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Turkey, D-8 and Its Role in International Politics¹

Türkiye, D-8 ve Uluslararası Siyasetteki Yeri

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Abstract

States and societies today are faced with very complex problems such as financial crisis, power conflicts and climate change that transcend their borders. It seems almost impossible to overcome these without forming special structures for cooperation. In addition to international organizations such as the United Nations and supranational organizations such as the European Union, there are many other international organizations that are involved in various fields. It is difficult to give a reasonable definition and explanation of world politics without analyzing these organizations, which are an integral part of global politics. D-8, which was established on June 15, 1997 and announced with the Istanbul Declaration, took its place among these international organizations. Among the goals of the organization, with its members Turkey, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nigeria and Bangladesh that have a total population of over one billion, is to establish rich trade cooperation and to reach a strong position in world economy. It is aimed to ensure the unity of the oppressed peoples against various embargoes applied to Islamic countries and to represent the rights of all people by participating in international decisions. In this study, Turkey's present and future role in the D-8 and whether the D-8 can contribute to the establishment of a new world order will be discussed in terms of international relations.

Keywords: Turkey, D-8, International Politics, Islamic States, International Cooperations.

Öz

Devletler ve toplumlar, günümüzde sınırlarını aşan finansal kriz, güç çatışmaları ve iklim değişiklikleri gibi çok karmaşık sorunlarla karşı karşıyadır. Bunların üstesinden, özel iş birlikleri yapmadan gelmek

neredeysi imkânsız görünmektedir. A'dan Z'ye birçok sahada rol alan, Birleşmiş Milletler gibi uluslararası örgütler ve Avrupa Birliđi gibi uluslar üstü kuruluşların yanında spesifik sahalarda karşılaşılan daha birçok uluslararası kuruluş mevcuttur. Küresel politikanın ayrılmaz bir parçası olan bu organizasyonları analiz etmeden, dünya siyasetinin makul bir tanım ve açıklamasını yapmak zordur. 15 Haziran 1997 tarihinde kurulan ve İstanbul Deklarasyonu ile ilan edilen D-8 de uluslararası örgütler arasındaki yerini almıştır. Türkiye, Endonezya, İran, Mısır, Pakistan, Malezya, Nijerya ve Bangladeş ülkelerinden oluşan organizasyonun hedeflerinin arasında, toplamda bir milyarı aşan nüfusu ile zengin bir ticaret işbirliđi kurmak ve dünya ekonomisinde güçlü bir noktaya gelmek bulunmaktadır. İslam ülkelerine uygulanan çeşitli ambargolara karşı ezilmiş halkların birliđini sağlamak ve uluslararası kararlara katılarak bütün insanların haklarını temsil etmek hedeflenmektedir. Bu çalışmada Türkiye'nin D-8'deki yeri ve geleceđi ve D-8'lerin yeni bir dünyanın kuruluşuna katkısının olup olmayacağı uluslararası ilişkiler açısından ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, D-8, Uluslararası Politika, İslam Ülkeleri, Uluslararası İşbirlikleri.

Introduction

International politics is more and more under the influence of international organizations that consider themselves as main actors alongside of states. After the First World War, starting with the United Nations (UN), the number of regional and global organizations increased considerably. The Developing 8 Countries (D-8) joined these organizations officially in 15 June 1997. The members of the organization, of which Turkey was the founding member, are the following eight developing countries with a total population of approximately 1.2 billion as of the first quarter of the 21st century: Turkey, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nigeria and Bangladesh.

The organization has the objective of increasing commercial cooperation between its members, taking steps to end the ambivalent attitude of the West towards the Islamic World, and undeniably, establishing an Islamic Union, as idealized by Necmettin Erbakan, the then Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey.

In this study, whether the organization could play a role in international politics and the significance of Turkey within the organization will be

examined. It will further be discussed whether the D-8, which gives the impression of containing the codes of a supranational structure that the European Union (EU) brought to the international arena, can become an alternative to the UN and whether it could establish a new world order if it becomes fully functional. To which status can the D-60s and then the D-160s bring the organization? Or did the inertia in which it fell after its formation cause the loss of its momentum to establish an alternative world order?

