



## Governance Reforms under the Justice and Development Party in Turkey as Model for Pakistan

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**Abstract-** The Justice and Development Party in Turkey have broken the traditional legacy of Mustafa Kamal Atatürk. It has brought tremendous reforms in different sectors like education, social status of women, economic, religious, and political and foreign policy. It has tried to give due status to military's role in politics. It has also redefined the role of religion in politics to address governance issues. These governance reforms are a model for the leadership in Pakistan.

**Key words:** AKP, Secularism, Kemalism, Pakistan, and Governance

### I. INTRODUCTION

Secularism has different connotations. In former context, it is based upon atheism; while in the latter case it has a political implication where state prefers a non-theocratic political system instead of patronizing any religion so as to attach a peaceful existence. (Aazim, M. 2018) Similarly, Peter Berger categorized the secularism as the two edge process in perspective of Turkey, objective social-structural secularism – which involves the isolation of political institutions from religion and its role is too minimized to individual level and thus, state is governed through positive and secular laws; and subjective cultural process. (Ahmad, F. 1997). Wherein individual enjoys freedom of consciousness, of association with others to live the life in lines with his own ideology instead of traditional and religious life (Berger, 1967). The contemporary history of Turkey was re-emerged in the shape of Kemalism which successfully overcame the public troubles created by extraterrestrial forces and the preceding regimes (Akdoğan, Y. 2006). But Binnaz Toprak opposed and elaborated that the Republic Turkey is the heir of Ottoman Empire as this long-lasting empire ruled the area for six hundred years and with different religious communities. The Muslim rulers administered the state's affairs under Islami laws with a blend of semi-theocratic and secular nature of executive. The Ottoman governance was divided into Millet (religious communities) – having their respective laws – which were independent of each other. The European revolution in science and technology in 19<sup>th</sup> Century caused the downfall of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century most powerful Ottoman Empire; and was declared as a 'Sick-Man of Europe'. The Empire was disintegrated into the Balkans and Middle East due to nationalist movements (Toprak, 2005).

Contrary to Ottoman Empire's traditional political system, Kemal Attaturk and his comrades, being impressed by liberalism, pragmatism, rationalism, and science, considered Islamic cultural values as the main hindrance in the way of modernization. They started a movement to make Turkey a modern state according to their own lines. They advocated political participation of women, secular curriculum, secular public administration and bureaucracy in the country (Turan, K. 2012). Attaturk and his followers chose to follow modernism based on six principles – etatism, nationalism, populism, republicanism, revolutionism-reformism, and secularism. To materialize this policy, a special Directorate under the Prime Minister's Office was established to patronize religious affairs and to introduce reforms like the shutdown of religious courts, the proscription of mystical orders and spiritual sects (*Tarikats* and Sufism) in 1920s, the using of Swiss Civil Code rather than Turkish law, the separation and then elimination of religious law (*Sharia'at*) from the criminal codes and repealing or abolition of Constitutional and legal provisions that looked upon the Islam as a state faith in addition to the adoption of Latin alphabet. The purpose of all these steps was to institute the institutional basis of objective secularization (Berkes, 1998). The utter isolation of religion from state in Turkey was so strict that it led to the complete elimination of Islamic influence on state policies and projects. Actually, it was the result of unconditional

and lawful subjugation of Islam to the Republic (Tarhanli, 1993). Thus, secularism took a new form which was called as 'laicism' which means the legitimate control of religious activities by the government. In 1937, the laicism was instituted as the part of constitution by the Republican Party, as worked the central agenda of party along with the legal and lawful foundation for controlling the religious based activities (Mardin, S. 1997). Laicism in Turkey could not work for long due to dominant role of the Islam. In addition to this, the Democratic Party's liberalist policy, the Motherland Party's economic liberalization, and 1980's martial law in 1980 and the Justice and Development Party government's democratic reforms led to revival of religion's role in politics (Onis, 1997).

## II. DEVELOPMENT

The general elections of 1946 laid the foundation of democracy in Turkey wherein the Republic Party defeated the Democratic Party. After completion of its tenure, again elections were held in 1950 in which Democrats got absolute majority in the Parliament. Such democratic process and the desire to become member of the United Nations organization promoted a democratic culture in Turkey. Sovereign state, moderate bureaucracy, rule of law and equality before law, assurance of basic human rights, propinquity to European World, ingrained secularization process, liberation of lady from social constraints, the reconstructing of relations between different social classes and the economic stability, all these were the transitory factors in the advancement of democracy in Turkey. Secularism was another big problem for the government of Democratic Party and they introduced reforms conform to the teachings of Islam like the permission of the call to prayers (Azan) in Arabic, the opening of sacred mausoleum for the visits, broadcastings of Islamic teachings on radios, increasing the religious budget of the Presidency of Religious Affairs and reopening of the schools where religious education make compulsory for students. Previously the above mentioned steps were strictly proscribed during the single party regime. Analysts observed that these steps were the source of revivalism of Islam in Turkey. The issue of construction of mosque on the Taksim square of Istanbul opened a new chapter of confrontation between Islamists and secularists. Also the scarf issue hanged on the neck of government (Azim, 2018).

