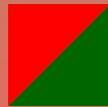



**REPORT**



**PAKISTAN** Parliamentary  
Defence Committee Delegation  
Study Visit to **TURKEY**

**November 15-19, 2009**

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PILDAT is an independent, non-partisan and not-for-profit indigenous research and training institution with the mission to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan.

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## Preface

The Study Visit to Turkey for the key members and staff of the Parliamentary Defence Committees of Pakistan was organised from November 15-19, 2009.

The visit, which has been supported by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK, through the British High Commission, Islamabad, was part of the larger project with PILDAT titled *Research and Dialogue to Improve Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*.

The objectives of the Study Visit were to facilitate an interaction between Pakistani and Turkish counterparts at the Parliamentary and other levels, and provide avenues of learning and understanding from each others' perspectives on the broad objectives of civilian and Parliamentary oversight of the security sector.

In organising this Study Visit, PILDAT received invaluable support from the Foreign Office of Pakistan, Pakistan's Embassy in Ankara; the Embassy of the Turkish Republic in Islamabad and the Turkish Foreign Office; the office of the Deputy Speaker National Assembly of Pakistan as well as the Secretariat of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which we gratefully acknowledge. Our special thanks are due for support and cooperation provided by Mr. Burhan Kayaturk, Turkish MP and Chairperson of the Pak-Turkey Friendship Group in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the largest friendship group in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. PILDAT also wishes to thank all the individuals and institutions, who set aside valuable time for meeting and interaction with the delegation during the study visit.

This report outlines an overview of the study visit and its meetings. Pakistani delegates' specific feedback of the study visit is also part of this report.

### Disclaimer

This report outlines views of the delegation and the Turkish counterparts with which meetings and interactions were held. These views are not necessarily shared by PILDAT. Furthermore, the opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of PILDAT, or the British High Commission, Islamabad.



## Background and Introduction

As a non-partisan political and independent think tank working to strengthen democracy and democratic institution in Pakistan, PILDAT ([www.pildat.org](http://www.pildat.org)) considers strengthening the work of Parliamentary Committees as the most important element of strengthening Parliament, the key institution of governance. The Defence Committees of the Senate and the National Assembly hold a unique position in Pakistan's peculiar civil-military relations and are charged with the responsibility of oversight on the defence sector. Given PILDAT's focus on improving civil-military relations in Pakistan, we believe it is very important that Defence Committees are aided and strengthened so that they can engage in an effective and responsible parliamentary oversight of the Defence Sector.

The PILDAT Study Visit to Turkey for key members and staff from both Houses of Parliament and Parliamentary Defence Committees of Pakistan was organised in this backdrop. The Study Visit aimed to facilitate an interaction between Pakistani and Turkish counterparts at the Parliamentary and other levels, and provide avenues of learning and understanding from each others' perspectives on the broad objectives of civilian and Parliamentary oversight of the security sector.

## The Pakistan Delegation

The Pakistani delegation included **Senator Mir Jan Muhammad Khan Jamali**, Deputy Chairman, Senate of Pakistan (Balochistan, Pakistan Muslim League-PML); **Mr. Faisal Karim Kundi**, MNA, Deputy Speaker, National Assembly of Pakistan (NA-24, D.I.Khan, NWFP, Pakistan Peoples Party, PPP); **Senator Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Javed Ashraf Qazi**, Chairperson, Senate Standing Committee on Defence (Punjab, Pakistan Muslim League-PML); **Begum Ishrat Ashraf**, MNA, Member National Assembly Standing Committee on Defence (NA-372-Punjab-I, PML-N); **Capt. (Retd. ) Rai Ghulam Mujtaba Kharral**, MNA, Member National Assembly Standing Committee on Defence (NA-143, Okara-I, Punjab, PPP); **Mr. Iftikharullah Babar**, Special Secretary/Secretary to Defence Committee, Senate of Pakistan; **Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob**, Executive Director, PILDAT and **Ms. Aasiya Riaz**, Joint Director, PILDAT.

Detailed profiles of the Study Visit participants are contained in Appendix A.

The Study Visit to Turkey provided delegates with an opportunity to learn about the Turkish system of civilian and parliamentary control and oversight of the defence in Turkey, the approach and degrees of Parliamentary tools available to exercise this control in Turkey, the nature of prevailing civil-military relations in Turkey as well as the relationship and interplay of various institutions and parties in the Turkish democracy.

In addition to the Study Visit programme based on learning and interactions, the delegation was hosted to a dinner by Pakistan's Ambassador to Turkey on November 17, 2009 and by HURSIAD, the Association of Independent Businessmen on November 18, 2009. Including the Chairman Mr. Rahmi BIYIK, the Hursiad had invited key media personalities from various media groups to interact with the delegation. The delegation reiterated the need for greater trade and business-related cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan.

The delegation was also hosted at the residence of the British Ambassador to Turkey H.E. Mr. Reddaway and the two sides shared their perspectives on civil-military relations in Turkey and subjects of mutual interest including cooperation in war against extremism and terrorism.





## **Synthesis of the Study Visit**

*(Based on the feedback and post-visit Interactions of the Pakistan Delegation)*

Turkey has experienced several military interventions in the last 50 years in almost regular ten (10) years cycles and has never experienced an era of military subordination to civil authorities. All political forces, especially the Republican People's Party, excluding the periods when Bulent Ecevit led it, have welcomed the military's participation in politics. Thus, the Turkish Armed Forces have exerted significant influence on successive civilian regimes and have extended full support to the Judiciary and the Constitutional Court. Moreover, the Military also exercises control over universities while military institutions of higher education are outside the purview of the Higher Education Council. The Army which is the main guarantor of the secular status of Turkey may not give up power easily for fear that the country may be taken over by the Islamists.

Turkey has a unicameral Parliament since the last 86 years, called the Grand National Assembly. Three decades ago the Turkish Parliament comprised a Senate and National Assembly but the Senate was abolished subsequently. Presently, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has 550 members of which 338 belong to the treasury benches, a number which is slightly less than a two thirds majority. Besides the ruling AK Party there are three other political groups represented in parliament.

