cents. I can show you the bank receipt if you want. Now, if your conscience is fine with giving 121 liras and 96 cents as salary to the father of a police officer who became a martyr as a result of a terrorist attack, then stay in your position, if you do not think it's fair, then you should resign. ("Bravo!" sounds from CHP ranks, applause) I'll show it to you, I'll show you the receipt.

ÖZNUR ÇALIK (Malatya) – Your figures are wrong.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – No one enjoys safety of life and property in this country. Let me repeat, no one in this

country has safety of life and property. People's trust in justice is shaken. Who was sitting around the table when you sold Borsa İstanbul to the Qataris? Who was at that table, have you ever wondered? There was a businessman there. That man, that businessman went to Pennsylvania after the 17-25 December investigations. After the 17-25 December investigations, he purchased 10 percent of Zaman Daily. That businessman was a depositor of Bank Asya. How come this man is sitting at that protocol table, sitting at the Government's protocol table, whereas even people who just happened to pass by Bank Asya were put in prison? (Applause from CHP ranks) And you captured and imprisoned military students, how come you are treating this man like royalty? Didn't you read the reports of the National Intelligence Organization? Didn't you see the reports of the Financial Crimes Investigation Board?

Well, let me tell you why that man was at that table. His name is also mentioned in the FETÖ indictment, the framework indictment. But no one can touch him, he is immune. Why? Because his lawyers are also Mr. Erdoğan's lawyers.

Take Antalya Science University for example. They shut all their universities down, but they didn't close this one. Who's the President? Fettah Tamince. Who's the Vice President? Ahmet Özel, the President of the Republic's Lawyer. Member Ahmet Kürşat Köhle is also the President's Lawyer; Mustafa Doğan İnal, Tevfik Günal, they are all President's lawyers, and they all appear in state protocol. Why can't anyone touch them? No one can touch them, they are immune.

Fellow Deputies, one more thing: but I want you to listen to this very carefully. A French company operating in Turkey owes money to our citizens, one citizen files a lawsuit and wins the case. If all the creditors would then go ahead and sue the company, the company will be in great difficulty. So, what's the first thing they do? They reach out to the President's lawyers. They hire them, they come together and they also invite two judges. By the way, this is not happening in a court, but they meet outside of the courthouse. The French representative, his lawyer, President's lawyer and two more people. The President's lawyer tells the judge sitting next to him "We want to see the reasoned verdict before it is announced, so that we can make the necessary changes". He is telling this to a judge, and they are not even in the court. Who's this person? He's the President's lawyer.

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – This has been refuted.

ENGİN ÖZKOÇ (Sakarya) – Oh you always claim it's a lie...

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – There has been no refutation, there is an audio recording, there is even an audio recording my friends. You are totally unaware of what's happening around you, and your eyes are blind to the truth. (Applause from CHP ranks) You corrupted the judiciary! You corrupted the justice system.

Is it me who is not enforcing the decisions of the Constitutional Court, for God's sake? Who is it that fails to enforce the decisions of the Constitutional Court? Who is it that fails to implement the judgements of the European Court of Human Rights? Am I the one not implementing them? Has any one of you come forward and said, "Decisions of the Constitutional Court must be enforced"? No, you cannot say such a thing, only we can say these things. (Applause from CHP ranks) We love our state, but you have a problem with it. You have a problem with the structure of the state.

"The press is free; it shall not be censored." Look, among the most devastating institutions for the justice system are the Public Advertising Agency and RTÜK (Radio and Television Supreme Council). What in God's name do these institutions do? The Public Advertising Agency imposed sanctions on newspapers for writing the facts. I'm talking about sanctions of advertising by the Public Advertising Agency for one month, three months, five months... Why did they impose this advertising sanction? Did these newspapers fabricate fake news? The news is true. Didn't Mr. Fahrettin Altun construct a pergola? He did indeed. Did he get a construction permit for it? No, he didn't. We're not against him constructing a pergola. Look, he can do it, he's a citizen too. He can go, make the necessary applications, file his petitions for a permit and maybe he will even receive some facilitation, because after all he is the "Head of Communications of the Presidency". And then he can build his pergola. But the moment an adviser to the President of a country -his press adviser- says, "I don't care about the law. I don't need to get permission from anyone. Why would I need a construction permit anyway? I'll just construct my pergola, and no one can utter a word"; then we shall draw the line.