On the other hand, cases of violence had been reported against the secularists and atheists like the firing at hotel in 1990 where atheist writer with his colleagues stayed in which 35 people succumbed to death. Similarly a university professor was murdered due to his anti-Islamic thoughts in 1980. The teachings of revolutionary idea of Darwinism were banned and the co-education system was at stake. A good sum of fine was supposed for those who were eating publically in Ramadan and a university student was killed by his colleague for the same purpose. The present government is going to change the legal system and devised Islamic Shari'afor the deciding of cases among Muslim population. Though, with the passage of time, the attitudes of both classes, Islamists and secularists, were changing and showing flexibilities to each other's ideologies. The Islamists have been united under the umbrella of a political party for gaining political authority, economic power, status and reputation through legal and non-violent way. Thus, these Islamic political parties have been a huge challenge for the secularist class of Turkish republic (Toprak, 2005).

### **Tayyip Erdogan's Leadership and AKP**

ReccepTayyipErdogan, the notable ex-mayor of Istanbul, registered Justice and Development Party (*Adaletve Kalkınma Partisi*-AKP) formed on August 14, 2001 gained victory in the general elections of November 2002 by receiving 34 percent of votes; and defeated Republican People's Party that secured 19 percent of total votes and Felicity Party secured 2.5 percent. It has also gained more than 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority in Grand National Assembly by securing 368 seats out of 550 in August 2003. Now it was in a position in the parliament to amendment the Constitution. The political parties like True Path and Motherland Parties faded with Ataturk's secular policy also joined AKP (Heper&Toktas, 2003). The leadership of ReccepTayyipErdogan imbued the Justice and Development Party with new direction and enthusiasm. In 1988 he spent some times in prison for reciting a vague nationalistic poem. He became the prime minister of Turkey after getting success in 2002 general elections. So the rebirth of Islamic movements in Turkish society and the success of religiosity inspired Erbakan'sRefah Party as well as guaranteed the recent electoral success of Justice and Development Party. The triumph of AKP can be measured as the complete subjugation and defeat of secularism. Smith expressed his views on Erdogan's leadership as:

*"The first prime minister of AKP, Erdogan, represents a moderate Islam according to the new requirements of society's progress, liberalism and modernization. He reassesses the Turkish style of secularism and wants to introduce a new form of political Islam, the last choice with Turkish society and state. This new model of*

*Islam will assimilate the religious sensibility with tolerance and Western friendly activism, and is the only hope to renovate the religion with the capability to preserve the national identity and unity. The liberal Islam is an amazing exhibition of acceptance, tolerance, free economy, morality, accommodating of secular life style, a combination of universal and Islamic perceptions about the basic human rights and honor, minimizing the control of state on any particular religion, protection of religious minorities, emancipation of women and their participation in political activities and holding a public office. The main hurdle in front of AKP was to reconstruct flexible relations between the religion based societies with the Kemalist practice of secularism (Smith, 2005).*

### **AKP Mode of Governance**

The government of AKP started to introduce reforms in various sectors of governance. It improved the judicial system, transformed the legal proceedings and conform the army to civilian superiority. It has been trying to improve the life standard of minorities like Kurds. The AKP also revised the foreign policy and domestic policy to become a regional power. Turkey due to consolidated economy played the leading role in the field of energy for regional states like Saudi Arabia and Iran. She increased the ratio of export to the whole GDP. In the Brookings Institution polls, Turkey was placed first among the top five regional states by playing a constructive role in the Arab Spring. Since the first day in government, through peaceful and soft politics, the Justice and Development Party was trying to regain the lost power of leadership disappeared as the result of collapse of Ottoman Empire in 1923. For the permanent membership to European Parliament, the AKP was pursuing the democratic standards put for the said purpose. The constitutional amendments were made for the purpose of promoting human rights status to the highest level according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The courts have been authorized to hear the cases against military officers and officials. The same amendment has also empowered the president and parliament to appoint the judicial officers of high courts. This step of AKP was highly appreciated internationally but the opposition parties criticized this constitutional amendment as to subjugate the state army and judiciary to AKP leadership (Greenwood, 2005).

### **Religious Reforms**

The Justice and Development Party has introduced several religious reforms like ban on loud music and selling or drinking of alcohols in holy areas, construction of new grand mosques, gradual prohibition of alcohols, specification of special places for sale of wine, and prohibition of drinking of alcohols at public places as well as in the open air shows and concerts. Hotels are directed to provide wine on requisition, and to avoid advertise it. The small shops of alcohols are also closed down and selling of it on coastal areas is banned due to the fear of drunks' violent behavior. There is a special permit for selling the wine which has to be verified from the police, the local municipality and the Tourism department. The roadside hotels and restaurants were closed by the local authorities due to the lacking of license and resultantly, the drinking industry was at the verge of impoverishment

