

COMPARISON OF ERBAKAN'S ECONOMIC POLICY PROPOSALS WITH TURKEY'S 2002-2021 ECONOMIC POLICIES

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ERBAKAN Ekonomi Politika Önerilerinin, Türkiye'nin 2002-2021 Ekonomi Politikaları İle Karşılaştırması

ÖZ

Necmettin Erbakan, Türkiye'de başbakanlık da yapmış önemli bir politikacı, işadamı ve bilim adamıdır. 1980 sonrasında Erbakan'ın önerdiği ekonomik model "Adil Düzen" adıyla bilinmekte İslami hassasiyetleri, sanayileşmeyi ve İslam ülkeleri arasında işbirliğini içermektedir. Necmettin Erbakan 28 Haziran 1996 yılında başbakan olarak iktidara gelmiş olsa bile seküler kesimin gerçekleştirdiği 28 Şubat darbesi ile kısa zamanda iktidarı kaybetmiş ve ekonomik programını gerçekleştirebilmek için yeterli fırsatı bulamamıştır. Ancak kendi yanında siyaset tecrübe edinen Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül gibi isimler 2002 sonrasında iktidara gelmiş, başbakanlık ve cumhurbaşkanlığı gibi görevlerde bulunmuşlardır. AK Parti başarılı ekonomik performansın da etkisiyle uzun süredir iktidarını sürdürmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı AK parti döneminde izlenen sanayi ve dış ticaret politikalarının Necmettin Erbakan'ın ekonomi politikaları ile örtüşüp örtüşmediğini incelemektir. Bu amaçla 2002 sonrası dönemin istatistik verileri incelenmiş ve Erbakan'ın amaçları ile uyuşan gelişmelerin meydana gelip gelmediği incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak AK Parti iktidarında izlenen sanayi ve dış ticaret politikalarının kısmen de olsa Erbakan'ın ekonomik görüşleri ile uyduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Necmettin Erbakan, Adil Ekonomik Düzen, Ak Parti, İslam Ekonomik Modeli, Türkiye Ekonomisi

COMPARISON OF ERBAKAN'S ECONOMIC POLICY PROPOSALS WITH TURKEY'S 2002-2021 ECONOMIC POLICIES

ABSTRACT¹

Necmettin Erbakan is an important politician, businessman and scientist who also served as prime minister in Turkey. The economic model proposed by Erbakan after 1980, known as the "Fair Order", includes Islamic sensitivities, industrialization and cooperation between Islamic countries. Even though Necmettin Erbakan came to power as prime minister on June 28, 1996, he lost power in a short time with the February 28 coup carried out by the secular sector and could not find enough opportunity to realize his economic program. However, names such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül, who gained political experience on their side, came to power after 2002 and held positions such as prime minister and president. AK Party has been in power for a long time with the effect of successful economic performance. The aim of this study is to examine whether the industrial and foreign trade policies followed in the AK party period overlap with the economic policies of Necmettin Erbakan. For this purpose, the statistical data of the post-2002 period were examined and it was examined whether there were developments in line with Erbakan's goals. As a result, it has been concluded that the industrial and foreign trade policies followed during the AK Party government partially agree with Erbakan's economic views.

Keywords: Necmettin Erbakan, Fair Economic Order, Ak Party, Islamic Economic Model, Turkish Economy

¹ The article was written by using of Zülküf Dal's article titled "Erbakan Model in Turkish Economy and D8 Organization" conducted at Kastamonu University Social Sciences Institute Economics.

Introduction

Necmettin Erbakan is an intellectual and scientist who has made significant contributions to Turkey's politics, economy and industry. The aim of Erbakan throughout his life was the material and moral development and industrialization of Turkey. He received the title of Turkey's youngest associate professor in 1953, graduated from Istanbul Technical University Motor Department with a record average and graduated first. After doing his scientific studies in Germany, he returned to Turkey, took the Silver Motor initiative and engaged in politics for 42 years. Necmettin Erbakan is also a personality who has come to the fore with his books and intellectual views (Erbakan, 2018; 2019a; 2019b; 2019c; 2019d). Necmettin Erbakan's economic and political views also attracted the attention of researchers and scientific publications were made about these views (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015; Tekin 2017; Ersin and Duran, 2017, Sugözü, 2017; Öztürk, 2017).