BÜLENT TURAN (Çanakkale) – This is a scandal!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – He had to demolish it, he had to tear it down in the end. So, where is the scandal in this? The scandal is imposing sanctions on the newspapers that covered this news, this accurate news. That's the scandal. Is that democracy?

Same issue with RTÜK my friends. Look, they are robbing the state through the Public Advertising Agency.

Mr. Oktay, the state of the Republic of Turkey is being robbed through the Public Advertising Agency. There are newspapers that do not have any circulation. You cannot even find them at the newspaper stands. But then, according to the figures, their circulation is 50,000 and they receive advertising from the Public Advertising Agency for 50,000 copies. Easy money, easy money. As long as you have the Government backing you, you can easily publish five different newspapers and claim the circulation is 50,000 and get your money.

Mr. Oktay, if you love this country, if you are against injustice in this country, you should immediately ask for a system to control the circulation figures of newspapers by an objective institution. I don't know, maybe the Public Advertising Agency can supervise it or you can supervise it. And the money should be allocated accordingly. How come you rob the state? There was a newspaper called "Güneş," I guess you would remember. It had a circulation of 150,000 but it was closed. Would you close down a newspaper if it really had a circulation of 150,000? No. Well, this means there is something fishy here.

Distinguished Deputies, look, the banks advertise only in certain newspapers, I'm talking about the public banks. Don't you ever question why these public banks only place ads in certain newspapers? Why? Normally one would check the circulation figures of newspapers and place their advertisements accordingly. You would give the highest number of ads in the newspapers with the highest circulation and no one would object to that. Where does Turkcell place its ads? Only in the pro-government newspapers, only on their televisions, and never elsewhere. Is that justice? Is that right? Is that lawful? Why don't you object to that?

Look, my friends, in northern Iraq, in the city of Sulaymaniyah, 11 soldiers -one of them a major- were captured and hoods were put over their heads. We protested and we said, "You should send a diplomatic note to the United States of America". Erdoğan contested saying, "Are you talking about a musical note?" He meant "why on earth would we give a diplomatic note to a state like the US?" So, they did not. Now, let me ask you: our soldiers' heads were covered with hoods and no diplomatic note was sent, but two separate diplomatic notes were issued for Reza Zarrab. Why my friends, why? (Applause from CHP ranks) Is Reza Zarrab more valuable than our army? No, I also know that he's not more

valuable than our army but they were afraid, they thought, "What if Reza Zarrab talks! What would happen to us?"

Fellow Deputies, who has been ruling this country for the last 18 years? Who has been ruling it for 18 years? You enacted any law you wanted, any law; you issued any decree you wanted, you appointed the bureaucrats you wanted, you changed the institutions as you wished, you amended the laws of any institution that you wished. Then why did we end up like this after 18 years, how did we end up like this? I know, whenever you get a chance, you say, "It's because of CHP. We were going to make very good laws, they prevented it." What kind of reasoning is this? (Applause from CHP ranks)

You don't govern a state as if it's a joint stock company. If the joint stock company goes bankrupt, it closes. But states don't go bankrupt. Remember what Erdoğan was saying: "We need to govern the state like a joint stock company." There you go, you governed it like a joint stock company, and that's what's become of it.

Unemployment is the mother of all evil, my dear friends, unemployment is the mother of all evil. Imagine a father, a mother, and their university graduate child, they're all unemployed. Neither the father is able to look his son in the eye, nor is the son able to look the father in the eye. Just in front of the walls of this Parliament, people set themselves on fire. People climbed up to the roof of this Parliament to commit suicide. Look what you have done in 18 years!

I will tell you what the measure of economic success of a government is: the main measure of a government's success in economy is the employment that it creates. If you're not creating jobs, it means you're only working for certain circles, for certain individuals in the economy. Today, if there are over 10 million unemployed people in Turkey, it's because this Government of eighteen years has worked not for the citizens of the Republic of Turkey, but for a handful of people. They made the entire Government of the Republic of Turkey serve a handful of loan sharks in London. They did it, I'm not saying anything to you. You are to blame for only one thing, and I'll tell you what it is: for raising your hands and voting yes to any bill they table, without ever questioning it. Just question for once, just say, for God's sake "This is wrong, you must fix this".