The Motivation Behind the D-8

History not only contributes to the development of humanity by recording past events and experiences, but also witnesses the collapse of establishments that had been the result of great efforts. The pace of change can sometimes be dizzying. The times of the French and the Industrial Revolutions come immediately to mind as examples of such turbulent times, followed by the twentieth century with two world wars.

The League of Nations, which was established after the first war to prevent suffering, lasted between 1914 to 1918 and could not prevent the second, which caused the death of millions of people between 1939 to 1945. While the war was still going on, the UN was formed in its place to ensure peace and tranquility. It took its place in the international arena after it was officially announced in October 1945.

In the beginning of the twentieth century empires dominated the world: the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Tsardom, the United Kingdom and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The First World War put an end to their domination, but instead fascist dictatorships emerged. Fascist dictators such as Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Franco brought nothing but oppression and cruelty to humanity. As a result of their atrocities the Second World War broke out. While the dictatorships fell, the struggle for human rights, freedoms and democracy continued. Because not all dictators (e.g., Stalin) disappeared from the scene of history, a half-century of Cold War was suffered.

It could not be denied that important steps were taken with regards to human rights and democracy during the Cold War. The establishment of the UN (1945), the Declaration of Human Rights (1947), the establishment of NATO (1949), the publication of the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) and the establishment of the European Court of Human Rights (1959) are among the most important of these. The Soviet Union dispersed after the Perestroika and Glasnost reform movements that

came about against these developments.

The end of the bipolar world of the Cold War period presented a chance to establish and maintain peace, but a new polarization was brought forward instead. The answer of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at the NATO meeting held in Scotland in the early 90s to those who asked for the abolition of NATO that “there could be new threats to our security originating from outside Europe altogether” (Thatcher, 1990) was an indication of where the West would look for new enemies (Akan, 2018). The Iran-Iraq War, the Gulf War, the massacres in Bosnia, Azerbaijan and Chechnya, the events in Somalia and Rwanda, and the callous attitude of the Western world towards these events can be seen as manifestations of this trend.

The capitalist western world who threatened humanity with communism for half a century, started following a policy of increasing conflict after the collapse of communism and made its biggest military build-up since the Second World War in the Gulf region. The reason behind this mobilization and oil-related plots being carried out in the Middle East and Islamic lands was that oil became the main energy source and the backbone of the weapon and defense industry (Erbakan, 1991b, pp. 7-10).

All of these strengthened the opinion that it was necessary to form an organization originating from within this geography that aimed at establishing peace and prosperity for all and the D-8 as such, should be seen as a step to establish a new world of bliss (Erbakan, 2019, p. 170).

The Formation of the D-8

After the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq invaded Kuwait because it could not get what it wanted in terms of compensation for its losses. Before the US-led operation against Iraq in response to this invasion, several meetings between Muslim countries were held in Iraq and Saudi Arabia between 9 September and 1 October 1990 to resolve the issue between themselves. The nodal points of the crisis that surfaced during these meetings and the actions needed against them, were expressed by Necmettin Erbakan, who would later become the architect of the D-8, as follows (Erbakan, 2013, pp. 38-39; Erbakan, 2019, pp. 53-55):

1. Imperialism: The reckless encroachments of the oppressing powers, which increased after the East-West separation, must be opposed.
2. Zionism: The unjust encroachments of Zionism and its project to establish a Greater Israel must be opposed.

3. Oil: This most important strategic resource should be used for the welfare and development of humanity, not for the oppression and exploitation of it.
4. Unity of the Muslim community: Instead of the Islamic Conference that was not able to play an active role against imperialism, and the Arab League that could not even achieve unity in its meetings, a union of Muslim communities that could represent all Muslims, should be formed.
5. Turkey: Turkey should form a common market with Muslim countries and meet the needs of the 1.5 billion Muslim populations by building heavy industry facilities in Turkey.