During his time in politics, he held important positions such as prime minister and deputy prime minister. During his duties, he faced intense obstacles from the secular sector, and even the February 28 coup was carried out against him (Yılmaz, 2016, p.1173). These obstacles prevented Necmettin Erbakan from carrying out the economic program he named "Fair Economic Order" after 1980. However, the AK Party, which included names such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül, who started politics alongside him and were influenced by his economic views, came to power in 2002 (Bölükbaşı, 2012, pp.178-179). The success of the economic policies followed after 2002 ensured that the AK Party remained in power for a long time. According to purchasing power parity, while the GDP per capita of Turkey was \$9401 in 2002, it increased to \$28,113 in 2020 (World Bank, 2022), and significant increases were recorded in the welfare level of Turkish citizens. Export, industry and technology investments increased; Infrastructure projects (road, bridge, hospital, university, etc.) have increased.

The aim of this study is to question whether the economic policies followed after 2002 are similar to the Fair Economic Order in which Necmettin Erbakan put his principles. For this purpose, first Necmettin Erbakan's economic model will be examined and its basic suggestions will be put forward. Then, it will be questioned whether the economic policies followed after 2002 are compatible with these basic recommendations.

Erbakan's Economic Views and Fair Order

Although the main principles of Necmettin Erbakan's economic views remain constant, there are differences between his discourses before 1980 and his discourses after 1980. While expressing his economic views with the concept of "Heavy Industry Move" before 1980, the concept of "Fair Economic Order" began to be used predominantly after 1980 (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, pp.144-145). Undoubtedly, the conditions of the Turkish economy after 1980 and especially after 1990 also played a role in the emergence of the Fair Economic Order. In the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey, it was observed that the state borrowed at high interest rates, and the overnight borrowing sometimes exceeded 1000%. The Turkish economy of the period is called "Rent Economy" by Erbakan. Upon the reactions to this economic picture, alternative searches emerged, and as a result of the studies started in the Akevler cooperative, the Fair Economic Order entered the program of the Welfare Party (Öztürk, 2017, p.154). Since the economic order was founded on the foundation of justice, the late Necmettin Erbakan himself named the "Fair Economic Order" (Öztürk, 2017, p.160). The economic difficulties also caused the Welfare Party, the party of Necmettin Erbakan, to be the party that received the highest number of votes; has caused the people to favor the promise of a "Fair Economic Order".

The Fair Economic Order has also been made into a book (Erbakan, 2019a). A Fair Economic Order is a system that "does not allow exploitation at every point of the economic system, gives everyone their rights, treats everyone equally and gives equal opportunities to everyone, supports everyone's beneficial and constructive activities, encourages economic activities, and removes unnecessary and unjust obstacles to economic development". known as the system. The Fair Economic Order has five basic articles as general, money, credit, tax and social security. Depending on these basic items, there are 31 principles in total (Erbakan, 2019a, p.13-15). According to Erbakan, the five microbes that play a role in the exploitation of other segments by the powerful in the capitalist economic system are interest, unfair tax, foreign exchange, mints and credit.

Erbakan's view of life also influenced his views on the economy, and therefore, the Just Economic Order contains similarities with the Islamic economic model and does not contain any elements contrary to the Islamic economic system (Sugözü, 2017, p.207). A Fair Economic Order is different from both capitalism and socialism (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, p.144; Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.113; Öztürk, 2017, p.167). Monopolies and trusts cannot be prevented in capitalism and the powerful segment of the society exploits the other segments of the society. In a just economic order, there is no superiority between people and societies, but there is equality. In a fair economic system, there is cooperation between societies and individuals, and there is no exploitation of one part by another. In socialism, as in capitalism, there is no theoretical exploitation system, but the absence of private property and profit phenomena causes it to be contrary to human nature and not to motivate people more (Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.121). However, in practice, it is seen that political power oppresses and exploits other segments of society in socialism as well. In short, both capitalism and socialism are based on the mentality that holds the power (Erbakan, 2019a, p.12). Experts such as Arif Ersoy, Süleyman Karagülle and Süleyman Akdemir also have a share in the preparation of the Fair Economic Order, which is an alternative system to interest-free capitalism and socialism (Macit, 2017, p.12).

