

NAMIK KEMAL'S ECONOMIC THOUGHTS

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Abstract: The state's economy policies were discussed on press organs and journalists wrote about them. One of those journalists was Namık Kemal. Being the most known of Ottoman intellectuals in 19th century and the most effective journalist of the period Namık Kemal wrote many articles about the state's economy policies on press of the period even though he wasn't an economist. Kemal showed the government of the state as the reason of nondevelopment. He wanted that the agriculture being in the first place, industry and trade sectors should also be considered important and improved for the state's development. Even though Kemal wanted the state would be governed in the direction of free trade thinking, he also spoke of the free trade's damages to country. Expressing that the 1838 trade agreement was early and his criticisms such as the fact that the state could not produce effective policies in the development of industry and trade showed that Kemal wasn't a huge fan of free trade. In this study, Namık Kemal's economic thoughts are expressed considering his articles about economics on *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *Hürriyet*, *İbret*, *Cüzdân* and *Diyojen* newspapers.

Keywords: *Ottoman Empire, Namık Kemal, Economic Thoughts.*

Namık Kemal'in İktisadi Görüşleri

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Özet: Devletin yürüttüğü iktisat politikaları basın organlarında tartışılmış ve gazeteciler tarafından birçok yazı kaleme alınmıştır. Basın organlarında iktisadi makaleler yazan gazetecilerden biri de Namık Kemal'dir. 19. yüzyılın Osmanlı aydınları içerisinde en fazla tanınan ve dönemin en etkili gazetecisi olan Kemal, bir iktisatçı olmamasına karşın devletin iktisat politikaları hakkında dönemin basınında birçok yazı kaleme almıştır. Kemal, ülkenin kalkınamamasının sebebi olarak ülkenin yönetimine bağlamıştır. Ülke kalkınması için ziraat sektörü başta olmak üzere sanayi ve ticaret sektörüne de önem verilmesini ve geliştirilmesini istemiştir. Ülkenin iktisadi olarak serbest ticaret düşünce doğrultusunda yönetilmesini istemesine karşın serbest ticaretin ülkeye olan zararlarından da bahsetmiştir. 1838 ticaret anlaşmasının imzalanmasının erken olmasını dillendirmesi ve sanayi ve ticaretin geliştirilmesinde devletin etkin bir şekilde politika üretememesi gibi eleştirileri Kemal'in koyu bir serbest ticaret taraftarının olmadığını göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada Namık Kemal'in, *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *Hürriyet*, *İbret*, *Cüzdân* ve *Diyojen* gazetelerindeki iktisat makaleleri dikkate alınarak iktisadi düşüncesi anlatılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Osmanlı Devleti, Namık Kemal, İktisat Düşüncesi*

1. INTRODUCTION

During Mahmut II period, Ottoman Empire approached to radical modernisation movements and in this direction had many attempts in order to strenghten the state politically and economically. Promotive policies were implemented to increase the production in agricultural and industry sectors, state's important sources of wealth. Because the industry had serious problems in comparison with agriculture, the industry sector was attached more importance. Factorisation

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movement was begun in the country in order to increase production and to be strong against Western products. However, the state's attempts failed, productions couldn't be increased and the factories had to close one by one. Because the state's industry production fell, the incomes also decreased. In order to close this explicit, the agricultural sector was excised more. Due to high taxes, the agricultural production also fell.

The 1838 trade agreement which had to be signed due to the political conjuncture of the period was added to the state's hardship in economic and agricultural production and the state's authority on trade policies was dispossessed and the customs rates were reduced. As a result of this reduce, lots of cheap Western production entered into the country. With the increasing of Western productions, the regression of the industry accelerated and domestic production decreased to almost nonexistent level. Some of the clauses of the 1838 trade agreement caused the foreign traders to strengthen in the country and Muslim traders who had a voice in domestic trade started to disappear. Western countries's ambassadors who were interfering with state's policies by capitulations increased their power in the country after the 1838 trade agreement and gained power in shaping the economic policies of their region.