The negotiations held in several Muslim countries did not yield results and the Gulf Crisis and subsequent unjust encroachments in the region could not be prevented. Nevertheless, the consensus reached in those meetings with the leaders of political parties, organizations, and with high-level advisors constituted the core of an Islamic Union (Erbakan, 2000, p.137). Erbakan took the opportunity to reiterate the importance of an Islamic Union to the guests from the Islamic world at a meeting held in Yıldız Palace (Istanbul) on May 31, 1992 and emphasized that such a union was a long overdue initiative (Kazan-1, 2001, p. 169). He listed the following five steps for the union to be established in a real sense and to take its place in world politics (Erbakan, 2013, p. 39; Erbakan, 1991a, pp. 32-35):

1. The Establishment of a United Nations of Muslim countries: The UN organization was established under the leadership of the victorious states after the Second World War. Despite the 193 members it reached in 2021, only five countries have the right to veto and 57 Muslim countries are deprived of this right. As the failure of the UN in upholding its founding principles of working towards stability, peace, and respect for human rights (U.N., art55) has become clearer (Wesley, 1997; Boot, 2000), a United Nations established by Muslim countries, whose collective population exceeds 1.5 billion, will play a role in determining a policy in which justice is paramount.
2. The establishment of an organization for defense cooperation of Muslim countries: NATO-like defense organizations by Muslim countries that standardize and manufacture their own weapons, will act as a force and deterrent to stop and prevent unjust encroachments and attacks by intervening wherever they happen in the world.

3. The establishment of a Muslim Common Market: The Islamic world with its large population is of great importance as a market. A common market among these countries that foster economic cooperation will benefit them and other oppressed and exploited underdeveloped countries.
4. Transition to a common currency of Muslim countries: Today trade between world countries is mostly done in US dollars. Because the currency is not backed by gold any longer and can effectively be printed on demand, the situation presents a picture of modern imperialism (Qiu and Zhao, 2019). This can be opposed with the transition to a common currency of Muslim countries. This will also provide an opportunity for other oppressed countries to break free from dollar domination.
5. The most obvious point of comparison of the organization with the EU is this point on a common currency. This is a subject of criticism, because a common currency will have a supranational structure due to the fact that monetary policies will have to be determined from a center rather than being international and hence decentralized.
6. The Establishment of an organization for cultural cooperation of Muslim Countries: This will open the door to advances in science and technology by prioritizing cooperation between universities, research centers, and institutes in Muslim countries.

Between 1993 and 1995 Erbakan's political party first came to power in the local and then in the general elections. As soon as he took the Prime Minister's seat, he travelled to the Far East and Africa to start building "a livable Turkey, a great Turkey again and a new world" (Gündoğan, 2019, p. 145). The announcements at a press conference right after he returned from his trips of the abolition of taxes with Pakistan on Turkish engines and the cooperation deal with Indonesia on its production of the N-2130 type aircrafts, indicated a productive start to the enterprise (Arpacı, 2017, p. 315-316).

After he announced that Turkey, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt and Nigeria would be the member states of an organization called the Developing Eights, the D-8 in short, he was asked in parliament: "Sir, with whom will you confront these developed countries? With Bangladesh? With Egypt?" he replied "With 800 million people. 800 million people...", emphasizing that the great injustices in the world must come to an end and that the greatest power is to be

rightful (Alan, 2001, p. 177).