Necmettin Erbakan's dream was to build a Turkey that is a world leader in terms of human rights, economy, technology and democracy. When this imaginary Fair Economy Order is examined, it is felt very comfortable (Akgül, 2018, p.30). The Fair Economic Order was developed by taking the economic systems of the prophets as an example, and only in this way was it based on the assumption that Turkey could be the leader in Erbakan's dreams (Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.121). The Fair Economic Order promises to rapidly develop the economy, ensure strong development, prevent income distribution disorders, and prevent bribery and corruption.

Spiritualism constitutes the essence of the Fair Economic Order and differs from the capitalist economy in this aspect (Macit, 2017, p.12). The Fair Economic Order is built on the assumption of people who prioritize rights, and people who prioritize rights act by cooperating and establishing partnerships, not by conflicting with others. This ensures peace and tranquility in the society (Öztürk, 2017, p.159; Hamdemirci and Görmüş, 2018, p.1305). The capitalist order turns people into a selfish person (Homoeconomicus) in order to earn more money (Dilek et al. 2017, pp.636-637). TÜSİAD and MUSIAD (Independent Businessmen Association), which was established in 1990 as an alternative to large capital owners, also supported the Fair Economic Order (Bölükbaşı, 2012, pp.172-174).

This is an indication that the Fair Economic Order is not anti-capitalist. For the deceased Erbakan, industrialization is an indispensable phenomenon for Turkey and therefore industrial investments should be encouraged, which is another indication that the Fair Economic Order is not anti-capitalist (Demir, 2012, p.97).

The Fair Economic Order has been criticized because it contains proposals with a content similar to the socialist economy and is not applicable (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, p.160; Bölükbaşı, 2012, p.171). The most important deficiency of capitalism is that it cannot find a solution to income distribution injustice, and the Fair Economic Order is an order that tries to find a solution to income distribution injustice (Sugözü, 2017, p.200) and in this respect, it has been favored by the urban poor and the people living in slums (Bölükbaşı, 2012, p. 169). Another shortcoming of capitalism is that it is dragged into crises with a certain frequency and these crises increase the problem of income distribution injustice, which shows that the exploitation order in capitalism cannot continue any longer (Hamdemirci and Görmüş, 2018, p.1298). Erbakan (2019a, p.12) states that just as communism collapsed after 70 years of oppressing people, capitalism will also collapse because it does not bring peace and tranquility to humanity.

Necmettin Erbakan's Views on Industrialization and Foreign Trade

Necmettin Erbakan's thought that industrialization is an indispensable condition for Turkey to become a leading country dates back to before he put forward the "Fair Economic Order" economic program (Ersin and Yıldırım, 2015, pp.144-145). Necmettin Erbakan graduated from the Mechanical Engineering Department of Istanbul Technical University with a record average, received a doctorate in Germany, founded Gümüş motor AŞ in 1956, and produced the Devrim automobile (Erbakan University, 2021). The Heavy Industry move is an important part of the National Vision founded by Necmettin Erbakan (Demir, 2017, p.91). In the 1970s, the late Erbakan held various positions, including the deputy prime minister and the ministry, and during this time he contributed to the establishment of important enterprises such as TEMSAN, TAKSAN, TUSAŞ, TESTAŞ, GERKONSAN, TÜTEKS, TUMOSAN (Demir, 2017, p.92-93).

The late Erbakan, who thinks that industrialization is an indispensable condition for development, thinks that social indicators should be taken into consideration in addition to economic indicators in investments. Erbakan, who advocates horizontal development in order to eliminate regional development differences, thinks that a different industry branch should be developed in each region of Anatolia (Demir, 2017, p.98-101). In the theory of economics, the concept of industrialization and technology are used together, and the industrialization of a society based on technology means the development of the society by gaining competitive power (Çalışkan, 2020, p: 297).

All three of the Fair Economic Order are general; It has a total of 31 principles, seven of which are tax, seven are money, seven are credit and seven are social security. According to the first of the general principles of the Fair Economic Order, the state should have macro plans and investment projects made in the economy and everyone should have information about which projects to support. Individuals, companies and foundations also choose the one that suits them from these projects and make investments (Erbakan, 2019a, p.15-17). This shows the idea that the state should encourage new investments (including industry). Among the duties of the state, there is also the establishment of energy, water, road, infrastructure services, health, education, transportation and communication infrastructure. In other words, Necmettin Erbakan's ideal of industrialization continued in the Fair Economic Order program.