The Turkish Parliament has about 10 committees called Commissions of Parliament. Each commission has different number of members, with Defence Commission having 25 and the Plan and Budget Commission comprising 40 members. The Defence Committee, which is called the National Defence Commission, only checks legislation pertaining to the Armed Forces. It has no oversight over defence procurements and does not discuss the defence budget, which is the responsibility of the Plan and Budget Commission in a close-door meeting with the Ministry of Defence. However, the National Defence Commission of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is facilitating channels of information between the political and military leadership. Minutes of the meetings of the Defence Commission are not recorded.

On the other hand, the National Security Council (NSC), created under the constitution in 1980, regulates the whole area of politics. The ruling AK Party has introduced some reforms in the composition of the NSC. At certain points in time the Military not only controlled the state but also gave binding suggestions to the government through the National Security Council. The democrats argue that this arrangement had transformed Turkey into a security state. It is alleged that the National Security Council worked under secret directives, which were unearthed in 1997. It is also felt that the Kurd issue has been kept alive by the Military. The press was also suppressed and asked to play to the tunes of the military. A privileged class in Turkey does not want to give up power and supports military interventions.

Post 2003 elections, the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) is in power which is trying to change the political culture of Turkey. There is realization among the people that they can progress and prosper under democracy and Turkey can find a place in the European Union with a true and continued democratic setup. The process is gradual but effective as there are no visible signs of any head-on collision between the political and military leadership. The National Security Council has been reformed. The National Defence Commission, on the other hand, has to go a long way before it can scrutinise the work and performance of the Armed Forces or to discuss the defence budget at length.

In the context of the Judiciary, the military judicial system constitutes significant roadblock in the way of establishing the supremacy of the rule of law. Parliament, however, took a historic step in late June 2009 with an amendment to a law that paved the way for civilian courts to try members of the military accused of crimes that include threat to national security, constitutional violations, organizing armed groups and attempts to topple the government. But the fate of the bill has become uncertain since the main opposition, the Republican Peoples Party, which backs the military, took the case to the Constitutional Court to try to get the bill overturned. The court, famous for its highly politicized decisions, is scheduled to hear the case soon. Nevertheless, the amendment to the law initiated by the ruling AK Party is an important step towards democratic reforms.

The Turkish and Pakistani polity has some visible similarities which became more pronounced during the Study Visit to Turkey. Both the countries had continuous interventions by the military; in both countries elected Prime Ministers were hanged, both countries deal with some kind of ethnic problems like Kashmir in the context of Pakistan and Kurds in the context of Turkey.

Suppression of the media in both countries in the past was another similarity noticed by the parliamentary delegation. In both Turkey and Pakistan military governments were supported by political parties. In the case of Turkey this support came from Republican and Secular Parties while in the case of Pakistan the support came from right wing or religious parties. The Judiciary in both countries was pliant and gave verdicts in favour of the military governments. The infamous doctrine of necessity in the case of Pakistan is a case in point. Both countries have National Security Councils with varying powers and jurisdiction, which in the case of Pakistan is not very assertive and has become dormant after the formation of the PPP Government in 2008.

The difference between the two countries, however, is that Turkey owes its liberation and independence to the Turkish Armed Forces which foiled attempts by foreign powers to invade Turkey after World War 1. In the case of Pakistan, the country was liberated after a long political struggle.

However, while comparing the present institutional set up of the Parliament in Pakistan and Turkey, it can be said that the Parliament and its committees in Pakistan are making an inroad into defence matters. It may be pertinent to mention that the defence budget was laid and discussed in the Parliament and has been thoroughly discussed at least by the Defence Committee of the Senate during the last two financial years. The Defence Committee of the Senate was also briefed on the nuclear command and control set up twice in the last three years and once on the defence policy. The National Security Committee of the Parliament has also discussed issues pertaining to the security environment of the country and has sought briefings from military and Intelligence high command. The Parliament of Pakistan was instrumental in supporting the government to deploy troops in the restive areas of Swat and FATA for carrying out military operation against terrorists.

In the case of Turkey, the Parliament has to go a long way in taking up defence issues on the floor of the House or in the Defence Commission.

The way forward for Pakistan is that the political and military leadership should build the trust to trust each other. The return to democracy since 2008 has shown signs of restraint by the military to venture into the political landscape and a new equilibrium is being reached in relations between the civil and the military.

The 2003 political turn in Turkish politics was ushered in by public support. The subsequent reforms carried out by the new government, keeping in view the aspirations of the people of Turkey, can change the mind of the military due to fear of public backlash. The government and political forces seem confident to carry Turkey forward on the path of true democracy.

## Pre-Departure Briefing

The Study Visit to Turkey began with a pre-departure briefing on Friday, November 13, 2009 at the Chamber of the Honourable Deputy Speaker National Assembly of Pakistan.

Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, Executive Director of PILDAT provided delegates with Study Visit folders containing pre-departure material, background paper on Turkish political and parliamentary system as well as a snapshot of the Republic of Turkey. Mr. Mehboob also presented an overview of key areas of interest in the civil-military relations, current issues as well as Parliamentary system.

PILDAT commissioned a special background paper titled **Politics of the Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector in Turkey** covering answers to questions such as how Turkish democratic institutions, such as the Parliament and Parliamentary Committees, engage in a democratic oversight of the defence sector; does the Turkish Grand National Assembly have the powers, systems and processes in place to oversee the Defence sector? How effectively are these powers, systems and processes used? The background paper for the benefit of the delegates was also part of the study visit brief provided to delegates by PILDAT.

Providing a background to Pak-Turkey Relations for the benefit of the Parliamentary delegation, Mr. Mushtaq Ali Shah, Director General, (ECO, CARs & IT), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pakistan said that the Government and the people of Pakistan deeply value their fraternal ties with the Government and the people of the Turkish Republic. Our relations with Turkey hold a strategic significance and the two brotherly countries have always stood together and extended support to each other at the international fora. Pakistan would like to take Pakistan-Turkey relations to new heights by focusing on economic and commercial cooperation, through public-private partnership.