In 1860, newspapers carried out their extension policy independently and in this direction they started to create a public opinion free from the state. The newspapers aimed to inform and enlighten the public, and shaped their extension policies towards public interests. The state's policy was started to be question directly and bureaucrats's policies were criticised in newspapers. With expression of the state's problems in newspapers, for the first time in the country there was a group of journalists dealing with state's policies apart from bureaucrats and they started to suggest ideas how the country should be governed.

Due to many economic problems, the state's financial policies were mentioned in press excessively. The financial policies were analyzed in these articles and it was stated that what sort of policies would be carried out, so that the state could come out of the economic crisis and develop. One of the journalists writing about those problems was Namık Kemal, the most known opponent of the period. Being a civil servant in chamber of translation and getting in touch with other intellectuals of the period who wrote on newspapers about state's policies, Namık Kemal started to be interested in the state's problems. Kemal started to write in newspapers and brought forward proposals to state's economic problems. In this study, Namık Kemal's economic thoughts are expressed considering his economic articles on *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *Hürriyet*, *İbret*, *Cüzdân* and *Diyojen* newspapers.

2. NAMIK KEMAL'S LIFE

Kemal was born in 1840 in Tekirdağ and after his mother's death when he was eight years old, he was raised by his grandfather Abdüllatif Paşa (Göçgün, 1987, pp. 1-2). Taking his first education in Beyazıt and Valide junior high schools, Kemal had to take a break from his education with the appointment of his grandfather to the district governor of Kars. He continued his education by taking private lessons on literature and mysticism (Öztürk, 1999, p. 57). When he was a child, he travelled Tırhala, Afyon, Kütahya, İstanbul, Kars, Cyprus, Lazistan, Sofia and İstanbul respectively with his grandfather and witnessed the social events which in turn made him aware of the problems of the people in the future (Oflaz, 2010, p. 733).

Due to Crimean War, there was a nationalistic atmosphere in Kars and the folk songs and anthems he listened created the background of his later patriotic poets (Öz, 2012, p. 117). Because he witnessed the uprising of the people against taxes in Sofia, he mostly dwelled on taxes

in his writings. These examples show that the environment he lived in shaped his thoughts (Ziyaeddin, 1939, p. 387). In 1855 with his grandfather's appointment to Sofia, Kemal went with him. In Sofia, Kemal's literary and idea development started to improve. While taking Arabic, Persian and logic classes from private teachers, he improved his poetry which he had experimented lefthanded in Kars (Uçman, 2011, p. 15). After his return to İstanbul, he started to work at Chamber of Translation which he was going to work at for five years and he met Şinasi (Dizdaroğlu, 1965, p. 6). While working for Chamber of Translation, he had a chance to get to know the Western thought which led to a great transformation in his world of thought (Fuat, 1999, p. 17). In this period, Kemal joined the idea meetings, entered Encümen-i Şuara Cemiyeti (Poets Council Association) (Kurdakul, 1977, p. 6). Then, with Şinasi's suggestion, Kemal started to learn French (Kocatürk, 1957, pp. 53- 54). He also began writing in *Tasvir-i Efkar* in 1862 with his meeting with Şinasi (Öztürk, 2010, p. 812).

In this newspaper, Kemal published articles on issues such as native land, nation, justice, liberty, politics and economics (Erol, 2010, p. 417). After Şinasi's escape to Paris, Kemal undertook the management and during his management, the extension policy of the newspaper hardened (Kılınç- Tüzel, 2010, p. 692). In *Tasvir-i Efkar*, Kemal criticised the intervention of the European countries to Rum's uprising in Crete and the desperation of Babıali (Şehsuvaroğlu, 2003, p. 23). In that year, Kemal became a member of İttifak-ı Hamiyet a secret council founded in Istanbul (Göçgün, 1987, p. 8). After his opposition towards Babıali, Kemal was suspended from Istanbul and banished to Erzurum in 1867. Instead of going his detention colony Erzurum, with Mustafa Fazıl Paşa's suggestion, Kemal escaped to Paris with the help of French Embassy (Gürbüz, 2010, p. 762). In 1868, Kemal published *Hürriyet* in London with other intellectuals he escaped to Europe with. He created the extension policy with Ziya Paşa (Serez, 2010, p. 874). Kemal wrote articles defending the constitutional system and wanted an assembly to be formed in the country (Koloğlu, 2010, p. 119). After *Hürriyet*'s 63rd edition, Kemal fell out with Ziya Bey and left *Hürriyet*. He published a brochure noting that he didn't have any connection with *Hürriyet* and returned to Istanbul in November 1870 (Çelik, 1998, p. 506). After returning home, Kemal sent only humorous writings to *Diyojen* because he gave an assurance to Ali Paşa that he would not write (Yamaç, 2010, p. 1154).

