

## FORMATION THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE OF THE TURKISH CONSERVATIVE

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### Abstract

Turkey's modernization process can be traced back to the mid-18th century. Turkey is precisely in this process (since the early 19th century) began to enter into an intense relationship with the capitalist countries. However, this form of relationship develops within the framework of unilateral dependence. These relations transformed with the Republic Revolution; new Turkey's relations with the capitalist countries, has established within the framework of the modern rules. Conservative thinking has also been heavily influenced by these historical conditions. In Turkey, we can talk about two central conservative veins, which developed in the 100 to 150 years: *The center-right that adopts the rules of capitalism* and *the radicals against capitalism*.

**Keywords:** Conservatism, capitalism, center-right, radical right, Turkey

**JEL Codes:** Z13

### Introduction

There is a long history of relations between Turkey and the West. The Ottomans have turned their directions to the West since their establishment. The West, which was an enemy for the Ottoman until the 18th century, became a model after this date. In a sense, Turkish society has experienced modernization as a target of the state. The primary purpose of modernization is to save the state. With the founding of the Republic, the goal of saving the state has left its place to the ideology of the Republic. The Republic Revolution turned to the West, but this orientation has two opposing features: The West represents both modernity and imperialism.

With the Republic Revolution, conservatism continues to have a set of meanings that represent the old regime. Especially those who oppose secular reforms for cultural reasons have entered into a conservative umbrella. Religion has taken a particular place at this point. In the conservative view, religion has become

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the primary determinant, transcending the economic foundation that will be an essential factor in the formation of the complex content of conservatism in the modernization process.

Capitalism, the economic sphere of modernization, has always been a controversial issue since the Ottoman Empire. Ideologists, who are within the framework of conservatism, have taken a skeptical attitude towards the elements of the modern economy, as is the case with the various current of thought. With the Republic, Turkey has been decisively moving toward a modern economy. The segments that had a conservative position in this process had a distance from capitalism. However, this situation has undergone a partial revision since 1950. Since the 1960s, the distance between conservative politics and capitalism has begun to get narrow. While this is not at the level of discourse, it is practically so. However, more radical elements in the conservative wing; started to distance themselves from the modern economy and to develop a more economically centered discourse. The view of capitalism in conservative thought is divided into two main axes.

Conservative radicals containing anti-capitalist elements will have to be divided into two different branches by the 1980s. The first group will gradually approach central politics. The second group, radicalism in conservative politics will be marginalized.

This study will try to prove what has been described above. After revealing this situation with its historical examples, it will argue that Turkish conservatism has evolved towards the goal that is desired to be achieved in the economic field with the Republic Revolution. This dilemma is mostly present at the ideological level. Capitalism has begun to enter the conservative mentality of society in a practical sense. Understanding of conservatism in Turkey wavers between capitalist requirements with the need to protect the community.

### **Outline of the Development of Capitalism in Turkey**

Since the Ottoman Empire was established, it has always been in a geographical relationship with Europe. However, which shapes the formation of modern Europe, It is outside of Europe because it does not have origins such as Roman heritage, Christianity, and feudalism (Kılıçbay, 2001: 78-79). Opinions about the structure of the Ottoman State can be gathered in two main categories. These are those who think that the Ottoman society has a feudal structure and those who think that the Ottoman Empire has a different structure than Europe (Kongar, 1995: 323). Since the second half of the 18th century, the West has become a model for the Ottomans. The westernization movement is a modernization (Lewis, 2002: 41-45)

Military institutions were the first place where modernization movements were initiated in the Ottoman State. After *Tanzimat*, public education institutions

took part in this development. As a result, the military and civilian intellectuals started to give off a new atmosphere in the empire (Georgeon, 2009: 95-97)