According to Erbakan the D-8, which was officially established on 15 June 1997 with the Istanbul Declaration, is essential to establish of a new world by an Islamic union that is led by Turkey and to end the current unjust world order (Erbakan, 2013, p. 14). Erbakan explained that the six stars on the logo of the D-8 expressed the basic principles of the organization (Erbakan, 2013, p. 169):

1. Peace, instead of War
2. Dialogue, instead of Conflict
3. Justice, instead of double standards
4. Equality, instead of superiority
5. Cooperation, instead of exploitation
6. Human Rights, Freedom and Democracy, instead of Oppression and Domination

Figure 1

D-8 Logo



Source: <https://developing8.org> (last access: 29.11.201)

The D-8 Countries¹

In this section we want to give a general overview on important statistics

¹ The information about member countries in this section was gathered in November 2021 from <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries>, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries> and <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/weo-database/2021> Information about Turkey was gathered from <https://ticaret.gov.tr> and <https://tr.euronews.com> (last access: 29.11.2021)

about the founding members of the D-8. Though short, this information shows the potential they provide. Organizations that want to participate in the international arena do not achieve their goals from one day to the next. However, it is important not to lose sight of the potential and possibilities in order to keep the feeling of significance and importance of the enterprise alive.

Turkey: A country in Southwest Asia surrounded by seas on three sides. It is a transcontinental country covering Anatolia in Western Asia and Eastern Thrace in Southern Europe. Its neighbors are Bulgaria, Greece, Iraq, Syria, Iran, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

Population: 84 million (July, 2021 est.)

GDP: (IMF) 795,95 billion USD / (UN) 863,71 billion USD

PCI: 8.600 USD (2020 est.)

Export: 169,6 billion USD (2020 est.)

Import: 219,5 billion USD (2020 est.)

Area: 783.562 km²

Bangladesh: A country in Southern Asia, bordering the Bay of Bengal, between Burma and India.

Population: 164 million (July, 2021 est.)

GDP: 323 billion USD (2020 est.)

PCI: 5.000 USD (2020 est.)

Export: 38,78 billion USD (2020 est.)

Import: 57,26 billion USD (2020 est.)

Area: 148.460 km²

Indonesia: Indonesia, which gained its independence from the Netherlands in 1945 is located in Southeast Asia between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean and is the fourth most populous and sovereign archipelago country in the world after China, India and the United States.

Population: 275 million (July 2021 est.)

GDP: (IMF) 1059,6 billion USD / (UN) 932,26 billion USD

PCI: 3.900 USD (2020 est.)

Export: 178,26 billion USD (2020 est.)

Import: 159,64 billion USD (2020 est.)

Area: 1.904i569 km²

Iran: Located in the Middle East between Iraq and Pakistan, Iran borders the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Gulf of Oman.

Population: 85 million (July 2021 est.)

GDP: (IMF) 835,35 billion USD / (UN) 425,40 billion USD

PCI: 9.900 USD (2020 est.)

Export: 55,1 billion USD (2019 est.)

Import: 41,83 billion USD (2019 est.)

Area: 1.648.195 km²

Egypt: Egypt, one of the four great ancient civilizations of the world once ruled by pharaohs is located in North Africa and is surrounded by the Mediterranean, Libya and Gaza Strip, Israel and Sudan.

Population: 106 million (July 2021 est.)

GDP: (IMF) 363,24 billion USD / (UN) 270,14 billion USD

PCI: 3.600 USD (2020 est.)

Export: 40,1 billion USD (2020 est.)

Import: 72,48 billion USD (2020 est.)

Area: 1.001.450 km²

Malaysia: Located in Southeast Asia, Malaysia consists of a peninsula and one-third of the island of Borneo. It borders Indonesia, Thailand, and the South China Sea.

Population: 33 million (July 2021 est.)

GDP: (IMF) 337 billion USD / (UN) 296,53 billion USD

PCI: 10.200 \$ (2020 est.)

Export: 207,37 billion USD (2020 est.)

Import: 185,59 billion USD (2020est.)

Area: 329.847 km²

Nigeria: Opening to the Gulf of Guinea in the south, the Federal Republic of Nigeria is located in West Africa, between Cameroon and Benin. The country of Nigeria has over five hundred different ethnic groups, many different languages, and declared its independence from the United Kingdom in 1960.

Population: 211 million (July 2021 est.)

GDP: (IMF) 429,42 billion USD / (UN) 404,65 billion USD

PCI: 2.083 UDF (2020 est.)

Export: 39,94 billion USD (2020 est.)