In 1872, after Ali Paşa's death, Kemal published *İbret* newspaper and aimed to enlighten the society on political and social issues (Gündüz, 2010, p. 564- 565). Because the extension policy of *İbret* discomfited Babıali, the newspaper closed up and Kemal banished to Gallipoli as a tenant. Kemal sent articles to *İbret* under the nickname "B.M." (Şükrü, 1931, p. 46). In those years, Kemal also sent articles to *Hadika* newspaper under the nickname "N.K." (Boratav, 1942, p. 164). After staying in Gallipoli for three months, Kemal came back to Istanbul, his articles on *İbret* were published under his name (Dizdaroğlu, 1965, p. 8). After Kemal's drama "Vatan Yahut Silistre" written in 1873 was staged in Güllü Agop Theatre in Gedikpaşa, the public seethingly demonstrated on behalf of liberty. As a result, Kemal was banished to Magosa by the government, he lived there for 38 months (Uraz, 1938, p. 7). Kemal returned to Istanbul by declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1876. He was assigned to Şura-i Devlet (State Council) membership and served in the constitutional preparation committee (Banguoğlu, 1942, p. 7). Because he criticized the exile of Ziya Paşa to Syria in 1877, Kemal was arrested by the management, did five months in prison and banished to Chios (Tuncer, 2012, p. 18). In 1879, Kemal was assigned as Lesbol Island's tenant (Göçgün, 1987, pp. 14-15).

In 1885, Kemal was assigned as Rhodes's tenant at own request (Banguoğlu, 1942, p. 8). Due to a disorder in Rhodes in 1887, he was placed as tenant of Lesbos Island. Kemal died because of pneumonia in December 2, 1888 in Lesbos (Akün, 2006, pp. 370- 371). Kemal was searching for the reason of Ottoman's collapse in his articles and he was trying to find solutions. According to Kemal, the problem was political. The most important reason of the state's problems was that the state was being ruled by an absolutist system. Tanzimat Reforms didn't bring a management system as the people's interests, the absolutist system changed hands and it was left from the palace to the Babiali's absolutism. Therefore, in his articles Kemal defended that based on popular will a constitutional management would be established first of all (Söğütü, 2010, p. 896). Kemal wrote more than 500 articles about literary, politics, economics and social problems on newspapers like *Tasvir-i Efkar*, *Mir'at*, *Hürriyet*, *Cüzdân*, *Basiret*, *İbret*, *Hadika*, *Vakit*, *Diyojen*, *İttihat and Sadakat* (Öztürk, 2010, p. 814). The years between 1862-1873 was the most productive period in terms of journalism. In those years, he became the most effective journalist of the time, he influenced and directed the public opinion about state's political and economical policies (İnuğur, 1999, p. 234). In addition to his articles published on newspapers, Kemal has published many works such as poetry, theater play, story, novel, history. Besides there are many letters written by Kemal (Hulusi, 1947, pp. 312- 326).

3. ECONOMIC THOUGHTS

3.1. Financial Policies

Due to economic problems in the country in 1860s, Kemal picked up on those problems mostly in his newspaper columns. The management of bureaucrats who conducted the economy politics, expenses, borrowing policy, budget and tax policies were the subjects of Kemal's writings. Expressing that it couldn't be helped not to be surprised by the financial measures taken by the bureaucrats, Kemal wrote that with the new trade agreement signed by the government, customs duty for importation was increased to %5, and internal customs duty was increased to %8. Kemal said that these enforcements would increase the fall of the state's domestic industry (Kemal, 1285c, p. 1). Kemal noted that if the right methods would be implemented, the state's incomes would be up to eight to tenfold in 10-15 years. However, with the new increases on taxes that would be impossible. He stated that the foundation of salt and tobacco taxes impoverished the public (Kemal, 1285c, p. 1). Expressing that the banknotes was harmful to state treasury, Kemal said that by pulling the banknotes from the market, the treasury would save money and the state incomes would increase (Kemal, 1286a, pp. 1-2).

