ADDRESS BY

H.E. PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYİP ERDOĞAN

ON THE OCCASION OF

THE OPENING OF THE 5TH LEGISLATIVE YEAR OF THE 28TH TERM

OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TÜRKİYE

My Dear Nation,

Mr. Speaker,

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

I greet you with heartfelt feelings and warmest regards on the first day of the 5th Legislative Year of the 28th Term of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye.

I hope that the new Legislative Year will bring blessings to our country, nation, Assembly, democracy, the geography close to our heart and humanity as a whole.

Through you, I send my greetings and warm regards to each and every member of our dear nation, of which I am honored to be a member and a servant. I salute fellow citizens in 7 regions, 81 provinces and 922 districts from the farthest corner in the east to the west of this paradise we call our homeland.

I also convey my heartfelt affection to our citizens abroad, who represent our nation in the finest manner in countries across the world and whose achievements are a source of pride to us.

First and foremost, I salute with gratitude the memory of the members of parliament who served our nation in the best way possible beneath this noble roof and who have since passed on to eternity; foremost among them, the 115 members who, 106 years ago, following the Friday prayer at the Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque, proclaimed the will of our nation to the world from the heart of our independence movement in Ankara by praising Allah and with a great resolve and passion for independence.

I respectfully salute the memory of Ali Şükrü Bey, who lost his life in an assassination…

I solemnly remember Adnan Menderes, Hasan Polatkan and Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, who were sent to their deaths by those who attempted to betray the nation's trust and usurped our nation's will.

May their souls rest in peace.

May Allah's mercy be upon all our martyrs who, for a thousand years, sacrificed their lives in this geography without hesitation for the survival of our nation. I also salute the memory of our ghazis who have passed on to eternity.

At the outset, I wholeheartedly wish to express that:

The only parliament in the world to have twice been honored with the title of ghazi is the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye.

This Assembly successfully directed the National Struggle against the invaders who tried to shackle our feet and put a noose around our nation's neck.

Even as the sounds of cannon fires arrived from 80 kilometers away, this noble Assembly continued its work and went on courageously bearing the torch entrusted to it by our nation.

This struggle by our Assembly also became an example for many nations seeking a way out under the oppression and in the grip of invaders, occupiers and imperialists.

The minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye from 1920 to 1923 are the most vivid proof as to how Türkiye became a homeland for the second time.

The following words, spoken by Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1921 at the opening of the 2nd Legislative Year of the Grand National Assembly, are a clear expression of the love of liberty that lives in the very cells of our nation and of the historic mission of our Assembly.

In those agonizing days, when the Turkish Nation was caught between independence and annihilation, Gazi Mustafa Kemal, in his capacity as Speaker of the Assembly, addressed it thus:

> "MY ESTEEMED COLLEAGUES,
>
> LET US, AS AN ENTIRE NATION, RECALL ONCE MORE THE PATH WE HAVE TRAVELLED AND THE COUNTLESS HARDSHIPS WE HAVE OVERCOME, FROM THE DAYS OF THE ARMISTICE, WHEN WE STOOD EYE TO EYE WITH DEATH, UNTIL TODAY.
>
> WHEN OUR NATION, WHICH HAS LIVED WITH THE HONOUR OF INDEPENDENCE SINCE TIME UNKNOWN, HAD SEEMED TO BE GOING TOWARDS THE WORST OF ENDS AND TOWARDS DEATH, THE VOICE OF OUR ANCESTORS, CALLING THEIR CHILDREN TO RISE UP AGAINST CAPTIVITY, ROSE IN OUR HEARTS AND TURNED US TOWARDS THE FINAL WAR OF LIBERATION.
>
> THE DAYS OF DESPAIR AND WEARINESS NOW LIE FAR BEHIND US.
>
> AS YOUR NOBLE ASSEMBLY, WHICH HAS LED THE COUNTRY IN THE TRUE PATH TO LIBERATION AND HAS GATHERED THE WHOLE

NATION UNDER ITS OWN BANNER OF INDEPENDENCE, ENTERS ITS SECOND LEGISLATIVE YEAR, I PRAY THAT THE LIGHTS BEGINNING TO APPEAR ON OUR HORIZON MAY BECOME A BRIGHT MORNING FOR OUR UNHAPPY HOMELAND, WHICH HAS SEEN SO MANY CALAMITIES."