Alluding to the successful state visit by the Turkish Prime Minister to Pakistan from October 24-26, he said that during the visit, the two countries established a High Level Cooperation Council, headed by the Prime Ministers of the two countries. The two countries also signed a visa abolition agreement for businesspeople of the two countries. We are now close to signing a Readmission agreement, after which the businesspeople of the two countries would be able to travel without a visa.

Pakistan and Turkey are also members of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). The launch of the Islamabad-Istanbul container train under the auspices of ECO on August 14, 2009, is a milestone in building infrastructure connectivity. We should seriously examine the ways and means of running "fast speed cargo trains" from Islamabad to Istanbul.

Pakistan greatly values Turkey's participation in the "Friends of Democratic Pakistan" (FoDP) forum and we look forward to Turkey's active role in mobilizing immediately needed resources by Pakistan (Turkey has committed US \$ 100 million in assistance through FoDP).

Turkey's humanitarian assistance to Pakistan in times of need (during the 2005 earthquake as also during the Swat Operation) is deeply valued by the people of Pakistan.



### **Roundtable Discussion: Turkey's Transition to Democracy from Military Rule: Lessons and Future Challenges**

The Study Visit formally began with a roundtable discussion hosted by PILDAT in Istanbul on November 16, 2009. The roundtable, which brought together a range of experts on Turkish Civil-Military Relations, was meant to offer a backdrop to the Study Visit organised under the broad objective of learning about Turkish transition from military rule to civilian rule and the consolidation of democracy.

Experts who spoke at the roundtable included Mr. Sanar Yurdatapan, Non-Government Sector; Active in setting-up joint Parliamentarian-NGO committees; Ms. Hale Akay, Economist and the coordinator of the Security Almanac; Prof. Ergun Yildirim, professor of Sociology at the Istanbul Technical University and Prof. Bekir Berat Ozipak, professor at the Istanbul Tjjarat University. The speakers shared their views and assessment on the current nature of civil-military relations in Turkey, the role played by civilian political and democratic institutions in oversight of the defence sector in Turkey and its effectiveness, challenges and opportunities of civilian oversight of defence/security sector in Turkey and the role is played by business, media and civil society in Turkey in security sector oversight.

#### **Mr. Sanar Yurdatapan**

Initiative for Freedom of Expression

Sharing his views at the roundtable, Mr. Yurdatapan said that in Turkey the STATE is a sort of oligarchy of military and

civilian bureaucracy, which has become very well organized, particularly since the military coup in 1980. One should always keep in mind that there is a sharp distinction between government and state in Turkey, if we are to understand developments and solve the puzzle of what is going on. This is particularly true when considering freedom of expression issues.

In the middle, stands the military that has a word to say in every issue and always the last word. For long years, the State Security Council was at the top, which was an advisory council whose "advice" has never been rejected by any government since its establishment in 1961. But the SSC has forced governments to resign from time to time and always succeeded. It is still an effective council where the government and military bargain and try to achieve consensus.

Then comes the top administration of the judicial wing the high court judges. They started to play the triggering role after the military had to take some steps back following the great loss on 2007 General Election. The Constitutional Court gave the strangest decision about the minimum number of present deputies at the Parliament in order to start the Presidential Election discussions as 367. Then came the case opened by the chief prosecutor of the Appeal Court against the governing AK Party with demand of closure. The most actual attack from the judiciary is the decision of Sincan first instant court, that some DTP (Pro Kurdish party) deputies in the Parliament should be questioned by the prosecutor, discarding their immunity.

And then comes YÖK, the Higher Education Council, a



central authority which controls all universities, on which sits a representative appointed by the military (always a serving or retired soldier); RTÜK High Council for Radio and TV, which controls broadcasting, and has the right to stop transmissions temporarily or permanently, also containing a representative appointed by the military.

The Turkish media does its best, but it is largely owned by huge conglomerates that depend on the goodwill of the state for their commercial well-being. The media will not take the lead in calling for freedom of expression, even for its own right to freedom of information, if it harms the economic interests of the monopoly holding and its relations with the state.

One of the most important factors in Turkey is the Kurdish problem. Although Kurds were persuaded to fight alongside Turks for independence of the country after the First World War, the territory where they lived through centuries was divided into four at the Treaty of Lausanne. Their disappointment continued with the change in Turkish State policy to one of assimilation in 1925. The state managed to repress several revolts in the east with blood and fire, the state's fear for its own sovereignty persists. The state banned Kurdish language and culture, and denied even the existence of Kurds. It was a crime to use the words Kurd and Kurdistan, and towards the end of his life our most celebrated humorist Aziz Nesin was repeatedly tried at the SSC for breaking this taboo.

When the Kurdistan Workers' Party, the PKK, started armed activities in 1984 it was the start of an undeclared war so called "low intensity armed conflict" that still goes on- cost the lives of nearly 40,000 on both sides, including civilians. The army burned and emptied 3,600 villages draining the sea to kill the fish - and four million Kurdish farmers were forcibly displaced. Now they live in the outskirts of the big cities in conditions of real hardship. Diyarbakir's population before this war was 450,000 now it is 1.5 million. There has been an unexpected progress this year, a "Kurdish/Democratic Opening" plan by the AK Party government, but the content is still not very clear yet.

Mr. Yurdatapan said that Turkey is one of the most long-standing candidates for the European Union membership, since its first application was in 1961, but still waiting at the door. One obstacle in its path is the "Cyprus problem."

At the beginning the AK Party and Prime Minister Erdogan seemed to be making serious efforts to change Turkey. But

the STATE resisted as usual and he has had to take many steps back.

#### **Ms. Hale Akay**

Economist and the coordinator of the Security Almanac Sharing her views with the Pakistan delegation at the Roundtable, Ms. Hale Akay said that the issue of security is one of the most pressing problems in the Turkish political system. The problem of security is not limited to the role and organization of the security system. Rather, it is also related to the guiding function and autonomous role that the security sector plays in the political structure as a whole.

The guidance function of the security institutions can be observed in three levels. The first one is historical and conceptual. The operations and perceptions of different elements of the system (state, political parties, institutions, society) and different sectors (education, business and foreign) are all security-centred.