According to Erbakan's view, for the development of Turkey, it is necessary to build an economy focused on production and export, and foreign trade should be carried out predominantly with Muslim (D8 countries) countries (Ersin and Duran, 2017, p.121). Necmettin Erbakan, during his short term as prime minister in the 1990s, tried to adopt a foreign relations policy mainly based on the D-8 countries, but this settled secular military and bureaucratic structure was seen as a threat and the February 28 coup was justified (Tekin, 2017, p.238). D-8 is actually just the beginning, the first phase of the later establishment of the D-60 and D-160 and the new Earth order that will eventually be established. It is the beginning

stage of the Islamic Union. Developing cooperation and trade among Islamic countries with resources, large population, geographical area and high economic potential is one of the main objectives of the D-8 organization (Tuğrul, 2021, p.29-38; Karabulut, 2017, p.422). The Islamic bourgeoisie, which grew by exporting after 1980, also supported Erbakan's expansion to Islamic countries (Ayhan and Sağıroğlu, p.131). It is stated that while giving credits in a fair economic order, giving credit to everyone without nepotism will increase production and exports in the economy (Handemirci and Görmüş, 2018, p.1300-1301), which shows the importance given to exports by the Fair Economic Order.

Analysis of Turkey's Industry After 2002

Putting Erbakan's views into practice means that Turkey attaches importance to the manufacturing industry, increasing the share of the manufacturing industry in the economy. The increases in Turkey's industrial data for the period from 2002 to 2021 are shown in Table 1. While the manufacturing industry employment was 3.2 million in 2000, it is seen that the industrial sector employment was 6.4 million in January 2022. It is clearly seen that employment in the industrial sector has increased. In line with Necmettin Erbakan's export-led growth target, it is seen that Turkey's exports have increased more than six times. In the same period, automobile and washing machine production increased fourfold; refrigerator production has more than doubled. The fact that Turkey is the largest white goods producer in Europe in 2021 also shows the point Turkey has reached in the white goods industry (TRT Haber, 2022a). The reason why automobile and white goods production figures are handled is that they are products based on medium and advanced technology. Steel production, which is one of the important inputs for the industry, increased from 20.5 million to 35.8 million. The amount of Organized Industrial Zone is also a good indicator for industrialization in terms of the manufacturing industry facilities. In the 2002-2021 period, the number of Organized Industrial Zones increased from 140 to 353; The number of factories in the Organized Industrial Zone increased from 14,000 to 67,000. These figures indicate that steps were taken towards industrialization in the post-2002 period; indicates that the industrial sector is growing economically. With this; it is also seen that the Turkish manufacturing industry has intensified in favor of the Marmara region (Kaygalak, 2018).

Table 1. Industry data of Turkey (2002-2021)

	Data	Quantity
Employment	Manufacturing industry employment in 2000*	3,227,365
	Industrial sector employment in January 2022**	6,436,000
Export	Total exports in 2002 (000\$)***	36,059,089
	Total exports in 2021 (000\$)****	225,291,000
Automobile production	Automobile production in 2002 *v	204,198
	Automobile production in 2020 *v	855,043
Refrigerator production	Production in 2002 *vi	3,164,922
	Production in 2021*vii	7,922,395
Washing machine production	Production in 2002 *vi	1,684,687
	Production in 2021*vii	7,667,387
Steel production	Production in 2004 *III	20,500,000
	Production in 2020*III	35,800,000
Organized Industrial Zone	Number in 2002 *IV	140
	Number in 2021 *IV	353
Number of factories in the Organized Industrial Zone	Number in 2002 *IV	14,000
	Number in 2021 *IV	67,000

Source: * TÜİK (2009, s.22) **: TÜİK (2022a), ***: TÜİK (2009, s.479), ****: TÜİK (2022b) *_v:OSD (2022) *_{vi}: TÜİK (2009,s.333) *_{vii}: TURKBESD (2022). *_{iii}: Steel Exporters Association (2022). *_{iv}: Türkiye Newspaper (2021)