Islamists are happy to lift the ban on religious activities in public spheres as adopted by the secularists during the reign of Kemalism. The highest court of the state warned the executive to show flexibility towards Kemalist policies rather than harshness in the name of religion. Erdogan gave preference to Islamic ethics like the removing of ban on wearing headscarves by women in public places and educational institutions, reopening of Sophia mosque for prayers, building the Taksim Square mosque which was once the trade center of secular elite. The justice and Development Party are trying to maintain soft and strong relations with the different religious groups. However, the party also extends financial support to educational institutions working for the imparting of religious knowledge. The leadership of AK Party even did not differentiate between Sunni and Alevis, the followers of Hazrat Ali (RA) and Erdogan sometimes clearly indicate that he is a strict follower of Ali to console the Alevis. But they have reservations about the Erdogan's views about the Alevi movement which is not a religious but cultural one. AKP government not only renovates the mosques but the churches and synagogues have also been included in the renovation list of religious buildings. The government also rejected the conception of providing privileges to Muslims in governmental jobs but bring the equality in this sense. Several tickets of AKP were provided to the Armenians in 2004 elections. The parliament also established a Human Rights Committee for the purpose of amplification of minority rights

### **Social Reforms**

AKP under the leadership of Erdogan has introduced tremendous social reforms. First, it introduced reforms in education sector. The army after military coup of 1980 could not sustain sketching criticism of the parents of children with respect to old secularism-based education system on the ground of its failure

to impart fundamental rituals and religious teachings to their kids. For fostering unity and reforming the society, a new educational approach was introduced and the classrooms syllabus was completely changed. The subject of religious education was made compulsory from primary to graduation. New course 'Religious Culture and Morals' was introduced for the purpose to make religion subservient to the state. The government of Justice and Development Party also changed the school set-up with the promoting of religious syllabus and announced a basic 'Three Stage Education System' based on equal duration of four years (four years + four years + four years) (Vlaskamp, M. 2008)

Second, change and relaxation of the school uniform, permission to wear headscarf by female students during attending the classes of high school and to cover their hair for the whole period of Quranic teachings. This principle for education is mandatory nature and included it as a clause to the regulatory book of the discipline in schools. Students are allowed to wear uniform of their choice within the limits of these regulations. During the rule of Justice and Development Party the university gates have been opened for all covered female students and lifted the ban on veiling which was early installed by the secular governments for the liberation of women (Altunışık, M. B. 2013).

Third, reforms were introduced to regulate print media. The Ottoman empire used censorship of print media as a tool to assimilate governmental secular policies; which is still exercised. Before the rise of Justice and Development Party, different literatures have been already banned and their prints were prohibited like the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and the nationalistic poems of revolutionary poet, Nazim Hikmat. Use of internet was also controlled. But with the advent of JDP, it lifted the ban on these prohibited books but strictly scrutinized the materials of this literature like the investigation of Richard Dawkins who has written a book named as 'The Golden Delusion' which touched the religious emotions of public (). Similarly, a censorship board has been established for the scrutinizing of school and colleges literature and books. A famous Turkish painter has been charged with the trial of Twitter message in which he showed disdain for the religion of mass.

Fourth, the government of AKP made another change against the previous governmental policy that is to revise the Kemalist calendar which was the source of remembrance of the valor and bravery of Ataturk's leaders like the official holidays on Republic Day, Youth Day, Ataturk's Day, Istanbul Liberation Day and Victory Day. Religious holidays have been started to celebrate under the government of JDP. Seker Bayrami and Kurban Bayramiare the two religious based holidays have been observed since 2002. The 'Blessed Birth Week' started from 14th to 20th April has also been celebrated with the consolidation of Prophet Muhammad PBUH and regularly renew His memory (Başkan, F. 2010).

Fifthly, Erdogan always insisted upon the participation of women in party politics and always try to give due right to this opposite gender as he consider them equal to men. There were twelve veiled women among the founding fathers of the AKP and they were considered the most vigilant and modern although they were completely covered and veiled. The history of this Islamist party regarding the role of women after the victory in general elections is very dismal and unbelievable change of attitude among the male leaders has been recorded against the role of women. The ancestor Welfare Party had no women for contesting of general elections while the AKP has appointed man for the holding of key public offices (Sontag, D. 2003). The ratio of female to male in parliament is very low and only five percent of parliamentarians are women but Turkey has a large number of female in other different professions which is a good sign of women development. Secular codes of conduct are still using by some groups of society bur facing harsh criticism especially women who work in offices and schools. To balance these relations between secularists and Islamists regarding the position women, few times headscarf was made compulsory for those women who were enrolling in Universities but reversed these steps by the strong opposition of secularists. The important point about the AK Party government is to give enormous emancipation to women personally and socially as the abortion decision power is with women and made it legal till the tenth week of pregnancy and the accountable of honor killing is to be hanged till death like a killer or murderer. ( Bechev, D.2012 )All clergy men (Imams) are directed to talk about the kind-hearted and soft attitude towards the women as the Prophet PBUH plainly elaborated their rights in the 'Last Sermon' during the Hajj. As Turkey was facing hurdles in acquiring the membership of European Union, therefore, the government of Justice and Development has done nothing special in this regards but eradicate some of the legal implications that was a discriminate against women at work place. As the Turkish society is more patriarchal and the women role has not been so evaluated, but in some parts of the country covered women are not allowed to attend the public functions. (Çağaptay,S.2002)The prime minister even sent his two daughters to USA universities for onward studies which show the gloomy position of women rights in Turkey. But the parliament has been frequently legislated in favor of women emancipation and trying to provide the basic needs and rights to Turkish women. (Casanova, J. 2001)