Security is perceived in the broadest sense, encompassing all. Security is considered as the main pillar of the system and is expected as the guiding force of all elements mentioned. The regularity and governing characteristics of security, and national security in particular, have penetrated the entire legal framework, widened whenever seemed crucial and deepened with every military intervention. Moreover, security is defined by ambiguous and subjective expressions such as "The Turkish nation, national interest, national benefit, national strength and organization," etc.

The upside down hierarchy between various institutions of all levels also resembles the situation in the legislative field. The relationship between military bureaucratic structures, as it relates to political authority and security is inverted. This can be detected from the non-existent differentiation of the authority between the law maker and the law enforcer. In addition to that, security institutions execute both law-making and regulatory functions. Thus, as a historical trajectory there is a distinction between the sphere of the state and the sphere of politics, and the control of the former over the latter is the principle. Therefore, with the help of legitimising concepts such as national security, the sphere of politics can be effectively limited and many issues can be closed off from the political debate.

At the third level, there are the security institutions and their relationship to political structures. Military authority continues to play a dominant role in the civilian and the political arenas as an integral part of the Turkish political

structure. The dominance of military is based on two primary pillars: the first pillar is the autonomy the Armed Forces enjoy within the system. This autonomy is fostered by the governing role the military plays in formulating military as well as domestic and foreign policy, mostly directly, without any intermediary political institution. Nevertheless, there is also an extreme centralization of the Turkish army. This results in a military structure and policy in which the accumulation of powers in the sphere of national defence leads to a single authority and the creation of hierarchy within the military authority.

Under this framework, in analyzing different aspects of democratic oversight and civil-military relations, one has to mention several institutions and their shortcomings:

- **Parliamentary Oversight:** Despite the legislative and budgetary scrutiny of the Parliament, it is impossible to talk about an effective oversight. This is closely related with the functioning of the National Security Commission within the Turkish Parliament; however the problem also stems from the lack of civil capacity and the unwillingness of the Parliamentarians to involve in problems of the security sector.
- **Execution:** There are certain limitations in and an upside-down distribution of powers between executive branches. Despite the reforms that have been approved and implemented since the beginning of 2000, this anomaly in the organisation of executive powers can still be detected from the institutional competence of the Ministry of National Defence, the functioning of the National Security Council, and the preparation of the National Security Policy Document.
- **Civil Society:** The traditional perception of civil society is also affected from the dominance of security, and national security in particular. Thus, the state's approach towards civil society has always been biased towards repressive policies, especially freedom of expression and organisation. Moreover, civil society's attempts for the oversight of the security sector are quite limited up to now.

Prof. Ergun Yildirim, professor of Sociology at the Istanbul Technical University and Prof. Bekir Berat Ozipak, professor at the Istanbul Tıjarat University added to the insights put forward by the earlier speakers highlighting the limitations on the role of the civil society in Turkey in working on the issue of civil-military relations. They believed that despite

these challenges, the military seems to be gradually endorsing the steps taken by civilian administration.

In Q&A/Discussion that ensued, the speakers shed details on the "Ergenekon" scandal that begun with a police raid in June 2007 on a house in an Istanbul shantytown that netted some grenades and fuses. More raids and arrests followed, leading to the opening of a first indictment in July 2008; the second was accepted by the court in March 2009; the addition of fifty-two (52) new defendants named in the third brings the total number of suspects to almost 200, among them are Four-Star Generals and prominent politicians, journalists and academics.

Prosecutors say the Ergenekon organization was born of Operation Gladio, an informal name for the anti-Communism stay-behind networks established by NATO following World War II. The Gladio network famously came to light through a public investigation of a covert network in Italy. Turkey is thought to be the only country where the network still has a presence.

The AK Party commentators hail the trial as the first attempt to bring down the "deep state" in Turkey, a network of highly placed military and political officials, intellectuals, media elites and organized crime members who seek to control affairs of state, and are prepared to overthrow the government. Representatives of the secular opposition, meanwhile, see the trial as an attempt to defame the military and muzzle opposition to the AK Party by instituting a climate of fear.

The speakers termed the PKK as a problem that emerged as a result of the military coup in Turkey. The participants felt that though there was overwhelming support for continuation of democracy and there appear limited challenges to democracy but the military and bureaucracy need to be firmly under the civilian parliamentary control for consolidation of democracy in Turkey.





## Meetings and Interactions at Grand National Assembly of Turkey

### Meeting with Mr. Mustafa Açıkalın

Chair of the Plan and Budget Commission, Grand National Assembly of Turkey

Welcoming the delegates, Mr. Mustafa Açıkalın said that in the East and the West, Pakistan is the greatest friend of Turkey. The two countries have a lot to learn from each other, especially in the sphere of Parliamentary democracy and should join hands in the areas of industry and trade as well.

Briefing the delegation about the role of the Plan and Budget Commission, he said that the review of the annual budget is carried out by this commission. He highlighted that the Plan and Budget Commission was the largest and more powerful of the 10 commissions and had 40 members, 24 of whom belonged to the ruling AK Party. He said that 75% of the total laws were passed by the Plan and Budget Commission.

Explaining the budget process and the role of the commission, he said that the budget is prepared by the Finance Ministry in consultation with other ministries. The budget is presented to and discussed in the Plan and Budget Commission before it is sent to the House. The period of review of the budget annually is about 20-25 days in the Plan and Budget Commission while the House takes about 16-17 days in debate and approval of the budget. He said that the discussion and review of the defence budget is

not much different than the budgets from other ministries; however discussions on defence budget are held in a closed session by the Plan and Budget Commission. He said that sub-committees are also made for consideration of some laws by the commission. He also shared that the Commission has been undergoing capacity building through a World Bank-funded programme on the effective working of the Plan and Budget Commission.

In answering a question about the number of women legislators in the Parliament and cabinet, he said that the Turkish Cabinet has 2 women ministers while 2 commissions are also headed by women MPs. There is no bar on women in Turkey to join any sector or profession.

All commissions have their purpose-built offices with committee rooms and space for staff offices inside the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Similarly, parliamentary parties, which also receive state funding based on the percentage of votes, get offices for Parliamentary groups inside the Assembly premises.