In the early 19th century, the Ottoman economy was in a pre-capitalist structure, consisting of small producers in agriculture and industry, and the state also taxed them (Quataert, 2002). Throughout the eighteenth century, with the weakening of the central government, the "ayan"<sup>2</sup>, which became the local power centers, gained significant savings on the land (actual property). However, the power of "ayan" was not permanent. As part of the centralization initiatives that have been on the agenda since the 1830s, some of the large farms were confiscated. That served to strengthen further the small producer-based economy, which had secure foundations in the Ottoman social order (Keyder, 2017: 38). The Ottoman Empire implemented its reform efforts under the influence of two major revolutions that emerged in Western Europe since the early 19th century: The French Revolution and the industrial revolution (Ortaylı, 2005: 95). The effects of Western European powers were the main factor in determining the pace of the reform process in the Ottoman Empire. It is possible to see the relations of the Ottoman Empire with industrial capitalism in the developments in the field of foreign trade. In this framework, the trade between the Ottoman Empire and England started to develop rapidly since the 1820s. It was difficult for the Ottoman administration, which was politically, militarily, and financially weak to resist the pressure of England on free trade (Tezel, 2001: 63-65). The "Balta Port" free trade agreement, signed in 1838, is the starting point of the unequal relationship that the Ottoman Empire established with Western capitalism. Other agreements have been signed with various European states, including similar terms. While the monopolies in foreign trade were lifted with the Balta Port Agreement, the state's right to impose unusual taxes and impose restrictions on foreign trade was also abolished (Pamuk, 2009).

At this point, an issue to be emphasized is *capitulations*. The history of giving capitulations to foreigners in the Ottoman Empire dates back to the foundation years of the state (İnalçık, 2005). In the middle of the 19th century, the country where the Ottoman State did not give capitulations in Europe is almost gone. Capitulations subtracted the image of the Ottoman State from an independent state (Tezel, 2001: 152). It continued its existence as a means of political pressure

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<sup>2</sup> *Landed proprietor in Ottoman Empire*. The influence of local gentlemen, who were in the position of a strong period when the central authority was strong, generally did not exceed the borders of the cities and towns where they are located. However, they started to gain power from the 17th century. One of the most important reasons for this situation is the deterioration of the grooming system and the spread of the tax farming system in tax collection. Some of them have increased their strength very much and started to be effective in large areas. When their economic power increased, they became stronger in military terms. This development occurred especially in *Rumeli* lands where economic wealth was more intense. They also started to have an impact on the central government. *Ayan* of Ruse, *Alemdar Mustafa Pasha*, came to Istanbul with his army and put Mahmut II. on the throne and became a grand vizier.

until the fall of the state. On the other hand, with the second half of the 19th century, a new process had begun in the public services in the Ottoman Empire: Public services by special privilege (Pamuk, 2009). Many public investments began to undertake private enterprises through privilege.

As it is known, in the Ottoman Empire, most of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture in the village. It is not possible to say that the craft production organized around guilds in cities in the early 19th century evolved towards capitalist forms (Tezel, 2001: 45). Over the hundred years from the 1830s to World War I, the volume of finished goods imported from Western European countries rapidly expanded. Due to the ease of transportation, the coastal regions of Istanbul and Anatolia in the first stage, and the inner regions, which were later accessible by railways, were the areas most affected by the competition of imported goods (Quataert, 2002: 38). In many branches of production, local crafts have tried to resist and adapt to the new conditions that have emerged (e.g., textiles) (Tezel, 2001: 61).

In the period following the Industrial Revolution, large-scale factories established with machinery imported from Europe began to appear. Industrial enterprises that employ wage workers were first established to meet the needs of the state (army, palace, and bureaucracy). However, they have had to close in a short period due to various problems (organizational deficiencies and lack of qualified personnel) (Seyitdanlioğlu, 2009: 59-60).

In this period, the debt problem in the Ottoman economy was raised. The Ottoman Empire faced severe financial problems since the mid-18th century. To solve this, he was trying to find debt from Galata bankers in the domestic market on the one hand and trying to obtain additional financial income by reducing the precious metal content of the coins in circulation. In the face of the rapid increase in state expenditures due to reforms in the 19th century, these measures were insufficient to meet the budget deficits (Pamuk, 2009). With the 1838 Free Trade Agreement, the government's renouncing taxation right on foreign trade made financial problems thoroughly. Beginning in 1840, representatives of European states began to pressure Ottoman administrators to apply for external borrowing as a solution to financial problems (Tezel, 2001: 81). Until the 1850s, the relationship of the Ottoman Empire with Western industrial capitalism was mainly based on the exchange of goods. The start of foreign borrowing caused the relationship with the West to change. The relationship turned into a new form in which capital issuance would become dominant (Pamuk, 2009). The Ottoman administration borrowed from the European stock markets very quickly until 1873, when it declared its financial bankruptcy due to increasing financial problems.

Almost all of the debts provided by the Ottoman Empire from international markets between 1854 and 1874 were used for current expenditures. Most of the Ottoman State's debts were spent on principal and interest payments of old debts.