Writing about the budget on his column during the preparation of 1868 state's budget, Kemal said that the budget allowed the bureaucrats to make expenditures with caution by showing the income earned over a year and maintained the reputation of the state by declaring the state of the treasure to public. He expressed that the budget didn't reflect the truth because it was prepared for effect and the increase on the incomes was showed as a result of development in trade and agriculture. Kemal stated that, however the increase was the result of increase on the customs duties and new taxes like salt and tobacco taxes (Kemal, 1286b, p. 1). Kemal indicated that the debt agreements had been signed at high prices with twice the collateral and the treasury was not capable to pay-back the debts. He figured that the fiscal deficit increased due to payments of the debts with other debts (Kemal, 1286-b:2). Kemal noted that the fiscal deficit was 9.483.580 pouches excluding the previous period debt payments even though there were fewer incidents under Abdülaziz's management for eight years than the previous period and he criticized the government (Kemal, 1286b, p. 2-3). Kemal criticized that there were no institute to monitor the

budget, he explained that the budget would have to be controlled by Şura-i Devlet (The State Council) after being presented to Meclis-i Umumiye (The General Assembly), instead it was being controlled by only a few bureaucrats (Kemal, 1286b, pp. 3- 4). He noted that the repayments of the debts were the biggest outcomes for both Ottoman and French budgets. Kemal stated that while the ratio of France's 100-year debtors to expenses was 256, the Ottoman's thirty-year debts accounted for 330% of all debt (Kemal, 1286c, pp. 3- 5).

Kemal criticised that the bureaucrats accepted the debts as an income instead trying to increase the sources of wealth of the state. He said that the country had borrowed 20 million pounches since 1854 till that day, and this amount was equal to one third of state incomes (Kemal, 1285c, p. 1-2). Kemal objected the 150 million liras worth debt agreement with the European countries for the railway between Istanbul and Belgrad because it had a high interest rate and it was giving the management of the state incomes to foreigners (Kemal, 1285f, pp. 1-2). He expressed that because the state was paying the debts with new debts and this increased the amount of debts, as a result the management of the debts changed hands to foreigners. Kemal noted that the state would also lose the control of the other incomes if it would continue the same policy as it lost Tuna, Edirne and Salonica's tithes and Anatolia's cattle tax and other taxes with 1868 debt agreement (Kemal, 1285f, p. 2).

Kemal said that if the borrowing would continue, they wouldn't find a loan even with an interest of %50, and the borrowing policy of Babiali was wrong by telling that the state couldn't live without instability, it couldn't live with just borrowing (Kemal, 1286a, p. 2). Expressing that even though a few of the governors borrowed, the whole society was affected, Kemal noted that most of the borrowed money was being wasted and that the treasure fell into a difficult situation with the payment of them. He indicated the internal borrowing was more useful than the external borrowing even though they had the same damages (Kemal, 1283c, p. 1).

Kemal stated that the bureaucrats were living splendid lives in comparison with the state's incomes and were spending enough to devastate the state. He wrote that the ministers of the Ottoman Empire were spending two times more than the French ministers and the overemployment of civil servants were increasing the waste. He criticized how the Ottomans spendings were much more than France despite the fact that the Ottoman was a third world state, and he said that if the current policies would continue, the state wouldn't survive (Kemal, 1285b, p. 1). He showed the products piled up by the Western traders as the principal reason of the increasing of the waste in the country. He objected the defense of some people that consumption expenditures would help the industry to progress. Kemal expressed that the industry in the country hasn't been developing and because of that the consumerism wouldn't make any contribute to industry (Kemal, 1285b, pp. 1-2). He showed that one of the most common reason of the waste was bureaucrats stealing the state incomes before it would be added to treasury. He said that the one-third of the state incomes was being wasted (Kemal, 1285-b:2-3). In order to prevent this kind of abuses he suggested to adopt consultancy method. Through this method, he expressed that the wastages would decrease and theft would be removed (Kemal, 1285b: pp. 3-4).