### Meeting with Chair and Members of the Defence Commission

Grand National Assembly of Turkey

The Pakistan delegation was received by Mr. Hasan Kemal Yardimci, Chair of the National Defence Commission alongside a group of the members of the Defence Commission of Turkey.

After the exchange of welcome remarks, Mr. Yardimci explained that the Defence Commission has 25 members of





which include 16 members from the ruling AK Party, 5 members from the Republican Party, 3 from the National Party while 1 member from the Social Democratic Party of Turkey.

He said that the Defence Commission does not have the jurisdiction to review the Defence Budget, a task performed by the Plan and Budget Commission for all the ministries including defence. He said the Defence Commission works closely with the Defence Ministry and receives information from the office of the General Staff of the military. In response to questions by delegates he said that defence and education are considered 'milli' or national issues so there is not much scope of discussion or oversight on the issue.

Responding to another question about the National Security Council (NSC), Mr. Yardimci said that the AK Party government brought changes into the NSC which includes as members the President, Prime Minister, Interior Minister, Defence Minister. Previously the Secretary General of the NSC was from the military, a post which, after reform, is held by a civilian.

He said that the role of the military continues to be 'deep' within the Turkish state. He also emphasised in response to a question that the Defence Commission does not have any role in oversight of the intelligence agencies or scrutiny of the defence budget.

The Pakistani delegation asked questions about the oversight mechanisms, powers and procedures available to the Turkish commissions, especially relating to defence and intelligence oversight and the budget scrutiny from their Turkish counterparts. The Turkish Commissions, that reflect the composition as in the Assembly, are all chaired

by the ruling AK Party chairpersons and therefore received information about opposition chairing Pakistani Parliamentary committees with appreciation.

#### **Meeting with Chair and Members of the Interior Affairs Commission**

Grand National Assembly of Turkey

The Pakistan delegation met and interacted with the members and chair of the Interior Affairs Commission Mr. T. Ziyaeddin Akbulut.

The Chairman briefed the Pakistan delegation that the Interior Affairs Commission has 24 members while its jurisdiction includes police, internal security and security agencies. The Commission meets as and when needed or at least twice in a month. The Commission, like all other Turkish Grand National Assembly Commissions, does not have suo moto powers.

The Chairman said that the government seeks a report from the commission before it takes action or announces a policy on a related issue. The Commission has the power to invite the Police Chief and any officials as and when needed. Like all other commissions, the Interior Affairs Commission also does not have the authority to scrutinise the budget of the Interior Affairs Ministry.

#### **Call on H.E. Mr. Mehmet Ali Sahin**

Speaker, Grand National Assembly of Turkey

In a meeting with the Pakistan delegation, H.E. Mr. Mehmet Ali Sahin, Speaker Grand National Assembly of Turkey, extended warm welcome to the Pakistani delegation and reiterated the strength of the brotherly relations between Pakistan and Turkey.

H. E. the Speaker said that the two countries enjoy 'exemplary' relations at the state and the political level. He welcomed the initiative undertaken by PILDAT and said that parliamentary exchanges will further enhance the deep ties existing between the two countries. The Speaker also praised the role of PILDAT as a Pakistani organisation committed to strengthening democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan and said that the facilitation of this visit will further cement relations between the two brotherly countries. He emphasised that Turkey will always remain a friend and supporter of Pakistan. Parliamentary exchanges between the two countries will allow both Parliaments to benefit from each others' experiences.

H. E. the Speaker said that Turkey had hosted a tripartite conference of Parliamentarians from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkey in 2007. Further such forums were planned for the future also. He said that Turkey stands by Pakistan and is confident of the future and prosperity of Pakistan. Pakistan's progress and its well-being is the number one priority of Turkey and the Turkish people.

In response to a question about the Parliamentary control and oversight mechanism over defence in Turkey and the role of Turkish Parliament in civil-military relations, the Speaker said that the Parliament was a supreme institution in Turkey representing the will of the people and therefore it has the authority to oversee any aspect of the state and government.

In response to another question about the composition of Parliament, the Speaker said that Turkey is a unicameral Parliament. There existed a Senate 29 years ago but it was abolished. The AK Party enjoys absolute majority in Grand National Assembly. He said that unlike Pakistan, where the government and opposition seemed to enjoy exemplary ish

relations these days, the government-opposition relations in Turkish Parliament are often acrimonious and the opposition often plays a destructive role.

Giving a legislative overview of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the Speaker said that the Assembly passes over a 100 bills at an average during a parliamentary year. Bills come to the Speaker who refers them to various Commissions. After scrutiny and approval by the commissions, the bills go before the House. The President's assent is required before the bill becomes an act, however the President also has the power to veto a bill passed by the National Assembly in which case the bill returns to the National Assembly. If the National Assembly vetoes the bill, the President has to give his assent or he has the right to go to the Constitutional Court.

Mr. Sahin said that there is a dedicated channel of Parliament that covers live proceedings. The system has been set-up for over 14 years. In addition, in the basement of the Assembly, offices are allotted to every major news media to cover and transmit news from the Parliament.

#### **Meeting with Mr. Burhan Kayaturk**

Chairman, Pakistan-Turkey Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Group, Grand National Assembly of Turkey

The delegation held a detailed interaction and meeting with the Chairperson and members of the Pak-Turkey Friendship Group in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The Group is the largest friendship group in Turkey with 377 MPs as its members out of the total 550 MPs in the Grand National Assembly. Mr. Burhan Kayaturk, the chairperson of the Group, who has also studied and obtained engineering degree from Pakistan, welcomed the delegation and stated that he is 51% Pakistani and 49% Turk which is evident of his commitment to the Pak-Turk friendship. Later the





delegation was hosted for lunch by Mr. Kayaturk.

Mr. Kayaturk said that Turkey will stand by Pakistan in every hour of its crisis and will do what it takes to help Pakistan always.