Foreign direct investment remained at minimal levels. Most of the foreign funds are deposited on the railways (Tezel, 2001: 85).

The process of realizing foreign direct investments played an essential role in the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a dependent economy. Besides the railways, it covers investments in businesses such as banks, mining enterprises, water, gas, and electricity companies (Tezel, 2001: 86-88). When the crisis that started in Western countries in 1873 and lasted until 1896 eliminated the debt possibilities of the Ottoman Empire, the state treasury went bankrupt (Keyder, 2017: 55). The *Düyun-u Umumiye* Administration, established for the collection of these receivables, undertook the collection of many tax revenues. Thus, a detailed audit was established on some of the tax sources of the Ottoman finances, and their revenues were transferred to creditors in Europe. *Düyun-u Umumiye* has established a large organization with more than five thousand employees in more than 20 cities of the Ottoman Empire. Although representatives of this organization were appointed from time to time with the advice of creditor states, they were mainly responsible for bondholders (Pamuk, 2009). Therefore, the interests of the Administration obliged the development of the Ottoman economy. The *Düyun-u Umumiye* Administration played a significant role in the integration of the Ottoman economy into international capitalism (Keyder, 2017: 57-58).

Railway construction in the Ottoman Empire by foreign capital played an essential role in the country becoming a semi-colony of imperialism. Railways have created a highly profitable investment area for European capital with applications such as "mileage guarantee" (Tezel, 2001). On the other hand, railways provide European countries with cheap raw materials and nutrients. Besides, it served to create a market for intermediate goods produced by Western countries.

Unlike other underdeveloped countries, the Ottoman Empire did not wholly lose its political independence in the 19th century. Also, the weight of the central bureaucracy in the country administration has increased (Keyder, 2017: 56-58). However, there is an opposite effect: The capitulations.

Due to the capitulations, all the works of foreigners in the Ottoman State, except for property and land cases, were carried out in their consulate according to their country laws. Capitulations also include reductions in customs duties. However, the entry of the Ottoman into the free trade regime pushed this feature to the second plan. Although the thought of removing the capitulations in the Ottoman modernization efforts, it was not possible to bring it to the agenda.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire was a dependent country, both legally and politically (with capitulations) and economically (free trade regime). After 1908, the idea of a *national economy*<sup>3</sup> aimed at eliminating

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<sup>3</sup> *National economic* policies, which are considered as an important step towards political independence; also took place between the two world wars to the phase of "deglobalization",

these two conditions was tried to be implemented (Toprak Z. , 2012). Capitulations were unilaterally removed during World War I.

However, the event that will solve these two issues will be the Republic Revolution. Reforms that will allow the country to get rid of legal/political addictions and build a modern/capitalist economy in the country will be implemented rapidly. The establishment of new Turkey, it is seen that there is a general acceptance among academics that it consists of two stages, namely obtaining independence in the first stage and creating a new state in the second stage (Alpkaya, 1998: 15).

### **Formation Process of Turkish Conservatism's Perspective on Economic Life**

The new person that the Republican regime wants to create is a rational type of person who opposes traditionalism. Therefore, the principle of secularism plays an essential role in virtually all revolutions. It is of great importance not only in terms of separation of religion and state affairs but also in terms of ending the decisive influence of religion on social life (Karpat, 1996: 65). It is aimed to give Turkish citizens a new world view instead of a religion based culture. In this period, modernization was expressed in terms such as "become up-to-date," "reaching the level of contemporary civilization," or "westernization." Science is accepted as the basic epistemological principle that guides life. The revolutions, which aim to move to a new civilization, Turkey has been institutionalized in this direction (Tunaya, 2004: 19). While doing this, traditional institutions that are considered "dangerous" in the modernization of society have been liquidated. Instead of these institutions, institutions and principles from the West were replaced. One of the most radical applications of this has been the changing of the alphabet. Also, while trying to create a new understanding of language and history, radicalism on this issue will gradually soften. The secularization of social and political fields will be the main reference point in Turkey's conservative politics. They will take a position that implicitly or explicitly criticizes the practices in this period that is a generally accepted finding. However, it is necessary to examine the transformation of the Republic Revolution in the economic field and its conservative attitude towards this transformation.