The defense industry is of great importance in terms of providing externality to the other branches of industry with the technology it has developed. Necmettin Erbakan also conducted research on the German defense industry during his time in Germany, and even developed the V1 and V2 long-range missiles, He worked with Prof. Schmidt at the DVL research center (Macit, 2018, p.17). For this reason, he attached great importance to the developments in the defense industry for the late Erbakan. In 2021, the Turkish defense industry has exported \$3.2 billion to various countries, primarily the USA, Azerbaijan, Qatar, UAE, Morocco and Germany (Defunmasanayiist, 2022). Turkish defense industry products have been tested in the fields in Syria, Libya and Azerbaijan and it has been seen that they are successful. Turkey's defense materials/weapons exports increased continuously after 2002 (Yeşilyurt and Yeşilyurt, 2019, p.30). Necmettin Erbakan had a great contribution in the establishment of TUSAŞ and foreign shares of TUSAŞ were purchased by Turkish shareholders in 2005 and TUSAŞ later merged with TAI. In the next period, TAI has made great progress (TUSAŞ, 2022). In 2013, TAI, together with Aselsan, became one of the world's largest defense industry companies (SIPRI, 2013).

During this period, Turkey's share of its budget for Research and Development (R&D) increased from 0.5% in 2002 to 1.06% in 2019. However, considering that this rate is 4.93% for Israel and 4.64% for S.Korea in 2019, it is seen that Turkey's share of R&D has increased over time but is insufficient (OECD Data, 2022). Aktop (2021), researched the R&D activity in Turkey between the years 2015-2017; According to CCR and BBC data envelopment models in 2016 and 2017, it has been determined that Turkey has R&D efficiency. Turkey has increased its investments in order to develop technology. In 2001, the Law No. 4691 on Technology Development Zones was enacted. In 2021, 75,657 people are employed in 7331 companies in 73 active technology development zones (TGBD, 2022). In Turkey, industrial investments in various forms are encouraged by the state. In December 2021, incentive certificates were prepared for 2123 investments with an investment amount of more than 52 billion (Anadolu Agency, 2022). Necmettin Erbakan is also in favor of supporting domestic production and thus curbing inflation (Erbakan, 2019a, p.13).

The items that Turkey exports the most in 2021 are "automotive", "machines and boilers", "iron and steel" and "electrical machinery and devices". This result shows that the automotive and machinery industry has developed in Turkey, which Necmettin Erbakan also aimed for. However, Necmettin Erbakan desired a faster development in the industrial sector. While Turkey's "machinery and transportation vehicles" exports were \$8.6 billion in 2002 (TUIK, 2009, p.480), this rate increased continuously and in 2021, "motor land vehicles" exports 25 and "machines and boilers" exports. It has exceeded \$20 billion. These two items are the two biggest export items of Turkey. "Iron and Steel" exports in the third place are 17; "electrical machinery and devices" item, which ranked fourth, exceeded \$12 billion (TUIK, 2022b). Kesgingöz vd. (2019) determined in their analysis that Turkey has a comparative advantage in the iron and steel industry and has a high competitive power. These results show that Turkey has made progress in the automotive, machinery, electrical and electronics industry sectors. The performance of the motor vehicles industry after 2002 is positive and this is in line with Necmettin Erbakan's views and principles. However, Erbakan is an engineer who wants Turkey to create his own automobile brand and has taken part in the Devrim automobiles project for this purpose. The Revolution cars project, in which Necmettin Erbakan took part, was criticized by the military, intellectuals and journalists of the time, and therefore the project could not be realized (Şahinkaya, 2010, p.263). TOGG (Turkey Joint Venture Group) electric car factory is also being built in Bursa Gemlik as of 2021 and production is planned to start at the beginning of 2023.

One of the important problems of the Turkish manufacturing industry is its dependence on imported inputs (intermediate goods/raw materials). The exchange rate is an issue that closely concerns the competitiveness of the country's goods in foreign markets. The overvalued country currency is an undesirable situation for exporters and those who want export-based growth (Dilek, 2020, p.99-100). Until 2016, Turkey's real effective exchange rate is above 100, so TL is overvalued. In 2017 and beyond, Turkey implemented a more competitive exchange rate policy. Competitive exchange rate policy increases Turkey's exports, but also increases its imports. The reason for this is that the Turkish manufacturing industry needs more imported inputs (intermediate/raw material) to increase production. After 2002, the dependence of the Turkish manufacturing industry on imported inputs could not be eliminated (Petek et al. 2020, p.45-46).