Indeed, 95 years after this speech, which was interrupted by applauses, our Noble Assembly once again fulfilled its duty of leading the nation.

On the night of 15 July, our Ghazi Assembly defended the nation under the bombs and passed that grave test with its honor unblemished, together with our nation, which resisted the coup in the squares, streets and airports.

On this occasion, I thank all members of parliament who stood guard over our nation's trust that night, and may Allah never again compel this Assembly to wage the same struggle.

I feel particularly honored to address you in the Main Hall of our Ghazi Assembly, whose past is so glorious and whose duty is so noble.

Mr. Speaker,

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

The Grand National Assembly of Türkiye is one of the parliaments with the highest working pace in the world.

During the 4th Legislative Year, which began on 1 October 2025 and continued until 10 August 2026, our Assembly had an intensive and busy period of work in which important decisions were taken.

Important laws and critical matters that will shape the future of our country, our nation and our region were deliberated both in the General Assembly and in the Committees.

Legislative activities were carried out with democratic maturity and parliamentary diplomacy was conducted with professionalism and dignity both at the international meetings we hosted and during visits abroad.

In this sense, I thank each and every member of our Ghazi Assembly from all political parties for their efforts, endeavors and diligence.

I likewise congratulate our Speaker, the Honorable Numan Kurtulmuş, and the esteemed members of the Bureau of our Assembly.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the administrators and staff serving in the various units of our Assembly for the feverish and selfless work they carried out over 10 months and 10 days.

I wholeheartedly wish that the new Legislative Year, which begins as of today, will also be a productive, successful and fruitful year; one in which ideas, criticisms and proposals are voiced freely, yet within the bounds of mutual respect and courtesy… and in which debates proceed in a solution-oriented spirit, with common sense and composure.

We, as the governing party and the People's Alliance, will continue, as always, to act constructively and to lend an ear to differing ideas and proposals.

I believe that we must hold the standing of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, the place where the national will is manifested, above all else.

In the new Legislative Year, we shall continue to act in the same spirit.

Mr. Speaker,

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

I wish first of all to draw your attention to one matter…

As politicians, our first duty is to serve our dear nation, whose trust we bear, in the best way possible.

All of us, myself included, are responsible for finding solutions to the nation's problems, overcoming its troubles, and expanding the horizon before our country.

This is what we have constantly, resolutely and sincerely worked for as we approach the 24th anniversary of our tenure in government in one month.

We have taken very important steps in many fields including the economy, democracy, domestic politics, foreign policy, education, health, justice, security, transportation, urbanization, energy and agriculture that concern our country.

More than three and a half years have passed since the 6 February earthquakes, which deeply affected our people.

Even though the pain of our brothers and sisters who lost their lives still burns within us, today we are pleased to have succeeded in bringing 11 provinces back on their feet.

As always, we kept the promise we made to our nation; we completed the construction of the century and handed over a total of 455,357 homes and workplaces to their rightful owners.

We have spent 5.4 trillion liras at current prices on the revival of the earthquake region.

In the economy, despite the wars and crises that have erupted one after another in our region, we have succeeded in keeping Türkiye on the course of development and growth.

At a time when missiles were flying through the air, we did not allow a single citizen to be harmed.

In the first half of 2026, Türkiye grew by 2.5 percent year-on-year.

Our annualized national income exceeded 1.7 trillion dollars.

Our exports broke a record in August, with an annual 280.3 billion dollars.

Following last year's frost and drought, our agriculture has made a strong recovery.

In tourism, we maintained our strong course despite the conflicts around us.

In the first six months of the year, tourism revenue reached 25.7 billion dollars.

In the defense industry, we accomplished two things at once.

We both strengthened our national defense industry with new products and became an exporting country in this field.

In the first 8 months of the year, our defense and aerospace exports rose by 16.2 percent to 6.3 billion dollars.

Our external balance is sustainable.

We expect the ratio of the current account deficit to national income to remain at 2.6 percent this year.

In a year in which the energy bill has grown heavier, this ratio is an indication of how resilient our economy has become.

We have not deviated from discipline in public finance.

This year, we aim to limit the ratio of the budget deficit to national income to 3.1 percent and to achieve a primary surplus.