Economic policies to be followed during the Republican period were discussed at the *Izmir Economic Congress* (17 February-4 March 1923) held during the Lausanne Peace talks. At this congress, a development policy to be implemented under the leadership of the private sector outweighed (Tezel, 2001: 152-153; ). That is the realization of the idea of the *national economy* under suitable conditions (Toprak, 2012: 560). It was adopted in the congress that foreign capital could operate under the condition of complying with Turkish laws. Foreign capital in line

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represents the entry of Turkey. A revolt against the liberal world of the 19th century that made the country dependent was the process of seeking national identity (Toprak Z. , 2012).

with the development and industrialization policies adopted in the Izmir Economic Congress; It has entered these sectors (especially commerce, forestry, construction, transportation) in the form of direct or partnerships (Tezel, 2001: 196-197). In this period, the state enacted an incentive law in 1927 to encourage the development of the private sector. This model, which started in 1923, failed to achieve the desired success. In 1932, with a new evaluation, statist policies were adopted (Kuruç, 1987: 42). As it is known, European countries have dominated the market of the Ottoman Empire as a natural result of the control of the customs administrations and capitulations. The point that the Republican Administration emphasizes most is that this situation does not happen again (Tezel, 2001: 192). The period between 1929 and 1945 is seen as the beginning of the period when independent policies could be established and implemented in order to establish and protect the national industry.

Intense debate about the principles and scope of the statist policies applied in Turkey were made. Some saw it as a stage of transition to socialism; some had considered it as an alternative system between capitalism and socialism. The general approach to statism is not to accept that the practices of that period were the result of a system or doctrine. When the practices of the period and the views of the administrators on this issue were examined; It will be understood that the practice of statism was adopted with a pragmatic mentality, not a doctrine requirement (Gumpel, 1981: 199). It is understood from the statements of administrators that the statist industrialization policy does not exclude the private sector, it is not intended to substitute the state for private entrepreneurship, and the private enterprise and market mechanism are essential. The state was obliged to enter the industrial area only because private capital was not sufficient, and the country's conditions made industrialization inevitable quickly. The state will operate in areas that are not in demand by the private sector. The fact that some industrial enterprises belonging to the public will be transferred to the private sector in the future will show that statism is temporary and not doctrinal. Therefore, the scope varied according to the conditions of the period. The market mechanism has not been eliminated, and state entrepreneurship has not replaced private entrepreneurship. The private and public sectors have operated both in different areas and in the same areas. However, they did not compete with each other but took on complementary functions (Tezel, 2001: 245-255).

The purpose of the statist policies is to create a bourgeois class in Turkey (Keyder, 2017: 155). Along with this, it is also aimed to prevent or at least postpone class conflicts in capitalist countries through the intervention of the state in economic life. When statism practices were combined with the welfare state and Keynesian economic policies that influenced the whole world after the Second World War; The government in Turkey has grown its impact on the economy.

With the Republic, the bourgeois type, which has adopted modern values, has begun to attract the reaction of conservative circles. This reaction will set the

ground for criticism of the economic policies of the Republican People's Party (CHP). A critical issue here is some applications during the Second World War. The National Protection Law enacted in 1940, and the Soil Crops Law enacted in 1943 which strengthened the bureaucracy very much; At the same time, it has produced enriching results for large landowners and urban black marketeer. When the poor in the city and the small peasants in the countryside impoverished, the people alienated to the regime (Eroğul, 1998: 113-114). The main content of this alienation consists of conservative themes. With the transition to multi-party life after 1945, these issues were moved to the political field. Large landowners and traders, who are tense with the CHP, left the CHP and set up a new party. The party's grassroots will be the peasants who have been crushed as a result of World War II policies (Keyder, 2017: 145). The Democrat Party (DP) constantly criticized the economic model of the CHP. DP, which gained power on May 14, 1950, will rapidly fulfill the demands of its grassroots. The support provided by the DP to the agricultural sector, which constitutes an essential part of the voter base, the additional income provided by the increase in mechanization in agriculture increased the life level of the agricultural sector (Ahmad, 2015: 165).

Besides, foreign aid and loans, resulting in Turkey with the Western world's political, economic, and military cooperation, have increased. Especially the income of citizens living in the rural has increased, the construction of highways has accelerated, and the transportation facilities have accelerated domestic trade and communication. Since the Democratic Party was especially fed by rural votes, it applied policies towards the economic and social demands of the conservative-weighted voters in the rural and the newly formed capital segment (Eroğul, 1998: 115). It is not possible to say that DP differs from CHP in the context of the modernist worldview. However, it has incorporated rising conservative opposition discourses in society and has implemented some of their non-marginal demands. Thus, the peasants and conservative sections that remained outside the political sphere until that time became the determining actor in Turkish political life. DP tried to ensure its legitimacy on conservative sections by resorting to economic concepts. Concepts such as "growth," "development," "wealth," "prosperity" make their mark on the political discourse of the period.