Table 2 can be examined to compare Turkey's manufacturing industry development with developed countries. In Table 2, the added value of the manufacturing industry of selected developed countries and Turkey is analyzed based on the years 2002 and 2020.

Table 2. Added Value of Manufacturing Industry (Current US\$)

Country	2002 Manufacturing industry VA	2020 Manufacturing industry VA	2002-2020 percentage increase
Turkey	40,681	137,709	238,50
USA	1,470,000	2,341,847	59,3
Japan	866,464	1,045,547	20,67
Germany	409,379	698,896	70,72
Italy	213,558	280,398	31,29
France	203,000	247,025	21,68
United Kingdom	216,680	239,677	10,61
Russia	52,488	196,649	274,65
Mexico	133,324	185,558	39,17
Spain	107,508	141,307	31,43
Netherlands	59,151	98,385	66,32

Source: Worldbank data

In Table 2, the added value of Turkey's manufacturing industry increased by 238.50% in 2020 compared to 2002, which is higher than that of countries other than Russia. In this process, the US manufacturing industry 59.3%; Japan manufacturing industry 20.67%; Germany's manufacturing industry also grew by 70.72%, which, as can be seen, is well below Turkey's. The investment incentives given by the Ministry of Industry and Technology in various forms also contributed to this rapid rise (Ministry of Industry and Technology, 2022). The added value of the Turkish manufacturing industry was behind the Netherlands in 2002, but managed to exceed it in 2020. Thanks to its 238.50% growth rate, Turkey has narrowed the gap with developed countries, but is still behind most countries. European countries (Germany, Italy, France, United Kingdom), which have close ratios in terms of population, are still ahead of Turkey.

Başkol and Bektaş (2020) examined 112 sectors in the Turkish manufacturing industry in their study and found that 50 of these 112 sectors had a revealed comparative advantage. 32 of the 50 sectors in question are low; 17 of them are in the medium and one in the advanced technology group. This result shows that the Turkish manufacturing industry has a comparative advantage in the low technology group. Turkey increased its per capita income rapidly after 2002, but it could not be among high-income countries (countries with a national income of \$12,746 per capita) by 2021. In order to get out of the middle-income trap, Turkey needs to focus on the production of advanced technology products as Necmettin Erbakan wants, increase R&D investments and give importance to innovation and design (Kesgingöz and Dilek, 2018). Konak (2018), in his study examining the period 1992-2016, stated that

Turkey's exports are based on low and medium technology, and the share of high technology product exports is only between 2% and 4%. Turkish companies have also invested in technology in this process. For example; Arçelik's Romanian facilities were awarded by the World Economic Forum, with 80% of the engineers involved in the design being Turkish (Kanuşağı, 2021, p.156).

Important breakthroughs in transportation and infrastructure services for the industrialists took place in the post-2002 period. According to Necmettin Erbakan, activities in the economy should be carried out by individuals through companies or foundations. The role of the state is to provide transportation, communication and infrastructure rather than being intrusive (Çelikçi and Levent, 2013, p.81). Infrastructure and transportation are also important for every company or foundation. Because, each firm must provide input (search and purchase raw materials) and deliver its goods to the market. While the asphalt concrete road was 6877 km in 2002, it has nearly quadrupled to 24,774 km in 2020 (KGM, 2022). The total railway line, which was 10,948 km in 2002, increased to 12,803 km in 2020 (TCDD, 2022). While there were 43 airports in 2008, this number increased to 56 in 2020 (Meriç, 2021, pp.487-488). Hydro Electricity installed power plant (HEPP) capacity, which was 13,063 megawatts in 2006, reached 28,503 megawatts in 2019 (Anadolu Agency, 2021). Akkuyu and Sinop nuclear power plants are under construction but not yet completed. Turkey has managed to surpass the EU average with its renewable energy investments in recent years (Euronews, 2021).

As a result, it is seen that Turkey developed the industrial sector with support after 2002 and surpassed Europe in some areas. However, it is seen that the industry still has not reached the level desired by the late Erbakan, because Erbakan's dream is to make Turkey the most developed industrial country in the world. Turkey still lags behind countries such as the USA, China, Germany and Japan in terms of industrial production and exports. Turkey's 2002-2021 Foreign Trade and Relations with D-8 Countries

Significant increases were recorded in Turkey's exports in the post-2002 period. Its exports, which were around 35 billion dollars in 2002, exceeded \$225 billion in 2021, that is, an increase of more than six times was recorded (Table 1). Table 3 shows the total imports of D-8 countries and Turkey's exports to these countries. Therefore, Turkey has a share in the imports of these countries. Necmettin Erbakan's dream was to establish a developed foreign trade relationship between Turkey and the D-8 countries, and later to expand the D-8 structure in the form of D-60 and D-160. Table 3 shows whether Turkey is progressing on this path or not.