### **Interactions with Political Parties in the Turkish Grand National Assembly**

The Pakistani delegation held detailed meetings and interactions with the leadership of the various political parties represented in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. These meetings included meeting with Mr. Onur Öymen, Vice-Leader of the People's Republic Party, the leadership of the DTP, the party working for the rights of Kurds in Turkey and Mr. Mustafa Elitas, Deputy Chair, AK Party Group, Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

These meetings were held for the delegation to gauge the views and perspectives of the key parliamentary parties on the broad question of military's role in politics and their perspectives on effectiveness of democratic and parliamentary oversight of the security sector in Turkey.

#### **Meeting with Mr. Onur Öymen**

Vice-Leader of the People's Republic Party

The Pakistan delegation held a meeting with Mr. Onur Öymen, Vice-Leader of the People's Republic Party, the principal opposition party in the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Mr. Öymen extended a very warm welcome to the

delegation and said that Turkey and the Turkish people are ready to do everything for Pakistan. He discussed Pakistan's role in the war against terrorism and sympathised with the cost of the stance borne by the people and society of Pakistan. Sharing the feelings of brotherhood and solidarity with Pakistan, Mr. Öymen said that Pakistan is not just a friend but a brother of Turkey. The ties between Pakistan and Turkey have deep historical roots which have weathered the test of times and have emerged stronger.

#### **Meeting with the Leadership of the DTP**

The Turkish Kurd Party

The Pakistan Parliamentary delegation held a detailed meeting with the leadership of the DTP, the party working for the rights of Kurds in Turkey.

The DTP leadership welcomed the Pakistan delegation, especially its interaction with Senator Jan Mohammad Jamali, the Senator from Balochistan and Deputy Chairman of the Senate of Pakistan. Sharing its ethos and views, the DTP leadership said that they feel close to Baloch people as Kurds too feel alienated from the system in Turkey. The leadership welcomed the initiative by AK Party to deepen democracy through inclusion of Kurds.

Providing a background to the Kurd issue, they said that there was civil strife on the issue for the past 30 years while the military operation is still going on. Basic right of the Kurds, the facility to obtain basic education in Kurdish language, is not allowed by the Turkish state. Kurds demand a new constitution enshrining the basic rights of the Kurdish people.



Presenting the prevailing scenario to the Pakistan delegation they said that the DTP still faces many challenges and courts are looking at banning the DTP which has been banned 5 times before. There are as many as 35 cases against the DTP in courts at present. They also spoke of the bar of 10% votes for a party to be able to contest for National Assembly seats. The DTP faces many challenges and despite its 21 members in the Assembly, out of which 8 are women, the DTP does not get government support unlike other parties. The AK Party has 75 Kurd members of the Grand National Assembly but it still has not done much for Kurds, said the DTP leadership.

The Pakistan delegation stressed that identity and culture are important issues and are respected in every country and community. However, the hallmark of politics and politicians is to remain engaged in the process and strive to address and resolve issues through dialogue.

#### **Meeting with Mr. Mustafa Elitas**

Deputy Chair, AK Party Group, Grand National Assembly of Turkey

In a meeting with the Deputy Chair of the Parliamentary Group of the ruling AK Party, Mr. Mustafa Elitas, the Pakistan delegation discussed the working of the parliamentary groups inside the National Assembly.

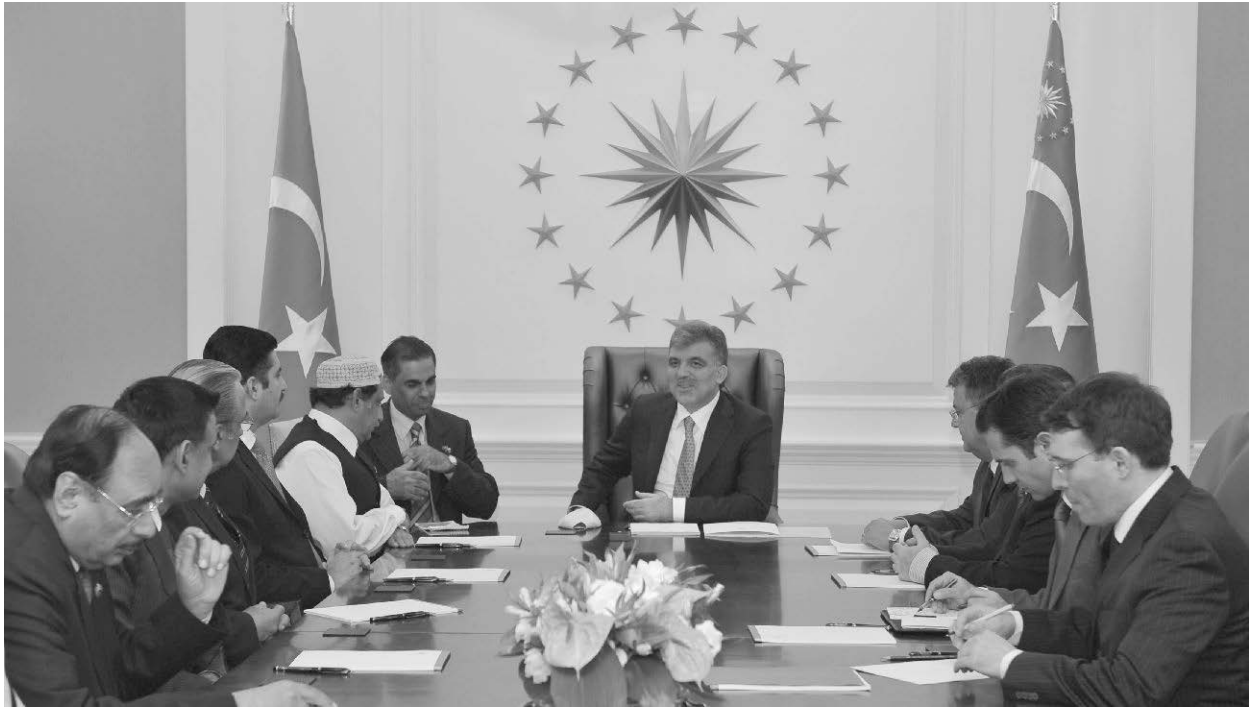
Mr. Elitas told the delegation in response to a question that the AK Party got 39% votes in the 2007 election and holds absolute majority in the Assembly. The size of the federal cabinet is 26 ministers. Federal Ministers can not hold any other post in the party, he said.