Although they emulated to Western standards and even continue their daily lives as modern, they have culturally set a distance from the West. They described themselves as "conservative", "love(r) of country<sup>4</sup>", "sacred valuesist<sup>5</sup>" or "nationalist" (Bora, 1998). The goal is to transform Turkey into a modern economic system. At the same time, it cannot be said that they are politically problematic with Western democracies (Göle, 2004: 12; Yılmaz and Güler, 2017). They also acted under religious rituals. People who are representatives of the Islamist movement

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<sup>4</sup> Turkish original: *Memleketçilik*. It is derived from the word "memleket", which means Turkish hometown / country. It means "countyism".

<sup>5</sup> Turkish original: *Mukadesatçılık*. It is derived from the word "mukaddes", which means Turkish holy. It means "holysism".



will emerge from this staff in the coming years. With some exceptions in the conservative wing, it seems that no one does not see the economic and technical development of the West as a goal to be reached and modeled. The emphasis on imperialism emerges in conservatism with radicalization. The groups that will be accepted in the status quo do not have any doubts about the integration with the West. In this sense, it would not be wrong to say that an economic centered modernization is accepted.

Openly defend the principles of capitalism in Turkey between 1960-80 when the conjuncture is taken into consideration, it was not possible so.<sup>6</sup> The prominent emphasis remained within the framework of "development," "industrialization," "prosperity" shared by other political groups. Süleyman Demirel, who identified with their "Great Turkey" ideal, developed, enriched, continually emphasizes that a prosperous Turkey ideal. In his political life during and especially in those years, "project fetishism," "to think big," "then doubled Turkey in half," has mentioned continuously (Komsuoğlu, 2008). It is the main argument that establishes the identity of "account man"<sup>7</sup>, "engineer," "man doing business" in the eyes of the public. There are clear traces of the planned development approach that accelerated in the 1960s in the formation of this attitude. At this point, Demirel reveals his economic identity. His attitude towards planning is not doctrinal. In his words, "it is not possible to Turkey's development with the doctrine" is the highlight (Demirel, 2008: 25-27).

### **The View of Turkish Conservatism to Capitalism**

As stated above, Demirel did not take a stand against state intervention. Demirel avoids a discourse that would identify himself with capitalism or with expressions that fall within the meaning set of capitalism. It is known that a sharp economic doctrine was not adopted during the establishment of the Republic, and this was shaped according to the conditions of the day. It is said that the main view of the Izmir Economic Congress is within this framework, which is to capture the development process of Europe (Demirel, 2008: 35). Justice Party (AP) maintained this sensitivity. The emphasis on capitalism and liberalism did not play a central role, not only for Demirel but also for the AP. What the AP deputy of the time said to characterize his ideology; He wants to keep himself separate from capitalism with the statement, "We have nothing to do with the nineteenth-century liberalism" (Demirel T., 2005: 566). The rural population in Turkey, even after 1960 as a result of the rapid industrialization process, yet is around 70% (Kongar, 1995: 199). At this point, the function of Demirel is to establish a link between the industrial sector

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<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, the requests that could be regarded as capitalist in previous times too cannot be expressed directly. The absence of the bourgeois class in Turkey; there must be a reason why these demands cannot be conveyed to the public opinion and therefore cannot be legitimized. In addition to this, with the strong solidarist emphasis of the Republican ideology, the principle of populism prevented these requests from being spoken out loud.

<sup>7</sup> It is the verbatim translation of "account man" expression.

and the agricultural sector. Because of the first segment that conflicts with a developing industrial bourgeoisie will be farmers. Demirel had a significant role in the adoption of the modern value, which is not tolerated by the agricultural sector, which is regarded as sin, *giaour*<sup>8</sup>, and the Frankish style has an effort to gain dignity for the concepts of modernization and capitalism such as "profit," "interest," "economic interest," "enrichment." The explanation of capitalism and liberalism in the western sense of Demirel was seen after the 1990s.

At this point, it is necessary to touch on the disengagement from the AP, which is located in the center and has a severe conservative grassroots. Because of these disengagements, there are demands of the conservative grassroots against capitalism and the modern economy.