Table 3. Imports of D-8 Countries in 2020

Countries	2002 Export of Turkey (000\$)	2002 Partner country total import (000\$)	2002 Turkey's share in partner country imports (%)	2020 export of Turkey(000\$)	2020 Partner country total import (000\$)	2020 Turkey's share in partner country imports (%)
Iran	334.284	20.335.749	1,64	2.253.118***	22,300,495	10,10
Malaysia	59.138	86.136.023	0,068	475.322	189.559.672	0,250
Bangladesh	27.139	9.215.133	0,294	349.061***	48,749,888	0,716
Egypt	222.737	12.496.060	1,78	2.957.184	60.279.554	4,87
Pakistan	65.579**	13.048.609**	0,50	400.976	45.775.135	0,875
Indonesia	22.716	31.288.842	0,073	274.170	141.622.127	0,194
Nigeria	28.470	8.758.472	0,33	696.403	53.010.001	1,31

** Data of 2003

***TUİK

Source Trademap, 2022 edited.

Turkey's share has increased in all D8 countries, but only in Iran, Egypt and Nigeria imports, Turkey's share is over 1%. Only the share of Turkey in Iranian imports is over 10%, which is due to the fact that Turkey and Iran are neighbors and the trade embargo applied to Iran plays a role in this. Turkey's share in corn imports is 4.78%, which was only 1.78% in 2002. The Mediterranean, located between Turkey and Egypt, facilitates trade, but the recent discord between the Sisi government and Turkey also complicates foreign trade between the two countries. Although Turkey's share in Nigerian imports is 1.31%, this ratio is also not sufficient. Turkey's share in the imports of Malaysia, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Indonesia is below 1%. Although the share of Turkey in the imports of other D8 countries has increased compared to 2002, it is seen that this increase is not sufficient.

Table 4. Exports of D-8 countries in 2020

Countries	2002 import of the Turkey from the partner country(000\$)	2002 Total export of the partner country (000\$)	2002 Turkey's share in partner country export (%)	2020 import of Turkey from the partner country(000\$)	2020 partner country total export (000\$)	2020 Turkey's share in partner country exports (%)
Iran	920.462	28.186.000	3,26	1.192.718	12.045.441	9,90
Malaysia	244.600	86.136.023	0,28	1.990.602	189.559.672	1,05
Bangladesh	31.925	9.215.133	0,34	5.417.273	42.392.465	12,7
Egypt	117.896	4.662.432	2,52	1.722.944	26.815.145	5,97
Pakistan	116.417	13.048.609	0,89	268.751	45.775.135	0,58
Indonesia	326.479	57.158.751	0,41	1.184.801	163.306.490	0,72
Nigeria	181.760	18.607.402	0,97	128.978	33.361.475	0,38

Source: trademap, 2022 edited.

The ratios of the total exports of D8 countries and how much of this export is made to Turkey are given in Table 3. 9.90% of Iran's exports are to Turkey. This rate was only 3.26% in 2002. This rate has increased and the fact that there are neighboring countries and the embargo imposed on Iran play an important role in this. The most striking result is seen as Bangladesh. Bangladesh realizes 12.7% of its exports to Turkey, which was below 1% in 2002. 5.97% of corn exports and 1.05% of Malaysian exports go to Turkey. Turkey's share in Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria exports is below 1%. It is seen that this rate has increased compared to 2002 for other countries except Pakistan and Nigeria. As a result, it is seen that Turkey imports more from other D8 countries compared to 2002, but it is seen that this rate is not at the desired rate except for Iran, Bangladesh and Egypt.

As a result, Turkey increased both its exports and imports to other D8 countries after 2002. Turkey's share in the imports of other D8 countries and Turkey's share in the exports of D8 countries also increased. However, despite this increase, it is seen that the numbers are not at the desired level. Turkey's exports to Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh at a very low rate; It is seen that it imports very little from Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria. In other words, it is seen that Turkey increased its exports to D8 countries, but this increase was not at the rate Necmettin Erbakan had imagined.