## **Economic Reforms**

The election manifestoes of political parties during the 1995 and 1999 elections were to focus on defense and security of state, avoided the common problems of people. But due to the instable economic conditions of the country, the upcoming general election of 2002 was competing by the AKP having manifestoes of economic stability and poor-friendly financial policies. The Justice and Development Party effectively interlinked the identity issues and freedom of judiciary with the fragile economic conditions and loose capitalism. It is also claimed that the policy of Neo-Liberalism was the source of profit for secular elite and the openness of public exchequer benefited the Islamic circles. The JDP promised to upgrade and promote all the four underdeveloped corners of the state and reallocate the national profit for their development. The prime minister, Erdogan continuously in touch with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the salvation of economic problems. (Choudhury, G. W.1969)

From 2002 to 2011, the economic growth rate was approximately 7.5 percent in Turkey. Due to low inflation rate and minimum interest rate, the domestic consumption was increased which resultantly attract the foreign investors and businessman. Major state owned firms have been put on the privatization list. The per capita income was increased from \$2800 US in 2002 to \$10,000 US in 2011, and few European states were lagged behind of Turkey due to highest rate of annual revenue generation. (Dagi, I. 2008)

### **Political Reforms**

The Justice and Development Party in Turkey tried to introduce fundamental principles of democracy. Free and fair elections have regularly been scheduled and participated by the leaders of all political parties. But criticism is come out from the oppositions and considers the government of AKP as a civilian authoritarianism and controlled the national media, judiciary and army. The religious freedom can be observed from the policies and projects of JDP government. Opponents criticized the judicial activism during the reign of Erdogan as reflected in the case of 2007 registered against Ergenekon who had plotted a coup during the second electoral campaign of Erdogan. Major senior army officials, journalists and scholars were claimed to launch upheaval for the purpose of military takeover and toppled down the AKP government. The voice of opponents was completely unusual and condemned this step of government to keep silence the opposition (Dagi, I. D. 2006)

Second, AKP also revised its policy on minorities. The minority rights in Turkey were the result of Lausanne Treaty which was concluded in 1923. This treaty extended only to Turkish minorities like Armenians, Jews and Greeks. But other minority groups of non-Islamic background like Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics, Nasr anis, Bulgarians and Baha'is had no special rights and opportunities and were thought as the aliens. Jews were considered as the most loyal to state among other minorities, and this idea was used for approaching to Israel. The converted Muslims from Jews community were not accepted heartedly by Muslims and Jews. But their rights could not be denied as mentioned clearly in the Treaty. Also the members of all different sects of Muslim community were considered as the majority of society (Dagi, H.D.2005). Majority of Turkish Muslims belongs to Hanafi sect and always enjoy preference in governmental policies. There are also a large number of Muslim minorities residing in Turkey like Kurds, Alevis and Yazidis, but the most problematic minority for AKP government is Kurdish community. Their demands for separate identity and independent state have been extensively declined and supposed to bring them in the Turkish mainstream politics. Recep Tayyip Erdogan has already realized the seriousness of Kurdish issue and wants to resolve all the differences for avoiding any future violence and terrorist actions (Davison, A. (1998)

Third, The Justice and Development Party in Turkey have been legislating from time to time for the endorsement of basic human rights. The leadership wants to bring amendments in the constitution according to the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights and Islam to accommodate the concepts of human rights ingrained in them. Different non-governmental organizations have been working for promoting the said purpose and the most important one is '*Mazlum Der* (The Oppressed)' established in 1990s. This organization asserted on the freedom of religion, promoting the social status of army officers and improving the life standard of civil servants. Internationally, they have also some objections about the violation of human rights in the states of Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir and other terrorism-ridden area of Muslim countries. AKP is also trying to take care of labor rights, ameliorating conditions of prisoners' rights in jails and patients' rights in hospital as well as other deprived classes (Keyman, E.F. and B. Koyuncu 2005)

The manifesto of AK party for campaigning of general elections 2002 was to ensure human rights and democratic values with bringing economic stability. The party agenda has been considered as a program of evolving democracy and the development of constitutional rights. The individual happiness and their security was the priority of AKP government. The program of development and progress, presented by JDP means a prosperous state where basic legal and political rights would be provided and freedom of

individual is guaranteed. The international struggles and campaign for the providing basic needs to the needy were highly appreciated and adopted by the government of AKP. Usually different religious and ethnic nationalities are considered as the warning of division of territory but the case of Turkey was completely different and they considered these nationalities as the source of unity and harmony. The AKP government is forcing these ethnic groups to actively participate in the state politics. In election declaration of JDP, the leaders of the party also promised of democratic system and liberalism of politics (Taspinar, O. & Wright, R. 2012)

Fourth, the relations between civil and military have been always controversial throughout the contemporary history of modern Turkey. Till now the military has been taken over and toppled down the democratic governments for four times. The direct intervention of army had showed in the 1960 and 1980 coup while covert means were also used by the same unelected institution to force the elected parliament to dissolve and sent the prime minister to home in 1971 and 1997 (Ersoy, M. 2018) For the stability of democracy, it is the basic need to make the military subservient to civil supremacy but the case of Turkey was ambiguous as the state army was so strong and disciplined, therefore, challenges have been created in the way of development in Turkey. However, the AKP party government reshaped these bulky relations in favor of civilian supremacy.