Import: 72,18 billion USD (2020 est.)

Area: 923.768 km²

Pakistan: Located in South Asia, Pakistan is bordered by India in the east, Iran and Afghanistan in the west, and China in the north. Located in the south of the Indian Ocean, Pakistan is one of the countries with the highest birth rate of 22 per 1000 people. Considered one of the most advanced and advanced civilizations of ancient times, Pakistan became a sovereign state in 1947.

Population: 220 million (July 2021 est.)

GDP: (UN) 261,72 billion USD

PCI: 1.250 USD (2020 est.)

Export: 27,3 billion USD (2020 est.)

Import: 51,07 billion USD (2020est.)

Area: 796.095 km²

The D-8, even though not meant to be a supranational organization, is similar to the EU with respect to its shared goals like introducing a common currency and market among its members. As can be seen in Table 1, when the D-8 member states are compared with the EU in

terms of both population and area, the difference is undeniably large. A comparison in terms of GDP, per capita income, exports and imports on the other hand, reveals that the D-8 is far from even competing with Germany alone. It clearly reveals the development potential of this organization if it uses its population potential and geopolitical advantages.

Table 1

Comparison of the D-8 with the EU

	D-8 (2020 est.)	EU - 27 (2020 est.)
Population	1,2 billion	447,7 million
GDP	4,5 trillion USD	13,3 trillion Avro (Germany: 3,3 trillion Euro)
PCI	3.000 - 4.000 USD	30.000 Euro
Export	754 billion USD	2,1 trillion Euro (Germany: 1,2 trillion Euro)
Import	858 billion USD	1,8 trillion Euro (Germany: 1,08 trillion Euro)
Area	7,5 million km ²	4 million km ²

Organizational Structure and Operations of the D-8²

The Summit, the Council and the Commission are the main bodies of the D-8. The Summit can also set up standing committees when recommended by the Council and Commission and form groups to deal with specific issues determined by the Council and Commission.

The Summit consists of the heads of state of the D-8 member countries and is the highest body of the organization. A meeting is held in one of the member countries every two years where the date and place of the next meeting is decided upon. The first meeting was held in Istanbul in 1997 and the last one was held in Bangladesh in April 2021.

The Council consists of the ministers responsible for foreign affairs and is the decision-making body of the D-8. It comprehensively deals with the problems in accordance with the rules determined by the Summit and presents its annual reports to the Summit. In addition to entrusting tasks to the Commission, it discusses the reports and takes decisions as

² https://developing8.org/1997/?post_type=report, (last access: 29.11.2021).

well as making recommendations. It accepts the Summit work program for the current period and prepares its decisions and recommendations to be presented to the Summit.

The Commission consists of high-ranking officials recommended by governments and is the executive body of the D-8. It prepares the work program, agenda and draft resolutions of the council and presents the temporary agenda, work program, resolutions and draft statements of the Summit to the Council. It reviews and approves the reports of the standing committees and groups and supports their activities. It determines the work program and agenda in line with the decisions and instructions taken at the Summit and Council.

Meetings are held at the request of one of the member states and with the approval of the majority. The majority of the member states constitute the quorum for the meetings. All D-8 decisions are taken unanimously.

Potential Areas of Cooperation between D-8 Members

The population of D-8 is around 1.2 billion in total corresponding to 15% of the world population. Five of the member countries have a population of over 100 million and three countries more than 200 million. As such it represents a big economical market. Even though the population growth rate is on the decrease in some countries, as in other countries of the world, the majority of the population is young and has the potential to receive a good education and master high technology.

D-8 countries possess rich natural resources. Jute, oil, natural gas, cotton, rice, sugar cane, tin, rubber and water resources, especially in Turkey, are just a few of them.