Fellow Deputies, they have announced 16 employment packages up until today, 16. In total 22 packages. After each package, unemployment increased, after each package the number

of unemployed people increased, package after package... And we're so sick and tired of these packages that we can't even keep track of. They don't know, they simply don't know what to do. For God's sake, tell me, is this how the economy is managed? They shut down the most fundamental institutions of the state – as a colleague mentioned- the State Planning Organization, the Board of Finance Inspectors, the Tax Inspector's Board.

Distinguished Deputies, look, when I was a tax inspector, we would go to universities and ask the professors to show us their most hard-working students. Then we would go and beg those students to take our institution's entrance exam. We, the Board of Inspectors, would compete among us, to recruit the most brilliant student. The State Planning Organization would take the most qualified students, those who had Master's or PhD degrees. They shut down these institutions. There's no merit system in the government. Well, there can't be a merit system in a one-man regime anyway. Why not? Because it's just one person who decides everything, so there's no need for qualified people working at lower levels, no need at all.

Look, my dear friends, they raided our ship in the Mediterranean. If it weren't for the European Union officials, if they hadn't made a statement, we wouldn't have learned the truth. They wanted to search the ship, but of course the Government of the Republic of Turkey did not allow it. Four hours later, there was still no answer, four hours! Then the Ambassador to Rome said "Please wait for another hour, maybe we can get an answer". Five hours later, there was still no answer. Why? Because no one could reach Erdoğan. Doesn't this country have a Minister of Foreign Affairs? How many Foreign Ministers are there in this country? Is İbrahim Kalın the Minister of Foreign Affairs? Is Hulusi Akar the Minister of Foreign Affairs, or is it Mevlut Çavuşoğlu who is the Minister of Foreign Affairs? Who's the Foreign Minister? Five hours, my friends. Then, the next day our Foreign Office issued a statement: "Well, this is what happened in the morning. They landed on the board of the ship at 5.45 pm; and we condemned it." Of course, you condemned it, we all condemned it. Did you ask yourselves what happened in Turkey during those five hours? What happened in those five hours?

Fellow Deputies, the starvation threshold for a family of 4 is 2,517 liras. The starvation threshold is 2,517 liras. I'm not saying the "poverty threshold", it's the starvation threshold that is 2,517 liras. Today the minimum wage is 2,324 liras. Why don't we all take a decision today -a precatory decision- and make minimum wage

3,100 liras and make it tax exempt, without any burden on the employer, making sure the workers get what they deserve: 3,100 liras? (Applause from CHP ranks) Look, those who earn 5 different salaries get much more than 3,100 liras from each institution. They get at least 10,000 liras from each institution. Make the minimum wage 3,100 liras, at least for the unemployed people. Make it tax exempt, and when it's tax exempt, there will be no burden on the employer, the problem will be solved. Let's do this together, they didn't do it; the Government didn't do it, but let the Parliament do it. Let's stand up for the minimum wage earners. The minimum wage has become the average wage. It's terrible my friends.

So, let's not hand the budget over to the loan sharks, but let's grant the budget to its rightful owners. Let's serve the workers, pensioners, peasants, civil servants, industrialists, those who produce, those who work hard for their bread, let us serve them. Do you realize that the loan sharks in London are actually dictating us the interest rate that we are supposed to be asking them? Turkey Wealth Fund opened a tender three times, an international tender. They went out to tender in September, nobody wanted to give them money. They went out again, nobody wanted to give them money. Then for a third time they went out to tender, and still, no one. Because the interest they ask for is too high. Then they said, "If you pay this much interest, we'll give it to you."

Look, my friends, our municipalities are able to get a lower interest than the \$2.5 billion that the Republic of Turkey was able to get, much lower.

HASAN TURAN (İstanbul) – Is it guaranteed by the Treasury?

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – It's not a Treasury guarantee, my friends, the state provides the guarantee, and the state is taking the loan. If the interest rate our municipalities are able to get is lower than the interest that the Treasury of the Republic of Turkey is able to secure, then you have to think about the extent of trust in us, my friends, think about it. (Applause from CHP ranks) If İzmir Municipality is able to find money for investment from international markets at a lower interest rate than the public banks in Turkey, then you have to see how much they trust us. Yes, you have to see how much trust they place in us.