Kemal stated that it was necessary to follow a number of rules on distribution, division and collecting of the taxes and it was experienced that for little benefits for the government, not following the rules as far as possible did great harm to the public. He enumerated the rules which government to follow while collecting the taxes: 1) The taxes should be collected when in need; 2) People should give their taxes regularly; 3) Tax should be temperate; 4) Taxes should be taken

from everybody; 5) Everybody should pay tax according to the service they received from the government; 6) Everybody should pay according to their earnings; 7) The tax should be based on a reason; 8) The requested tax should be favored on the basis of the demanded taxes; 9) The public should not be burdened while collecting the taxes; 10) The collected taxes should not be kept too much in the hands of the officers and tax evasion incidents should not be allowed (Kemal, 1288n, p. 1-2; 1288p, p. 1-2). Kemal wanted the state to decrease the tithe taxes and load the tax burden to business lines like movable and immovable property, trade and industry. He said that as a result the public would relax and the treasury's incomes would increase (Kemal, 1286c, p. 2). Kemal criticized the high taxes rate taken from basic needs like salt and wheat in the Ottoman (Kemal, 1286c, p. 3). Kemal also criticized the monopolising of tobacco planting and selling. He criticized the making of farmers dealing with tobacco planting and merchants dealing with tobacco trade in Istanbul dependent on Reji. He said that this was against political economy. He criticized those who defended that the development of a country would be the creation of monopolies (Kemal, 1288e, p. 2).

Kemal said that it was impossible for the government to cut any expenses. He emphasized the interest repayments of the taxes were the most important part of the expenses, and the most important reason of the financial collapse was the borrowing (Kemal, 1288r, p. 1). Kemal noted that the main reason of a country's wealthiness was security and dignity. That's why a state to pay internal and external borrowings timely (Kemal, 1283b, p. 1). He discussed that it was possible to increase the state's incomes by increasing wealth sources, levying new taxes and making productive the current taxes. After saying that it wouldn't be possible to increase the wealth sources in a short span of time, Kemal wanted other ways for increasing the incomes to be tried. Kemal noted that it was not possible to assign new taxes because the taxes being taken from the public had already been much, and putting the public under a lot of burden would cause ineffectiveness (Kemal, 1288t, pp. 1-2). It was known that the Ottoman couldn't increase the incomes considering the current conditions, so Kemal said that the needed reform was to regularise the administrative personel, and correspondingly decrease the expenses and maintain the order and peace of the community (Kemal, 1283b, pp. 1- 2). He expressed that decreasing the tax amounts or managing the administration well would provide to increase the state incomes. Kemal said if the consumption tax would be decreased 1 or 2 %, the income would go up (Kemal, 1288v, p. 1). Kemal stated that the bureaucrats were not able to manage the purchasing the tithe, and he opposed to collecting the same amount of tithe from every region because of the disruptions in the collecting of the tithe taxes. He argued against the monopolization of tobacco taxes and emphasized that the producted tobacco was being exported more than internal consumption, and if necessary attempts would be made to import more Turkish tobacco, the treasure would monetise more. He expressed that the state was not able to earn income from mines and forests (Kemal, 1288y, p. 1). He criticised the state didn't collect taxes from Istanbul, while wandering in Europe to borrow money, increaing the tax burden on public. He said that there were lots of active factories in Istanbul, however the state was unaware what these factories had been producing let alone collecting taxes from them. He noted that the state was not able to take advantage of Beyoğlu, Büyükdere, Tarabya, Yeniköy and Kadıköy areas due to real estates and terrains were belong to foreigners (Kemal, 1285e, pp. 4- 5). Kemal emphasized that because the foreigners were not paying any taxes while making high profits, the treasure were diminishing (Kemal, 1285e, pp. 5- 8; 12881, pp. 1-2).

Noting that the treasure was not able to function any more, Kemal said that due to irregularity in finance businesses both finance offices and branch offices were also irregular. Since it was not

regular to replace parts of the existing scheme and to establish new institutions, the state's important works were to delay and problems were to arise, as Kemal wrote (Kemal, 1283a, p. 1). He said that to conduct the businesses in a department, the department would need a regular system and skilled officers and for the reclamation of the finance these two sides would be taken in consideration. Kemal emphasized that the treasure officers were not hired considering competence but they only worked as for that their intelligence and ability. Kemal wanted new finance schools to be opened to raise new officers who would perform the treasure operations according to new methods both in Istanbul and other provinces (Kemal, 1283a, pp. 1- 2).