In 1960, for the first in Turkish history, military intervened the politics, dissolved the parliament and military coup was declared. The army considered themselves as the defenders of Turkish ideology, state boundaries, process of Kemalism and a source of stability and prosperity in Turkey. They completely controlled the decision-making powers of the government. In 1983, a new Constitution was promulgated which was actually introduced by the military bureaucracy for vested-interests after the 1980's coup. Also in the first Constitution of military regime in 1960, a National Security Council was formed, headed by the president of Turkey and the composite of equal numbers of civil and military elites. The purpose of this Security Council was to provide assistance to the Council of Ministers in decision makings and legislature. Article 35 of the Military Service proved that the first and the most important duty of armed forces is to defend the state's sovereignty and Turkish Republic which aroused a new discussion about the role of army in politics. With the government of Justice and Development Party, the balance of civil-military relation has been tilted in favor of popular supremacy and for the first time in modern Turkish history, the elected government is more powerful than the unelected institution like military.

The two responsible leaders of the 1980 martial law, General (R) Kenan and (R) General Tahsin, were trialed in the civil courts and both were sentenced to imprisonment for their roles in the violation of human rights during the military coup. The trial was carried out due to the amendment in the 1982 constitution through referendum in 2010. The Article 15 was removed from the constitution which had forbidden the judiciary to initiate a trail against the military officers (Eekelan & Greenwood, 2005). Also, the Ergenekon case has been reopened in 2008 against all the chauvinistic members of Kemalist and nationalist movements including military officers, active politicians and participatory civilians. These participants have been trialed due to the alleged intrigues of killing politicians, bureaucrats, judicial officers and religious teachers with the plotting of ousting the Justice and Development Party government. Additionally, another case of Balyoz coup plot has been discovered in 2010 against the government of AKP and resultantly three hundred of military personal were arrested and detained. Such a large number of arrests of army officers and officials is a singular example in Turkish history and has not been emulated. These steps has been the source of declining the role and influence of military in politics and the unelected institution has been make subservient to popularly elected institutions like parliament. Thus, a paradigm shift has been occurred in civil-military relations in Turkey and civil supremacy was the outcome of this confrontation between military and popularly elected government (Grigoriadis, I. N. (2009).

Fifth, The general election of 2002 in Turkey has been considered as the political earthquake for the nourishment of democracy. After winning that elections, the policies of AK Party was a hot debate among the local and international experts in the fields of politics and international relations. Majority considered JDP as the Islamist political party. For the first time in Turkish history, an Islamist Prime Minister has been popularly elected. Due to the friendly relations with neighbor states and tilting towards European world, many observers of international relations appreciated the foreign policy of Turkey. The best example was the strengthening relations with EU that astonished the scholars as this party showed itself as an Islamist but its policies of friendship to Europe completely confused them (Jenkins, G. 2003)

The conditions for accession to EU was adequately satisfied and the Western World accepted Turkey after following responsible democratic values, rule of law, assurance of basic human rights and safeguard of different minorities rights were guaranteed by AKP government. To come out from the financial web of shabby economy, the Justice and Development Party developed economic relations with other powerful

economies to increase its export and balance the difference of payment. Actually the foreign policy of AKP government has been thought as the breaking from the past and reshaping the present and future. Turkey opposed the USA action in Iraq after 9/11 on the pretext of weapons of mass destruction and therefore, her relations with USA get restrain. Similarly, Turkey also emphasized on the peaceful democratization of the Middle East, practical approach towards the solution of Cyprus problem and find out a way to diplomatically handle the Iranian nuclear issue (Jones, O. B. (2003).

Justice and Development government has been focused on the region of Middle East. It shows that Turkey is isolating herself from Europeanism and extending assistance to these oil-rich countries for the self-interest while others opposed. This stance of Turkish government shows her multi-dimensional foreign policy of Turkey. There are two aspects that decide the interest of Turkey in the Middle East. The first one is AK Party's ideological factor and the second one is due to the international requirement for the acquisition of EU membership. Turkey also has been insisting on the acceptable resolution of Palestine issue, but one thing is of importance to note that due to vast interests, Turkey will never disturb her relations with Europe (Turan, 2012)