Regular elections in the AK Party are held while for contesting elections, the district parties make the choice.



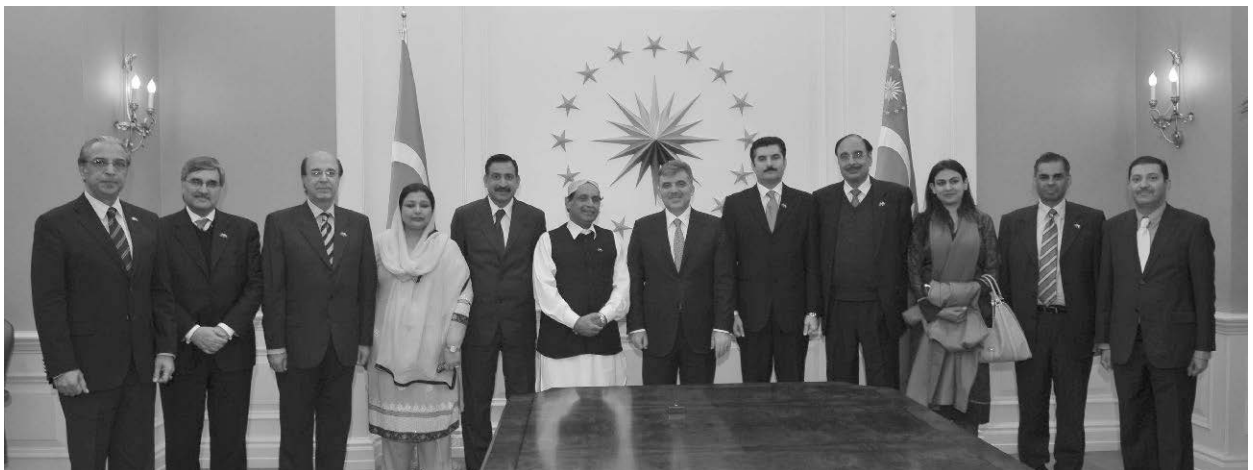




**Call-On H.E. Mr. Abdullah Gul**  
President of the Turkish Republic

The Pakistani delegation called on H.E. Mr. Abdullah Gul, President of Turkey. The Pakistan delegation briefed the President of the objectives of the visit and conveyed a message of friendship and need for Parliamentary support and closer cooperation between Pakistan and Turkey.

H.E. the President warmly welcomed the Pakistan delegation. He highlighted that Turkey has always been and will remain a close friend of Pakistan. Pakistan is going through a difficult phase in terms of war against militancy and extremism but it's a great nation and a great country which has ample capacity to rid itself of problems. In addition to political and security-related cooperation between the two countries, there is need to increase and strengthen economic and trade cooperation.





### **Visit to the AK Party Headquarters**

#### **Briefing by Mr. Idris Naim Sahin**

Secretary General of the ruling AK Party

The Pakistan delegation also visited the headquarters of the AK Party and interacted in detail with the Secretary General of the party Mr. Idris Naim Sahin about the organisation and the various structures working within the party, the party's philosophy and the key areas of its focus, the initiative of deepening democracy with the Kurds, party's work in the local government, etc.

After extending warm welcome to the Pakistan delegation to the AK Party headquarters, Mr. Sahin informed the delegation that the AK Party was formed on August 14, 2001 and it is an 8 year old party with its 7th year in government. Party elections are held every 3 years.

There are 150 persons working in the AK Party central office. The party staff, mainly consisting of young graduates, is working on areas including political and social issues, foreign affairs, economy, education, public sector development, health and sanitation and election related research, etc. The AK Party gets public funding like other political parties based on the percentage of votes in the National Assembly elections. The party has administrative and financial deputy chairs looking after each issue. There are also Women and Youth wings of the AK Party.

Mr. Sahin said that the party grew out of its performance at the district level. There are over 4 million registered members of the AK Party and over 40 million voters of the AK Party in Turkey. At present the AK Party has 1500 local government mayors out of 2900 local councils across Turkey.



### **Meeting with H.E. Mr. M. Vecdi Gönül**

Minister of National Defence

The delegation held a meeting with the Turkish Minister of National Defence H.E. Mr. M. Vecdi Gönül, MP discussing with him the relationship of the Defence Ministry with that of the Commission of National Defence.

Mr. Gönül extended very warm welcome to the delegation and said Turkey's relations with Pakistan, at the state, political and defence levels, have been exemplary. The two brotherly countries share unbreakable historical ties and bonds including 'hikal' (crescent) as the symbol of Islam on the flags of both countries. The Minister explained that the Commission of National Defence does not review the defence budget but the combined budget of all ministries is reviewed by the Plan and Budget Commission. In a candid exchange between the delegation and the Minister, subjects such as Turkey's Role in NATO forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan's security concerns and policies, etc. were also discussed.

Mr. Gönül said that there are 18 conflict areas identified in the world out of which 13 areas are around Turkey which makes it pertinent for Turkey to keep an effective defence infrastructure. He said that the Ministry of National Defence was grateful to the Parliament for not cutting its budget. Defence budget is not the largest budget but it is preceded by the budgets of Education and Health. Turkey began to develop its own defence services.

Explaining the decision-making system relating to defence the Minister said that military is firmly under the control of the government. The Chief of Staff has a right to make a statement but not on political issues or relating to foreign relations, he said. There is a permanent defence committee including the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and the Chief of Staff. On critical issues, the Chief of Staff reports directly to the Prime Minister while on regular issues, the Chief of Staff reports to the Defence Minister. The European Union demands that this reporting relationship should change.

Speaking of the Turkish troops' presence as part of the NATO contingent in Afghanistan, the Defence Minister said that the number of Turkish troops has increased from 1200 troops to 1700 troops in Afghanistan. The Turkish troops are now in charge of Kabul security. He said that since the deployment of Turkish troops in Afghanistan as part of NATO, by the grace of Almighty Allah, there has not been a single casualty of any Turkish soldier in Afghanistan. Turkish troops being Muslim brethren in Afghanistan join the congregation of prayers and move around freely with the Afghan citizens without security.