In the light of this information the ten sectors initially identified by the organization for cooperation and project development are (Alan, 2001, p. 220):

- Trade
- Industry
- Telecommunications and Information
- Finance, Banking and Privatization
- Rural Development

- Science and Technology
- Poverty Reduction and Human Resources Development
- Agriculture, Energy
- Environment and Health

In order to ensure the coordination of the activities, the sectors have been allocated to the member states as follows (Alan, 2001, p. 225-268; Şen, 2016, p. 157):

- Turkey: Industry, health and environment
- Bangladesh: rural development
- Indonesia: anti-poverty and human resources
- Iran: Science and technology
- Malaysia: Finance, banking and privatization
- Egypt: Trade
- Nigeria: Energy
- Pakistan: Agriculture and fishing

The private sector is the driving force behind the economies of the D-8 members, which have recently shown remarkable economic growth. Among other parameters income levels are worth mentioning.

The cumulative trade share of D-8 countries in the world is growing by the day (see Figure 2), whereas their main trading partners are industrialized economies such as the USA, Japan, and Germany. The trade volume among themselves is also growing, but is still small compared to the trade they are doing with others. This presents an unmissable opportunity for the D-8 members and for this reason, commercial cooperation is considered to be one of the top priorities.

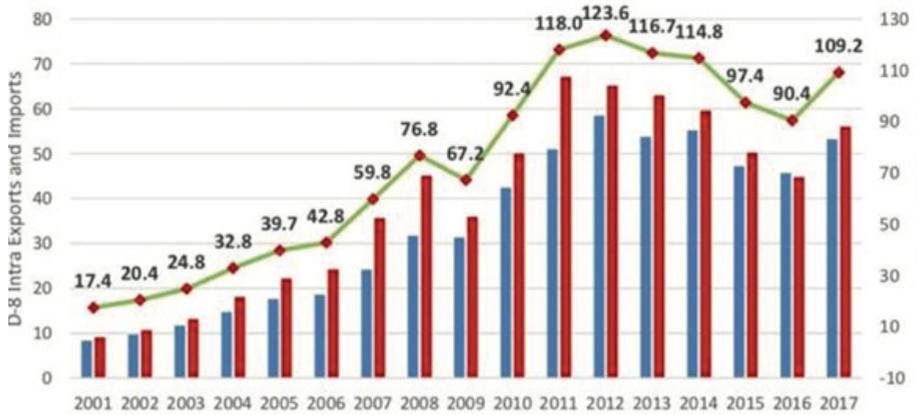
The features determined for the selection of projects developed in the fields of cooperation are as follows (Alan, 2001, p. 224):

- being applicable, practical and expected to yield tangible results in a reasonable time
- corresponding to the common interests of D-8 members

- supporting the economic cooperation among D-8 members
- fostering the complementarity between D-8 countries
- contributing to the elimination of poverty
- avoiding the duplication of projects developed by other organizations, in order to derive maximum benefit from existing experience and knowledge

Figure 2

D-8 Intra-Trade between 2001 and 2017 (USD billion)



Source: D8 Fact Sheet, 2018

Forming free trade zones, a joint industry and technological database, cooperation between central banks, a cotton union are just a few of the steps that could be realized by the member states in accordance with the list of sectors of cooperation.

Turkey’s Importance and Role in the D-8

Turkey is located in the middle of the most sensitive regions of the world such as the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East. At the junction of Asia, Africa and Europe, it is the most important bridge between energy resources and energy-consuming countries (Erbakan, 2013, p. 168). Located in a geography full of instability, Turkey is a full member of organizations such as the NATO, Council of Europe, OSCE, and OECD. Being at the center of the political and economic reality defined

as Eurasia after the Cold War, it is indispensable for world peace (Alan, 2001, p. 179).

Turkey's importance is further increasing as its political and economic weight shifts towards the East. Because it is located on one of the most important transportation points at the junction of three continents, it will play a major role in the New Silk Road Project led by China (Kaczmarek, 2015) making it once again the axis between Eurasia and the West (Mordechai, 2021).

Being self-sufficient in agriculture, having rich natural resources, attracting foreign capital due to its population with purchasing power, having an active tourism sector, and occupying a leading role in regional organizations makes it possible for it to take steps towards both, regional and global peace through the D-8.