The task of Justice and Development Party is to make Turkey a regional actor due to her relax and non-violent foreign policy and friendly relations with all without any discrimination and differences. Due to strong financial position, now Turkey became the largest economy of the region. For continuing and updated relations, Turkish foreign officials frequently visit the regional states like Iraq, Syria, Iran and other Muslim states like Pakistan. The government of AKP has also been constructing new embassies and consulates across the Arab countries, to attain an opportunity of visibility in the Muslim world which had been disappeared with fall of Ottoman Empire. With Syria, the relations of Turkey is very strict due to the use of force by Assad's regime against civilians and that time Turkish policy of using soft power as the pressurizing tactics was not working, therefore, Erdogan severed all diplomatic ties with Assad regime. As Iran is backing Assad's brutal policy of killing innocent people, therefore, Turkey also assist some rebel groups against the Syrian government for the purpose of minimizing the role of Iran in the region. To some extent directly or indirectly, Iran is also creating problems in Iraq for Turkey. On the other hand, Turkey is emphasizing on the economic, cultural and diplomacy to reinforce her relations with all actors of the international world. The role of Turkey in Middle East is just like same that of Japan in East Asia which establishes relations with other states utilizing the state's soft power and discarding the hard power agenda.

### III. TURKISH AKP GOVERNANCE AS A ROLE MODEL FOR PAKISTAN

#### **Reforming Political Parties**

The mainstream political parties in Pakistan are as *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf* (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), *Jamat-e-Islami* (JI), *Jamia'at Ulema Islam* (JUI), *Awami National Party* (ANP) and *Mutahida Quomi Movement* (MQM). The former cricketer Imran Khan laid the foundation of *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf* (PTI) in 1996 to establish a poor friendly and justice-based society. It also stands for an efficient regime with merit and responsiveness as the leading principles. The second key political party in Pakistan is Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N). The PML-N also built the infrastructure and policy outlines for economic development as well as makes Pakistan an invincible nuclear power. Similarly the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), founded by Zulfikar Ali Butto in 1967 with an aim to implement the ideology of what he called Islamic Socialism, have emerged with an exceptionally detailed manifesto promising a world of opportunities to the people. The party assured a decisive action on water sanity, poverty alleviation, labor-friendly policy reform, energy security, emancipation of women, ensuring the rule of law and calls for maximum provincial autonomy. Other major political parties *Jamat-e-Islami* (JI), *Jamia'at Ulema Islam* (JUI), *Awami National Party* (ANP) and *Muthahida Quomi Movement* (MQM) have, to some extent, affected the political life of Pakistan in recent past and still effecting. However, democratic values, meritocracy, and public welfare-oriented approach are lacking in these political parties. Dynastic leadership, elitism, malpractices, and selfish interests are the core objectives of these parties (Insel, A. (2003).

#### **Redefining the role of Religion in Politics**

Actually Pakistan was claimed by Indian Muslims to have their own independence state where they would be free to follow any course of religion and have independence to live according to their wills. Due to this historical approach, a complex challenge was emerged to determine the exact nature of state constitution. The ambiguous problem about the relations of Islam and state dominated the discussions of

constituent assembly and delayed the constitution making process. The general view about the governing of state according to the teachings of Islam was same but differences occurred at the nature and concept of an Islamic state. Ullema (the religious leaders) emphasized that the new constitution should be on the pattern of Pious Caliphs and denied corporation of any new ideas to it, while the intellectuals insisted on the balance relations of Islam with the modern democratic norms. The founding fathers of Pakistan considered the religion as an aid not a retarding force in this task. So the relation of Islam to state is always a hot debate in the perspective of constitutional development in Pakistan (Choudhury, 1969).

Since the Zia Islamization process, the street powers of religious parties and organizations have been increased in Pakistan. And the role of religion in politics had been revolutionized by Gen Zia for the vested interests. With the help of religious party, Jamm'atIslami, Zia started to Islamize the state with establishing Shari'a Courts, introduction of new Islamic law, basic Islamic education to be compulsory and promoting the role of religious institutions (Madrassa). Unfortunately, the use of religion in state was basically for the purpose of self-interests and gaining political authorities, sectarianism is inculcated after the 9/11 incident in USA. Like the increasing attacks of Taliban on shia'as, Ahamdīs and the sacred places of Barelvi sect of Islam which increasingly sapping the authority of government. The political parties like secular one Pakistan People's Party (PPP) as well as the center-right Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) also used Islam for political purposed. Some veteran scholars realized that the radicalization of Pakistani society has been started as a result of mullah and military alliance (J).

On the other hand the population of Turkey is 99% Muslims but all sects have freedom to follow any religion and choose the way of life they like. No one is forced to take part in any religious functions and ceremonies against their wish and no one is considered as at fault due to religious affinities. There is no sectarianism and radicalization in Turkey. The Turkish government has actually no preferential links to any special sect. They consider the religion as a personal matter but utilize some basic Islamic principles regarding the governing of state and society with the unique relations of progress and modernization. The Islamism of Turkey is completely opposite to other Islamic movements in the regional states due to the insisting on non-violence and peaceful transition. Turkey presented a moderate Islam and an exceptional mixture of modernism, liberalism, religious and progress thoughts. Therefore, Turkish model of Islam under AK Party government as a beacon light for Muslim states especially Pakistan (J).