Profiles of the  
**PROFILES OF THE DELEGATES**  
Delegates



**Honourable Mir Jan Muhammad Khan Jamali**

Deputy Chairman, Senate of Pakistan  
Balochistan; PML

Honourable Mir Jan Muhammad Khan Jamali, a former Chief Minister of Balochistan (1998-1999), was elected to the Senate of Pakistan in 2006 on a Pakistan Muslim League PML seat and is currently serving as the Deputy Chairman Senate. Senator Jamali hails from a political family associated with the Pakistan Muslim League since 1938. He received his schooling from Aitchison College Lahore and subsequently joined the Pakistan Army where he was commissioned in 1974. Senator Jamali resigned from the Army as Captain in 1979 and made his entry into politics in 1980. He was elected to the Provincial Assembly of Balochistan in 1991 and served as the Provincial Minister for Services and General Administration from 1991 to 1993. He also serves as a member of the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production.



**Honourable Mr. Faisal Karim Kundi, MNA**

Deputy Speaker National Assembly  
NA-24 D.I.Khan, NWFP, PPPP

Mr. Faisal Karim Kundi was elected to the 13th National Assembly of Pakistan in the February 2008 general election on a PPPP ticket. He was subsequently elected as the 17th Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan on March 19, 2008. As a young, first-time elected MNA at the age of 33, Kundi also has the distinction of being the youngest Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan. He serves as the Patron of the Young Parliamentarians Forum (YPF). He also serves as the Patron of Youth Parliament Pakistan. Born on May 24, 1975 in Dera Ismail Khan, Mr. Kundi graduated with LLB in 2002 from Thames Valley College, UK. Kundi began his political career in 2003 and has served as the Divisional Coordinator of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) for D. I. Khan. Mr. Kundi hails from a well-known political family of the NWFP. Mr. Faisal Karim Kundi is married with one daughter.

**Honourable Senator Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Javed Ashraf Qazi**

Chairperson, Senate Standing Committee on Defence & Defence Production  
Punjab; PML



Senator Lt. Gen (Retd.) Javed Ashraf Qazi was born on September 04, 1941 at Simla, India. In his career Mr. Qazi held various public offices including Director General Military Intelligence (1990-91); Master General of Ordinance (1991-1992); Director General Inter Services Intelligence (1993-95); Corps Commander Gujranwala (1995-1996); Federal Secretary Science and Technology (1996-97); Secretary and Chairman Pakistan Railways (1999-2000) and Federal Minister for Communications and Railways 2000-2002. Currently he is serving as the chairperson of Senate Standing Committee on Defence & Defence Production. Apart from the chairmanship of the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production, Mr. Qazi is also member of Senate Standing Committees on Communications, Local Government and Rural Development, Planning and Development and Population Welfare.



**Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar**

Special Secretary, Senate of Pakistan

Iftikhar Ullah Babar is the Special Secretary at the Senate of Pakistan. Mr. Babar completed his Secondary School and Higher Secondary School from Burn Hall School Abbottabad and Abbottabad Public School respectively. He attended Edwards College Peshawar for his Bachelor's Degree and University of Peshawar for a Master's Degree in Economics. He also holds a Master's Degree in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS), the Hague, Netherlands. Mr. Babar attended the 13th Advance Management and Development course at the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) Peshawar and the 76th National Management Course at the Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC) Lahore. Mr. Babar has authored a number of research articles on wide ranging topics namely, the Eighth Constitutional Amendment, Research support to Parliamentarians, the Parliamentary Committee System in Pakistan and Parliament and Financial Control. He has written numerous reports for the Committees, which were presented in the Senate. He also serves as the Secretary Senate Standing Committee on Defence & Defence Production.



**Honourable Begum Ishrat Ashraf, MNA**

Member, Nation Assembly Standing Committee on Defence  
NA 273-Punjab-I, PML-N

Begum Ishrat Ashraf was born in Rahim Yar Khan, Punjab on December 31. She was elected on a Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) seat for her second term as a Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan. Begum Ishrat Ashraf has been serving as the Chairperson of the Women Wing in the PML-N. She is a member of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Defence. She is also serving as member on the Standing Committee on Women Development. She is married with a son and 3 daughters. Her hobbies include reading.

**Honourable Capt. (Retd.) Rai Ghulam Mujtaba Kharral, MNA**

Member, Nation Assembly Standing Committee on Defence  
NA-143, Okara-I, Punjab, PPPP

Capt. (Retd.) Rai Ghulam Mujtaba Kharral was born on April 15, 1963 in Okara, Punjab. He is politically affiliated with the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP). Mr. Kharral is also Parliamentary Secretary of the Interior. He serves as a member on the National Assembly Standing Committee on Defence. He is widely travelled. He is married and has a son and four daughters.







**Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob**

Executive Director, PILDAT

The founder Executive Director of PILDAT, Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob has over 20 years' experience in senior management and advisory positions and over 5 years experience in design, planning and implementation of legislative strengthening projects involving national and provincial legislatures. His major area of work has been in the forefront of strengthening democracy and democratic institutions and providing thought leadership on crucial issues that affect democracy and political growth in the country. Mr. Mehboob has carved and spearheaded a non partisan political research initiative from the platform of PILDAT and has facilitated the formation of dialogue and research groups on areas such as civil military relations and electoral reforms, etc. He is respected widely as an analyst on political and legislative issues.

**Ms. Aasiya Riaz**

Joint Director, PILDAT

Ms. Aasiya Riaz, Joint Director of PILDAT, coordinates various research projects within PILDAT and manages PILDAT's projects and activities as PILDAT's co-director. She has over 8 years' experience of working in the field of research, management and analysis. She has been working in the areas of democratic and legislative strengthening; research on political and public policy issues; civil-military relations; dialogues between the Muslim World and the West and Electoral Process, etc. Trained in the field of media and political communication at the London School of Economics, UK, Aasiya has worked with the mainstream press and electronic media in Pakistan as well. She was also a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy, USA where she worked on US Think Tanks and the subject of Civil-Military Relations. Aasiya also graduated from the Stanford University, USA Course on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law in August 2007. She regularly appears on national and international media for political analysis and commentaries.





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