"D-8 is the name of the initiative of a strong Eurasia-oriented Turkey towards the Middle East, Africa and the Far East. That is why D-8 is a project to build a great Turkey again and a new world." Due to its location, Turkey is far more than just a bridge, but a center where all kinds of ideas from these regions are blended from where political, economic and commercial goods can be delivered to the whole world. (Alan, 2001, p. 180).

Located at the crossroads of the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus regions, which constantly come to the scene with their instability, Turkey can play a role to resolve conflicts in these regions through peaceful means relying on its stability and policies. This would contribute to the increase of its political and economic influence and create an environment of trust.

D-8 and its Potential to Create a New World

It is important to dwell on the concept of "a new world" in order to understand the current state of affairs and the potential role of the D-8 to realize this ideal.

The victorious states of the Second World War that resulted in the fall of the dictators of the time, came together at the 1st Yalta Conference and agreed to build "a new world". However, that world quickly turned into an old world after Communism collapsed and the Soviets disintegrated after the Cold War. After 1990, with the courage of now living in a unipolar world, the powers who supposedly worked on a new world order made it to mean world domination. The occupation

of Afghanistan and Iraq, the massacres in Bosnia and Somalia, the revolutions undertaken and carried out in the region under the name of the Arab Spring, the attack against Libya and the occupation of Syria are obvious signs of that ambition.

Two world wars, millions of lost lives, the formation of many organizations, unprecedented technological advancements and still no peace. This state of affairs reveals that the current understanding of what is right is distorted and that conflict, arrogance, and double standards cannot be conducive to peace.

The six principles of the D-8, represented by the six stars on its logo, are defined to be the basic principles of “a new just world” (Erbakan, 2013, p. 167):

1. Peace instead of war: The crisis that totalitarian regimes have ran humanity into in the 20th century is a situation caused by wars and conflict. Hostility should be replaced by an understanding based on compassion, love and brotherhood, in other words, peace.
2. Dialogue instead of conflict: Since the occupation and exploitation of countries cannot destroy their people’s desire for freedom, they do not bring peace and prosperity to those who resort to them. Therefore instead of conflict, dialogue, sincere cooperation and solidarity should be put at the basis of relations.
3. Justice instead of double standards: The ambivalent attitude of the victorious states regarding human rights and freedoms leads to the perception of some states as potential criminal organizations, leading to an increase in tensions and hostilities between societies. This understanding has to be abandoned and justice should be established for all societies instead of double standards.
4. Equality instead of supremacy: One of the problems faced in the 20th century is that some developed countries look down on other countries. However, it is always possible for power and advantages to change hands and places in a short period of time. As a matter of fact, the same century is a close witness of this. Because the centers of power inevitably shift, it is necessary to prioritize the principle of equality instead of superiority in relations between countries. The master-slave treatment of underdeveloped countries is an incorrect approach.
5. Cooperation instead of exploitation: In the 20th century, some rich

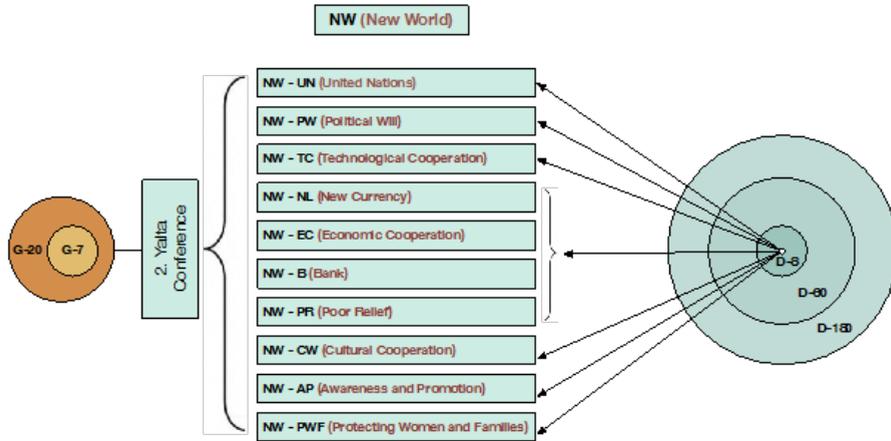
countries have become richer by lending money to underdeveloped countries with high interest rates, making them still poorer. In today's world, causing other societies to lag behind while trying to get ahead effectively means harming oneself. This scheme, where the rich become richer and the poor become poorer, inevitably causes social disruptions in poor societies. Therefore sincere cooperation without exploitation that creates better conditions for all parties involved, becomes necessary.