### **Reforming Economy of Pakistan**

The recent survey of an international organization, the Moody, is having an alarming omen for the feeble economy of Pakistan as this economic organization gave the status of stable to negative in the perspective of state finance. The account deficit has been increased up to sixteen billion dollar, the highest throughout the history of Pakistan. Resultantly, the State Bank of Pakistan was unable to stabilize the currency and the value of rupee has been depleting. The foreign exchange reserves have fallen to the lowest level which threatened the government liquidity risks. The government of Pakistan is relaxing the tax collection system and introducing the amnesties to increase the level of foreign exchange. Also the Pakistani government is once again knocking the door of International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loan on the prescribed principles. On the other hand, Pakistan is also facing a strict check from another international organization, Financial Action Task Force (FATF), due to the funding of terrorist organizations, kept Pakistan in gray list, moving to the black which will devastate the state economy (Aazim, 2018).

The basic challenge which brings the economy of Pakistan into collapse is overwhelming dependency on import rather than export. There is a large gap in the balance of payments which to be filled, due to the increasing level of imports twice than exports. The current deficit of balance of payment is sixteen billion dollars which makes 5% of the GDP. The foreign exchange reserves have been declined \$10 billion which was previously \$20 billion and external debt has increased up to thirteen billion dollar. The second challenge is the attitude of popular government which introduced the tax amenities only to evade the rich and feudal while the benefits have not been reached to poor but to seize by the wealthy. So the economic challenges can be categorized as the lack of good governance, deplorable international economic relations, and short investment in the human developmental projects as well as the under developing of physical infrastructure (Kazancıgil, A. and E. Özbudun 1981)

For the purpose of economic stability, Pakistan can learn from the Turkish economic journey of success and stability. The most important step of Justice and Development Party in Turkey was to introduce the poor friendly budget and transfer of public money to low level through a comprehensive local government system. The government of turkey was continuously in communication with IMF for the dealings of financial challenges. The economic growth of Turkey has been increased up to 7.5%. The AK Party government kept the low inflation rate and less interest, due to which the investors invested in the country. Privatization of different main firms has been included as a part of state privatization policy. The



unemployment rate has been kept low due to the advancement of local industries and factories. The per capita income touched the highest point in Turkey as the economic growth rate entered to the double digit. The budget deficit was kept at lowest level. According to the World Bank, Turkey is one of the largest in top 20 economies and the value of Lira is increased in connection with US dollars. So these are the steps taken by Turkish government for boosting her economy and Pakistan may adopt these economic policies for the stability of debt-ridden and aid based economy if the stakeholders are honest and sincere to the goal (Keyman, E. F. 2007)

### **Defining the role Military in Politics**

According to Hassan AskariRizvi, the military is the most formidable and autonomous political actor in Pakistan, having the ability to influence the direction and exact nature of political change. During the British regime, military worked in the constitutional parameters and never ever tried to intervene in the politics. But the case of Pakistan is completely different. The army extended its influence and considered themselves as the primary factor in the politics of Pakistan in different manner like active role in the policy making process under the carpet, direct interference through martial law, establishing civilian governments which relied on the assistance of generals for their survival and influencing the civil departments and institutions. The army of Pakistan considered themselves as the custodians of ideology of Pakistan as well as the guardians of the boundaries and state sovereignty. Unfortunately, after independence, various political conspire and intrigues were made against the political culture of Pakistan (Keyman, E.F. (1995)

From the demise of Quaide Azam to the martial law of Ayub Khan, neither proper constitution, nor any elected parliament was established. The first entry of Pak army in politics was with charge given to Ayub Khan as a defense minister in 1954 which paved the way for military dictatorship in Pakistan. Resultantly, martial law was declared for the first time in Pakistan in 1958. It was considered that if the early parliament gave a strong interim constitution to Pakistan, then Ayub would never interfere in the government. So, the first dictator gave an undemocratic constitution to Pakistan in 1962 and after ten (10) years transferred the political power to another martial law administrator, General Yahyakhani. This person conducted general election in 1970 but rejected the result and Pakistan was then divided into two pieces. In 1977, General ZiaulHaq once again imposed martial law and announced new election to be held within ninety (90) days. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged for the charges of murder of Nawab Muhammad Khan in Karachi. In 1999, due to differences between Nawaz Sharif and Gen Musharraf at the cause of Kargil war and the general unconstitutionally removed the elected prime minister of Pakistan (Shah Azmat Ali. (2016).

In the past Turkish army also played an enormous role in the politics and the public considered this organization as the most powerful and guardian of the constitution of the land which provided an opportunity to overwhelm this unelected institution and made them subservient to civilian supremacy. Turkey also faced the same challenge of intervention of strong army in the active politics from time to time and it was difficult for the popular governments to control the state army, but according to Keyman the Justice and Development Party government successfully made the military under controlled to civilian supremacy. Article 35 of the Military Rule authorized the forces to defend the state sovereignty and Republic which was later then altered during the AK Party regime. For the first time in Turkey, military officers and generals were made responsible and cases were prosecuted against them. Constitutional amendments were made in favor of popular sovereignty in the 1982 constitution and Article 15 was deleted which forbade the judiciary to start a case against the forces officers. So the duty of strong army is to defend the borders, not the constitution. From the government of Justice and Development Party, Pakistan can learn that how to handle this unelected and powerful institution for the future and how to ensure the civil supremacy (Rizvi, H. A. (2000).