The Democratic Party, headed by Ferruh Bozbeyli, followed a policy towards agricultural and commercial interests rather than industrialists. This party, which was founded by those who left the AP, described the AP's relations with Istanbul industrialists and the Ankara bureaucracy as a compromising. However, the factor in this separation is cultural rather than economic. In fact, as an economic view, there is complete harmony with the AP (Bozbeyli, 1976; Demirel T., 2006). The axis in this discussion has never acquired an economic dimension, although sometimes exacerbated.

At this point, it is not possible to say the same for radical conservatives who remained in center-right politics until the early 1970s. On the economic background of this separation, there is a conflict of interest between the rural gentry and the great capitalists of Istanbul. As will be examined below, both the Islamist movement led by Necmettin Erbakan and the nationalist movement led by Alparslan Türkeş are not in full harmony with the modernist development of the AP. At this point, there are significant differences in conservative thinking in terms of the economic meaning of modernization (Ağaoğulları, 1998; Türkeş, 1997). Especially the "national view" movement of Erbakan brought economic criticism to the West (Toprak B., 1998). Türkeş, on the other hand, criticizes a political and cultural Westernization with ambiguous economic designs that can be classified as *corporatism* (Ağaoğulları, 1998).

Emphasis on independence is also vital for conservative policy. Since the modernization movement of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey is thought that under the pressure of Western countries. It asserts that despite the victory of the War of Independence, it is not possible to get rid of this pressure. The language used by Erbakan in depicting the period refers to the idea of independence due to his

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<sup>8</sup> It means infidel and non-Muslim.

emphasis on "the nation." It requires a fully independent but "national (millî)<sup>9</sup>" order.

Türkeş, who set out with the claim of "neither capitalist nor socialist," overlaps independence with "locality" in an eclectic method. The main goal is to fight against the main danger, communism. Imperialism comes not only from the West but also from the USSR. It is possible to see ideologists, who combine communism with European morality (Milliyet, 1969). At this point, the idea of independence becomes a hate of any foreign element. The recipe for the locality is often ambiguous.

Although the roots of the Islamist movement were taken to the ideas that emerged as one of the ways to save the state in the 19th century, it can be said that there were essential changes in the mental fiction of political Islamism that emerged in the Republican period and especially in the 1970s. In the movements that emerged after the Republic and have strong conservative tendencies; The presence of the modernist mindset is striking. To revise the modernist reforms in Turkey and wants to transform the Western culture formed as a result of these reforms. It has established its political ideology in a cultural and political sense, on complete anti-Westernization. Although it criticizes the West economically, this criticism remains limited. Because the reforms that are designed within the framework of heavy industry are the result of a modern economic understanding, this double point of view in the economic sphere is rendered invisible with the emphasis on "national" in the cultural sphere. This dual structure in Erbakan's discourse appeals to both small tradesmen and the people who migrate from the countryside to the city and live in the suburbs. The right-wing perspective in Erbakan's discourse gets the support of the small manufacturer and shopkeepers who are employers. He describes the relationship between worker and employer in a congregational manner. However, it also highlighted the exploitation of workers by capitalists (such as the exploitation by the imperialist countries in Turkey). He states that they will not be allowed in the Islamic order (Yılmaz, 2009: 142).

These claims, which are also included in the Kemalist and left discourse of the period, were used by adding religious motifs. However, radical economic criticisms brought to the system are not always brought to the fore. For example, Nurettin Topçu, who is one of the rare people who radically criticize the system and subject the Western technique to criticism, is the person referred to when deemed necessary. Persons such as İsmet Özel and Topçu, who made analyzes with a Marxist tendency, could never have an essential place in the conservative movement. They were used at the discursive level but ignored in political practice.

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<sup>9</sup> The "millet" used as the equivalent of the word nation in Turkish is also a word that has religious meaning in ancient Turkish and used in the sense of community. *Erbakan* uses the word to cover two meanings: nation = Muslim Turks. National=*millî*.

The order that Erbakan dreams of is an economic structure created against the "Slave Order." For example, Erbakan, which accepted the Common Market (EEC) as a Christian union, is designing a common market with Islamic countries instead. It defines the idea that dominates the Common Market as modern colonialism, which the imperialism and Zionism forces carry out consciously and programmatically (Erbakan, 1971: 135; Çakır, 2004). According to him, Zionism; A belief that placed Wall Street in its center, is an ideology. By this purpose, they exploit all humanity through the "usurer capitalist" order they use. They also maintain their political domination through the imperialist states (Erbakan, Adil Ekonomik Düzen, 1991).