6. Human rights, freedom, and democracy instead of oppression and domination: The inadequacy of the steps taken in terms of human rights, freedom and democracy after the Second World War is becoming more apparent with time. For a more prosperous world, deficiencies in practices should be eliminated and human rights and freedoms in their truest sense have to be established.

This is the vision of a new world of the D-8, who is going to be the guarantor of the implementation of these principles. This new world order is going to be approached in three stages as expressed in Figure 3. The first stage consists of the establishment of the D-8 itself. In the second stage, it is aimed to establish the D-60, the D-160. In the last stage, with a second Yalta conference, the G-7 and the D-160 will come together to establish a truly new just world. The D-8 is located in the center and represents the core part with its six principles (Erbakan, 2019, p. 43).

Figure 3

Three stages of the D-8's implementation plan



Source: Erbakan, 2019, s. 43

About 30 of the 208 states in the world are developed and their population is around 1 billion. Seven of the developed countries with the largest economies formed the G-7 to foster financial cooperation among them. The formation of the G-20 by including Russia, China, and India was the second step taken to broaden the scope of regulatory influence and to legitimate G-7 policies (Porter, 2000). The rest, about 180 countries do not have a similar organization.

Established to embrace all developing countries, the D-8 aims for a dynamic structure that can make decisions quickly. All developing countries and other Muslim countries are full members of the D-8, regardless of their population. It is a basic principle accepted by all member states not to interfere with each other's internal affairs and not to undermine each other's regional agreements. The aim of each member is to increase their own level of development, improve their people's living standards, and to strengthen participation in international mechanisms.

Several reasons can be stated as why the D-8 could not yet realize its potential, such as the geographical distance of the member countries or the fact that members prioritize their role in other organizations they are part of over the D-8 (Acar and Karaağaç, 2021).

Conclusion and Further Discussion

The D-8 is of great importance in terms of contributing to world peace and stability by managing the relations between the Islamic World and the West, which were completely reshaped after 9/11. The D-8 movement is not content with an unjust world where the poor get poorer and the rich get richer, no matter where in the world. It aims to be an organization where oppressed peoples of the world can seek their rights and as such is the most important project implemented at the end of the 20th century towards a free and prosperous world.

Considering how a 60-year adventure to gain EU membership has affected Turkey's welfare, the D-8 it founded gains greater importance and relevance. The position EU members hold with regard to Turkey's membership is an indication that its geostrategic importance is being sacrificed to other political and cultural considerations (Park, 2000).

Unfortunately, all leaders who contributed to the realization of the D-8 left or were somehow removed from administration. Those who did not want the project to follow its course did not hesitate to state their assumption that it would not last. However, the D-8 should never lose the excitement and vitality it brought about at the beginning, and should not be sacrificed for petty calculations. Turkey should not neglect its duty as a founding member in this formation. After consulting all members, Istanbul should be declared the headquarters of the project and platforms with experts from all member countries should be established as soon as possible. Necessary projects for a just world should be realized.

The "2020-2030 D-8 Decade Roadmap" that was agreed on at the 10th summit held in Bangladesh in April 2021, provides a good opportunity for the realization of these principles. Although it may take time, the goodwill that is present from the start will make the D-8 movement conducive to the establishment of a new just world, because the founding principles of the D-8 are principles all of humanity can adopt.

Declaration

In all processes of the article, TESAM's research and publication ethics principles were followed.

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