### **Revisiting Foreign Policy**

After 9/11 incident, Pakistan became a frontline state in war against terrorism initiated by USA against Al-Qaeda and Taliban in Afghanistan. Due to this frontline role, Pakistan became strategically very important. United States of America insisted that Taliban should not take asylum in the underdeveloped territory of Pakistan. Due to strategic importance, the role of Pakistan for superpower cannot be denied. It was very difficult for Pakistan to stay away from international politics and started negotiation with international organizations and developed states for the safety and promoting of national interests. The tilting foreign policy will arouse the international aid and trade which would be used for the up gradation of social and economic conditions as well as to stabilize the defense and territorial integration which are

the main principles of Pakistan's foreign policy. The major concern of Pakistan's foreign policy is the security against internal and external issues to national identity and sovereignty, also to establish brotherly relations with all Muslim states. Literally, the basic principle of Pakistan foreign policy is non-interference and mutual co-existence with all including neighbors but the reality is completely different. After coming to power, the Justice and Development Party in Turkey initiated a friendly relations with neighbor states and establishing multi-dimensional relations with the European countries for the national interest. On the other hand, unfortunately, Pakistan has no warm relations with any neighbor country except China. After independence, for the security and defense purposes, Pakistan entered to the alliance politics and became the active recipient of US security aid during the Cold War era which distanced Pakistan from soviet bloc. The non-alliance policy was the best option with Pakistan like India. Similarly, unlike Turkish non-interference in the neighbor states domestic affairs, Pakistan theoretically followed the same approach but practically; interfere in the domestic affairs to Afghanistan and other neighbor states for the strategic depth and other interests for which the public and security forces paid a lot in term of manpower and exchequer, sapping the energy of Pakistan in wrong directions. Due to the proxy war, Pakistan soft image has regularly been tarnished, international power is tilting towards India and other regional states and Pakistan is going to internationally isolated due to dual approach of foreign policy (Rizvi, H. A. 2004).

Four point agenda should be adopted by Pakistan in foreign relations. First is to resolve the Kashmir issue peacefully and re-organize relations with immediate neighbors. Second is to find out the solution of Afghanistan problem and bring the Taliban to negotiating table for the peace settlement in Afghanistan which is the guarantee of peace in the region. Third is to reconstruct the relations with Iran as majority of Iranian population is Shias while a huge population of Shias is also present in Pakistan. To avoid sectarianism in the region as well as in Pakistan, strong relations with Iran is necessary. The last one is to abandon the proxy war on the pretext of national and strategic interests. As in Turkey, the AK Party started to develop economic relations with all her friends, on the same footings Pakistan needs to reconstruct her foreign policy based on economic interest, not the security and defense importance. Also all local and regional issues need to be resolved and handled diplomatically as like Turkey. The mission of Turkish government is to relax her relations with the neighbor as well as adopt non-interference in others internal affairs are the guidelines of foreign policy for Turkey and the same principles are the call of the day for Pakistan for her peaceful and successful existence.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Turkey has a unique status among the Muslim world due to its secularist approach and many Islamic states want to emulate her system but Turkey assesses to forgo the present secular system and adopt political Islam as the state ideology because Turkey was the only secular state having majority Muslim population and trying to establish a delicate relations between the state and religion. They gradually started to adopt political Islam which is absolutely singular and opposite to the Taliban and Al-Qaeda understanding of religion. The Justice and Development Party, after winning the general election in 2002, formed a single party government and rethink the previous policies of Kemalist Republic.

The AK Party/JDP presents an exceptional combination of moderate Islamism, liberalism, modernization and democratic values. Actually, the Justice and Development considered that the state secular approach became obsolete, and the public was not happy with it. Therefore, political Islam was the last option with government as 99% population of Turkey is Muslim and wants to follow the moderate Islamic principles at societal and state level but did not wish to shun the secular life style. Also, the AKP thoroughly observe the policies of Welfare Party and extract lessons from it. The leadership of Justice and Development Party tried to avoid any further polarization of the Turkish society. So, the government of Turkey synthesizes Islam with liberalism against the Kemalist idea of secularism. Liberal Islam has been utilized by AKP government. Neo-patrimonialism as the economic system, populism as the political strategy and Islamism as the political identity are the basic principles of AK Party regime completely concentrate on these norms. The Justice and Development Party thoroughly investigated the loopholes of state institutions, amended the constitution, judicial system was modernized; military was made subservient to civilian supremacy, promoted awareness about the minority rights, economy became stable and increased the export. The foreign relations of Turkey were based on the policy of 'leave and let leave them' and mutual co-existence. Using of soft powers is the priority of AKP government and discarded the option of military might in solving the regional differences. So it can be concluded that The Justice and Development party is a success story of Turkish Democracy. Turkish model of governance can provide assistance in the solution of problems which are facing by Pakistan like to encounter terrorism through enlightened Islam,

economic stability, minimizing the role of military in politics and friendly relations with neighbors based on trade and mutual co-operation. So, it can be concluded that Pakistan can learn a lot from the success story of democracy in Turkey.

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