We are also successfully overcoming the problem that emerged in a segment of the fund market.

We are swiftly resolving this matter in accordance with the rules of the capital market in a fair and equitable manner by protecting everyone’s interest.

We will inshallah not allow this issue to turn into an element of threat to our economic security and our social peace.

We will continue to work, to produce and to develop solutions to our problems our country and nation achieve their rightful place.

Mr. Speaker,

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

For the record, I wish to draw your full attention to certain fundamental matters that I believe are important for Türkiye.

Setting aside the agendas of day-to-day politics, I believe that these two issues are of utmost importance for our country and our nation.

Foremost among the matters for which politics must produce solutions today is the artificial polarization that is gnawing at our society.

I would like to state the following clearly and unequivocally.

It is, of course, not possible for all members of a nation to think alike on every matter, or to resemble one another entirely in their values, beliefs, sensitivities and expectations. This would not be right or healthy.

Our greatest wealth as a country and a society is, in essence, our diversity and our differences.

Over the centuries, these differences have come together on a common ground of accord, and common values have taken shape within a common border.

In the course of history, these differences have developed a deep-rooted respect for one another.

Our state, flag, sacred values and the homeland on which we live together have, over history, transformed us into a single nation.

Against those who have sought to use our differences as an instrument of division, our nation has stood with one heart and has given the necessary response every time.

Without doubt, politics as an institution exists to respond to differing expectations.

However, using our differences and our diversity as an instrument of division to sow polarization is first and foremost contrary to the essence of politics.

There will, of course, be competition between political parties; there will be a race, and, to some extent, contention.

However, polarizing to drive conflict would be incompatible with the very reason for which politics exists.

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

I say this in particular for the following reason…

Events in our immediate neighborhood show that local divisions have become, or more accurately, have been turned into the "soft underbelly" of many countries through political and social engineering.

There is a desire to dissolve and bring down countries from within by targeting social fault lines.

And at the command-and-control center of this project of destruction stands the imperialist-Zionist alliance.

I believe anyone who follows the world and keeps a close eye on the developments in our region can see this fact:

That our nation, which has lived together for thousands of years in harmony, peace and mutual respect, has recently been increasingly polarized through political or non-political actors cannot be explained by internal dynamics alone.

The internal dynamics are evident; they have taken shape across centuries over the course of history.

Sunni and Alevi, Turk and Kurd, Muslim and non-Muslim have, over the centuries, built a common ground for coexistence based on harmony and solidarity.

To transform these and similar differences into conflict and polarization would be, so to speak, to tamper with Türkiye's factory settings.

Disrupting Türkiye's settings does not serve politics; it serves solely and exclusively our adversaries.

We have all experienced this together in our recent history.

Ever since our transition to multi-party democracy, whenever we were in the midst of a breakthrough or a drive for development, we became the target of operations.

Our streets were thrown into turmoil.

Our young people were turned into enemies of one another.

Seeds of hatred were sown among neighbors sharing the same neighborhood, the same street, the same building.

This killed our political and social peace.

While countries in the same league were racing ahead, we stagnated for years; we were held back and lost ground in many fields, the economy foremost among them.

All these tensions and conflicts and the resulting instability caused Türkiye to fall behind each time, and it was the people that suffered and paid a heavy price each time.

It is evident that while the nation was losing, the nation's adversaries were winning.

While Türkiye was losing, Türkiye's rivals and enemies were the winners.

I wish the following to be known…

Türkiye and the Turkish nation can no longer bear to lose.

Nor does anyone have the right to cause Türkiye and the Turkish nation to lose.

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

In this struggle, the greatest duty falls upon the political establishment, that is to say, upon us as the representatives of the nation.

In Türkiye, "bloc politics" built solely on opposition to the government is no longer tenable.

It is wrong to transform politics from a competition in service, achievement and action into a “war of attrition” where the counterparty is demonized.

Global and regional developments make a new style of politics imperative.

At the stage we have reached, there are two paths before us:

We shall either continue on our current path with the old style of politics centered on polarization and division…

Or we shall establish a new political paradigm in Türkiye based on finding common ground and ‘competition in consensus’.

If Türkiye is once again to be great and powerful…

If Türkiye is to seize the historic opportunities opening up before it…

We must bring about this paradigm shift swiftly.