Let me put it this way, no one shall abandon themselves to despair, my friends. Turkey is a great country. Turkey has both the strength and the competency to overcome all its problems. (Applause from CHP ranks) We will support hard work, we will

support labor, we will stand with workers, we will stand with farmers.

ÖZNUR ÇALIK (Malatya) – What about women?

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – It will be up to us, God willing, to get rid of the shame of those families who feed on the market left-overs and those families who feed on garbage containers. (Applause from CHP ranks)

We will bring democracy in the first elections, we will bring justice in the first elections, we will bring merit in the first elections. In the first elections, we will show the entire world the value of hard-work. In the first elections, we will save the Government of the Republic of Turkey from those loan sharks in London. Everyone must know. (Applause from CHP ranks)

HASAN ÇİLEZ (Amasya) – Will you be able to run?

RAMAZAN CAN (Kırıkkale) – Run, run!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Dear friends, what has become of you? Who told you I could run or not? Who told you? ("Bravo" sounds from CHP ranks, applause)

What do I want? I don't want a one-man regime. I don't want an administration that makes life miserable for tradesmen in the country. I want a parliamentary system, I want a democratic, populist, parliamentary system. I want a political mentality that accounts for every single penny. I want politicians who would willingly ask for an investigation, ask for an inquiry, when the origin of their assets is questioned. ("Bravo" sounds from CHP ranks, standing ovations) I don't come from a culture that perceives politics as a means of enrichment. I come from a culture that sees politics as an opportunity to serve people, to serve God. I have never, ever in my life, condescended to ill-gotten gains, violated anyone's rights, violated the laws. I've always stood with justice, and defended justice at all times.

RAMAZAN CAN (Kırıkkale) – Then run for president!

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – I've never submitted to those who threatened to investigate my assets. (Applause from CHP ranks)

Fellow Deputies, today, you are borrowing money to pay back your debts. You borrow money to pay back what you have already borrowed, and you borrow more to pay back the interest on your debt. Yes, you should know these facts. Life is bitter, but you should know these facts.

("What about the metropolitan municipalities?" someone asks from the AK PARTY ranks)

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Rest assured, all our municipalities are working like beavers, we all are working hard. (Applause from CHP ranks) I told them, no matter what obstacle they bring on your way, you won't complain, ever. You will not discriminate among citizens. I told them, "Start from the neighborhoods that they have long neglected. Serve them first. Know no obstacles and serve the people in the best manner" and that's exactly what they are doing. (Applause from CHP ranks) About Ankara... Aren't you the one who talked about "Selling the lands of Ankara parcel by parcel"? Wasn't that you? (Applause from CHP ranks) Did you hold the man who sold the entire city parcel by parcel accountable? You're standing behind him! How come you're standing behind the man who sold Ankara parcel by parcel? (Applause from CHP ranks) How could this happen? What morality, what religion, what faith can allow this? For God's sake, tell me!

Fellow Deputies, there are many more scandals to talk about.
(Microphone turned off automatically)

SPEAKER – Mr. Kılıçdaroğlu, please continue.

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) - Colleagues, the Republic of Turkey is a state that fought the National War of Independence. (Interjections from AK PARTY and CHP ranks)

Friends, no, don't respond. No matter what they say, it doesn't matter, it really doesn't matter.

The Republic of Turkey is a state that fought the National War of Independence. Would it befit the dignity of the Republic of Turkey to appoint someone who takes bribes, as an ambassador to this Republic? (Applause from the CHP ranks) 2 of them indeed! It was proven that they took bribes, they received the bribes in chocolate boxes. I made public one's proof of bribery by showing the documents from the court file. And you appointed these people as ambassadors! They will carry the Turkish flag in their car. I can't take it, but obviously you can. How can you stand it, tell me! (Applause from CHP ranks) But let me also tell you, there are very dignified people among you too, I might criticize, but there are extremely dignified people, people who could represent Turkey in the best way possible. So, why appoint the bribers as ambassadors when you have the honorable people available, why? I don't get it, but if you have a reason for this, please come out to the podium and explain it. Explain us why you appoint bribers as ambassadors. (Applause from CHP ranks)

(Microphone turned off automatically)

KEMAL KILIÇDAROĞLU (Continues) – Fellow Deputies, I extend you all my warmest greetings and respects. ("Bravo"

interjections and standing ovations from CHP ranks, noises from AK PARTY ranks)