The idea of "National Vision"<sup>10</sup> treats the history of humanity as a temporary structure as "civilizations that keep justice outstanding" and "civilizations that keep force outstanding" (Erbakan, Adil Ekonomik Düzen, 1991). The economic stages that human history has passed are divided into two main periods as a closed economy and market economy (Erbakan, İslâm ve İlim, 1970: 34-37):

**Table 1:** Economic Stages Throughout Human History

Closed Economy				Market Economy			
Ownership in Consumption Market		Ownership in the means of production		Exchange of Commodities		Labor Exchange	
Gatherer	Hunter	Shepherd	Farming	Direct Exchange	Intermediary Exchange	Laborer	Partnership
→		→		→		→	

The transition to the period of labor exchange also represents the transition phase of Western Civilization, which holds force to the top, to capitalism. Western capitalism, which exploited human labor and crushed large masses, created cartels and monopolies while enriching a small minority. The process created the communism in response to the social explosions created by capitalism. However, communism, too, is the product of a civilization that prevails the force and is the "oppressor-oppressed" order with the same essence as capitalism. In this context, capitalism and communism are derived from the same lineage, that is, civilizations that hold power superior (Erbakan, Adil Ekonomik Düzen, 1991). They corrupt the civilization that keeps justice superior. Therefore, the purpose of the period set up by the Fair Economic Order is to eliminate the worker-employer conflict and start the "partnership period."

## Conclusion

<sup>10</sup>The name used by Erbakan for his own political movement.

The view of capitalism in conservative politics can be classified into two main axes. The first is the perspective that the center represents and accepts the requirements of the modern economy. The other is an extremely conservative view that questions and sometimes rejects them. It is possible to talk about three crucial historical periods that affect the formation process of these two views.

The first of these historical processes is the 19th century Ottoman economic structure. The Ottoman order has been a definite modernization effort since the second half of the 18th century. This effort put the state and society in a new process economically in the 19th century. The Ottoman state both wants to have a modern economy and cannot have the material means to do so. Capitulations do not allow capitalization and nationalization of economic life. Besides, it was not possible for the Ottoman, which has been getting weaker in terms of military, to stop the new economic demands of the high capitalist states. By the 20th century, there is a state and society image with an economically dependent system in order to maintain political independence. However, it exists in a modern consciousness formed to change it.

The second historical process is the War of Independence and the Republican Revolution. This period both expanded an anti-imperialist perspective and established a modern national state by removing the legal and political barriers to the capitalist economic order. The radical secular character of the revolution has been equated with modernism for conservative sections. That, in turn, provoked an opposing reaction to modern cultural forms. However, it can be said that this reaction diminished after 1950, and the requirements of the modern economy were accepted, especially for large landowners and traders who have a relationship with the city. For most of Turkey's population living in the village and a large part of the population living in agriculture, this was not the case.

The third process is the period after 1960 when all political currents circulate freely as a result of the liberalization of political life. This period is also a period when the country is rapidly industrializing, and the city population is increasing. Therefore, capitalist relations gradually spread to society. However, this period also has a structure where the social welfare state is common. Capitalists and liberal values are partially able to spread to society. Sections of society that are adversely affected by the effects of the modern economy are protected. However, under the influence of the two historical processes above, there is a skeptical view of capitalism in the radical conservative segment.

Considering the context of these three historical influences, the following findings can be made regarding the perspective of Turkish conservatism on capitalist values in the 1980s:

- 1- In conservative politics, it is possible to talk about two main axes: central and radical.

- 2- These two axes are similarly affected by the historical process.
- 3- The central axis has internalized the modern economy and capitalist values created by the Republican Revolution. After 1960, Keynesian has an economic perspective.
- 4- The radical axis, by establishing a continuous link between capitalism and imperialism, has taken a critical attitude towards the modern economy.
- 5- There are two poles in the radicals from capitalist values. The first is the rural, anti-capitalist, and anti-liberal poles with traditional economic values. The other one is culturally traditional, but it is increasingly approaching the economic values of the center.
- 6- The view of conservative politics to the modern economy and capitalism has gradually become compatible with the program of the Republic Revolution.

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