In saying this, we certainly do not mean that every political party must think alike or align on every issue.

However contrary they may be, different political parties, and different ideas are an asset to Türkiye and Turkish democracy.

However, the priority of every political party must be, and must remain, Türkiye.

Every political party should pursue Türkiye-centered politics, drawing strength and inspiration from Türkiye's own internal dynamics and from its own grassroots.

Conflict and polarization must give way to reconciliation and tolerance.

On matters concerning Türkiye’s national interests and issues affecting every single member of our nation, politics must be able to find common ground on the basis of full consensus.

We call this "the fortification of the home front".

We call this "the Great Türkiye Consensus".

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

I wish to emphasize in particular that our "terror-free Türkiye" process is aimed precisely at building this social consensus, this national consensus.

In our region that has of late turned into a ring of fire, the terror-free Türkiye efforts have already created a deterrent effect upon Türkiye's adversaries and have multiplied Türkiye's strength and ushered in a new era.

It is simply impossible for terrorism or terrorist organizations to divide or fragment Türkiye; but it is evident that terrorism and terrorist organizations have squandered Türkiye's energy, held Türkiye back and depleted Türkiye's resources.

Focused on the fight against terrorism for the last 42 years, Türkiye has lost many young sons and daughters and its material resources.

The internal debates fueled by terrorism have threatened Türkiye’s economy, peace and security, and have weakened its hand in foreign policy.

Yet today terrorism has reached an end, terrorist attacks have ceased, and the terrorist organization has announced its decision to dissolve itself and lay down its arms.

The historic consensus displayed in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye with 467 votes in favor of the enactment of the Framework Law has brought joy to our dear nation and the friends of Türkiye while without doubt upset Türkiye's adversaries.

On this occasion, I would like to once again express my gratitude, on behalf of my party, my country and my nation, to Mr. Devlet Bahçeli, Chairman of the Nationalist Movement Party, our partner in the People's Alliance, who has given great support to the terror-free Türkiye process with the prudent, resolute and courageous stance he has displayed from the very first day.

I would also like to extend my thanks to the Peoples’ Equality and Democracy Party Group, whose invaluable contributions have ensured that this process has reached this stage safe and sound.

I also thank the political party groups that displayed a constructive attitude both in the National Solidarity, Brotherhood and Democracy Commission and in the adoption of the Framework Law, and I believe that their support will continue.

As also laid down in the Framework Law, there is a monitoring process.

Once the necessary steps are taken, our relevant institutions will also do what is required.

It is precisely at this point that the national consensus I spoke of a moment ago will take on even greater significance.

In an environment free of terrorism, conflict and strife, it will become much easier and more possible to discuss our problems with mutual respect and to produce solutions.

Allah willing, the democratic capacity of politics will grow even stronger.

I believe the conditions for Türkiye to make a new, democratic, participatory, libertarian and civilian constitution will mature even further.

Mr. Speaker,

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

Note that our new parliamentary year coincides with the 150th anniversary of the proclamation of the *Kanun-i Esasi*, the first written constitution in our history.

Our endeavors towards a constitutional state go back even further.

Our experience of limiting state power through the rule of law, however, is far older than these endeavors.

Our state tradition, rising upon the values of justice, equality, goodness and humanity, is nothing other than a social contract in the modern sense, a constitution binding individuals to one another by the force of law.

Over the past two centuries, attempts to reconcile this truth with the idea of a modern constitutional state have yielded many outcomes, both successful and unsuccessful; yet the debates and efforts have never ceased.

Despite the 150 years that have passed since the *Kanun-i Esasi*, the question of a new constitution still stands before Turkish politics as a "test".

When it comes to embodying the will and seal of the nation, technical or political flaws and shortcomings can be found in all the constitutional experiences of our history.

However, the two constitutions of the last 70 years, products of coups, were born paralyzed by an existential crisis.

The contract between state and society, between individual and state, was signed under the shadow of guns and bayonets.

And the effort of each coup to construct its own political legitimacy turned these constitutions into a roadmap for a sustainable order of tutelage.

Here I wish to draw your attention in particular to the following fact…

The constitutions of the coup era focused not so much on the application of the separation of powers as on restraining the power of the government that emerged from the ballot box.