Table 5. Turkey's Largest Export Items to Other D8 Countries

	Items
Iran	Machinery and boilers, Plastics and articles made of plastic, electrical machinery and equipment
Malaysia	Iron and Steel, Natural and cultured pearls and stones, mineral fuels

Bangladesh	Machinery and Boilers, Cotton, Various chemical products
Egypt	Automotive, Iron and Steel, Machinery and Boilers
Pakistan	Machinery and Boilers, Cotton, Iron and Steel
Indonesia	Machinery and Boilers, Inorganic Chemicals, Tobacco and finished tobacco substitutes
Nigeria	Mineral fuels, electrical machinery and equipment, Machinery and Boilers

Source: trademap (2022)

When Turkey's exports to other D8 countries are analyzed, it is seen that the "Machinery and Boilers" and "Iron and Steel" items are important. The "Machinery and Boilers" item has an important place in Turkey's exports to other D8 countries except Malaysia. This shows that Turkey has made a breakthrough in the last twenty years, even if it is not enough in terms of industry. Another interesting result is that Turkey's automotive exports to countries other than Egypt are limited. Because the most important export item of Turkey is the automotive industry.

Table 6. Largest Import Items of Turkey to Other D8 Countries

	Items
Iran	Plastics and articles made of plastic, Copper and articles made of copper, Zinc and articles of zinc
Malaysia	Animal or vegetable oils, electrical machinery and equipment, Rubber and rubber goods
Bangladesh	Other vegetable textile fibres, Articles of apparel, not knitted or crocheted, Articles of knitted or crocheted clothing
Egypt	Plastics and articles made of plastic, Fertilizers, Mineral fuels
Pakistan	Cotton, Ready-made Textile Products, Synthetic Fiber
Indonesia	Synthetic fibers, Animal or Vegetable oils, Rubber and Rubber Articles
Nigeria	Oilseeds and Fruits, Mineral fuels, Raw hides and skins

Source: trademap (2022)

There is no concentration of a certain product in Turkey's exports from other D8 countries. Various raw materials and goods made from these raw materials (Plastic, Zinc, Copper, Rubber) are imported. Except for the import of electrical machinery and equipment from Malaysia, a product with a complex production process is not imported from D8 countries, which shows that the industry is not very developed in other D8 countries.

Conclusion

Necmettin Erbakan; He is an important scientist and politician trying to develop Turkey with the Heavy Industry Move. Necmettin Erbakan, who came to the forefront with his silver engine initiative and his efforts to produce Devrim cars, laid the foundations of many industrial establishments in his political life, ensured the opening of factories and established the D8 organization. According to Erbakan, the initiative that started with D8 will develop first in the form of D60 and then D160, and Turkey will be able to initiate its development move with exports to these countries. The AK Party, which includes names such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül, who made politics alongside Necmettin Erbakan, has governed Turkey since 2002. In this article, it has been questioned whether Turkey's economy has been managed in line with the views of Necmettin Erbakan after 2002. For this purpose, Turkey's industry and export figures were examined.

Turkey has made significant investments in the industrial sector since 2002 and has succeeded in increasing its industrial production. In this period, the increase in production and exports in the

automotive, machinery and boilers, iron and steel sectors, and the support of initiatives in this field show that Turkey's economic policy is progressing in line with the views of Necmettin Erbakan. Between 2002 and 2020, the added value created by the Turkish manufacturing industry increased at a remarkable rate of 238.50%. However, despite this rate, Turkey could not become one of the leading countries in the world industry sector targeted by Necmettin Erbakan. Turkey's manufacturing industry added value still lags behind the manufacturing industry added value of countries with close populations such as Germany, Italy, France and the United Kingdom. Another view of Necmettin Erbakan is that Turkey should become a leader among the world's Muslim countries and develop foreign trade with them. For this purpose, Erbakan established the organization of D8 countries. Even though Turkey's foreign trade with the D8 countries improved after 2002, it could not reach the level desired by Necmettin Erbakan. As a result, it has been seen that the AK Party's policies on the heavy industry move of Necmettin Erbakan and the development of trade with the D8 countries are compatible and he tried to realize Necmettin Erbakan's views, albeit partially, and achieved partial success, although not complete.

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