They focused on how national sovereignty and national will can be restricted by means of bureaucratic oligarchy.

Rather than ensuring stability of governance, they ensured the stability of the instruments of tutelage over national sovereignty.

Rather than strengthening rights and freedoms, they expanded the exceptions and transformed the constitution into a list of things forbidden.

They failed to serve as the contractual foundation for unity and integration between the state and the nation; instead, they deepened tensions and historical contradictions.

In short, they allowed careers for political engineers, merchants of chaos, and those who seek to discipline society and the state through crisis.

The architecture of tutelage erected by the coup constitutions has at times been a real obstacle to civilian politics, and at times turned into a convenient excuse.

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

It is undeniable that we have made significant progress in the transition from this tutelage system to an institutionalized democracy.

The needs of social life have, over time, made many amendments, revisions and reforms inevitable.

And I would like to proudly state that the most comprehensive amendments were made during our tenure.

Nevertheless, the need for a civilian constitution that rejects the legacy of the interventions which have fragmented our democratic experience has not yet been met.

Moreover, the picture resulting from the revisions carried out to date further heightens the need for a coherent constitutional framework.

Most important of all, our Constitution, though largely cleansed of its structural flaws through fundamental amendments, still bears the residue, the trace and the stigma of the coup era.

It is a great contradiction that the leadership of the 12 September coup were held to account before the courts, tried and convicted years after the coup, and yet the constitution in force bears their signature.

Let me be clear: our nation neither deserves this nor consents to it.

Türkiye must free itself from this disgrace.

Even if there were no other justification, removing this shadow cast upon the ground we tread upon, purging the system of this stain, is reason enough to take action.

In this respect, the goal of a new and civilian constitution is the struggle of the Turkish democracy to prove its coming of age.

This Ghazi Assembly, the very heart of national sovereignty, is competent and authorized to make a constitution in every period and under every circumstance.

However, owing to the political diversity it possesses, the period we are in is perhaps the most ideal one for drafting a new constitution.

This Assembly has already demonstrated the strength of its capacity for deliberation and consensus when the national and vital matters of Türkiye are at stake.

In particular, "the 467 hands raised for peace, democracy and brotherhood" enabled civilian politics to break the psychological barriers erected by tutelage for the first time and shattered prejudice to pieces.

We regard this as a historic achievement and a great success in the name of the Turkish democracy and for our nation's hopes for the future.

Our wish is that this success will not be sacrificed to day-to-day controversies and will herald a new era in Turkish politics.

I also wish to underline the following:

A new constitution that will broaden Türkiye's horizon will be the product of not the politics of polarization, but of the new politics founded upon "competition in consensus".

Distinguished Members of Parliament,

When we achieve this, we shall have built stronger bridges between the state and the nation.

When we achieve this, we shall have paved the way for realizing the ideal of a strong state and a free society, without prioritizing one over the other.

When we achieve this, we will have attained both a democratic ground, which gives meaning to law, and a "supreme law" that protects democracy.

When we achieve this, we will make our gains permanent, institutionalize pluralist democracy and transform it into a government by the people in the truest sense.

This is necessary in order to reject the mindset of tutelage that views society as a threat that must be kept in check.

And this is how a democratic constitutional understanding that recognizes politics and society as the dynamic forces of prosperity, progress and development can flourish.

Those who sing in unison with the nation do not, and must not, fear or shy away from any debate in this process.

In democracy, no one holds a monopoly on truth.

Every thought is precious; every proposal is valuable.

We must find inspiration in every idea and every original suggestion.

On the other hand, our nation’s yearning for a new constitution must not be held captive by artificial fears and delusions.

Our position regarding the first four articles of the Constitution is clear.

Rolling up our sleeves for a new and civilian constitution befitting the Century of Türkiye is a true test of sincerity for everyone.

I believe it will be beneficial for our political parties to take necessary action in line with their commitments, in order to fulfil this great aspiration of our nation.

I hope that the current legislative year will be the year for a constitution that expands Türkiye's possibilities and opportunities.

With these sentiments, I once again express my best wishes for the 5th Legislative Year of the 28th Term of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye.

May Allah bring success for our Members of Parliament in the work they will undertake during this new legislative year.

I extend my warmest regards and respect to you all.

May you all remain in good health…