Kemal said that the state stock was not enough to afford to road buildings on Anatolia and attempts in Trabzon- Erzurum and Bursa- Gemlik had failed. He emphasized that the new railroad attempts were mistake because even Istanbul's neighborhood roads could not be arranged at the moment. He noted the clothing sector crafts went bankrupts due to public's demand on foreign products. He said that there were no other local merchants than the ones trading grain, wood and coal and all industrial and commercial enterprises were in foreigner's power. Muslims were only hoping to be officers because there were no other means of subsistence, as Kemal said. He expressed that the treasure became empty, due to reform the finance the state started to take new taxes from the people of the country, because of the high burden of taxes the agriculture regressed in half and based on financial difficulty fertility diminished (Kemal, 1285d, pp. 3-4). With Tanzimat, strengthening ayans (landed proprietor in Ottoman) began to torture the public and the counties were started to become lonely, as Kemal expressed. He said that Harput, Sivas and Diyarbakır had been havily populated before Tanzimat, tobacco farming decreased in Samsun and Manisa and tobacco farmers migrated to Russia and Iran after monopolization of tobacco (Kemal, 1285c, p. 7).

3.2. Wealth Sources: Agriculture, Craft, Trade, Population And Sa'y

Kemal indicated that non-management of the treasure was the reason why the state kept behind financially. There were three sources to form a treasury in Ottoman as Kemal stated. He said that the agriculture industry was the most important source of treasury and the state had rich and fertile soils. While the state had lived for years by benefiting from the richness of the soil at first, Babiali started to overtax from the public, overpowered them by puting new taxes and consequently they couldn't exploited the soil, Kemal said. He expressed that the state had population problem so the terrains weren't be able to managed (Kemal, 1285a, p. 1). He pointed out that the agriculture had more contribution than trade and industry in forming a financial wealth and it should have been bettered at first in order to form a wealth and develope the state. Kemal stated that there were no developments in agriculture because it had still being done with old methods, and therefore he wanted the state to work on executing the agriculture with current methods. Kemal wanted modern agriculture methods to be adopted, model farms to be created, agricultural technology to be used and agricultural schools to be opened. He said that for the development of agriculture, it was necessary to save the farmers from money lenders who had been seizing the funds of the farmers with methods like selem (store credit) and murabaha (danism). He said that the government formed menafi-i umumiye (public interest fund) and they reaped the benefit of it where the capital was sufficient and there was no abuse of the debt, However, this initiative couldn't completely resolve the money lenders (Kemal, 1288m, p. 1). For a permanent solution, Kemal offered to borrow from European agriculture banks and with distributing the obtained fund to farmers, they would be freed from the debts. Kemal noted that another problem on agriculture was caused by the purchase process of taxes taken from the farmers. Officers was mobbing the farmers despite the farmers couldn't reap and already the

already incompetent income was also waste as Kemal said. For this reason, in every region, to not to prevent the public's benefit, it should have been announced how and when the collecting of the taxes would happen and it was necessary for farmers to heard it (Kemal, 1288m, p. 2).

Kemal said the second source of forming a wealth was industry. He emphasized that due to prerogatives given to Europeans, the industry had been minute amount in the last 20- 30 years, and explained that the early implemented liberal policies in trade had effected the industry. He noted that this agreement expedited the regression in industry and trade. Due to free trade, cheap and juicy European products started to get in favor and interest in local products was diminished, industrial counters started to close down in time as Kemal said (Kemal, 1285a, pp. 1-2). He explained that the craftsmen could pull themselves together and reach the level of competing extramural products if they would be freed on their attempts and they would get help to progress by establishing vocational education institutions that teach modern science and technology. Kemal attracted noticed that instead of promoting production in the country, the bureaucrats had been staffing numerous civil servants and employing without looking their qualifications. This ended up the public leaving their professions and migrating to the cities as they saw the advantage of it. Kemal stated that with decreasing in the number of craftsmen, regression in the state's wealth doubled (Kemal, 1285a, p. 2). He offered to form a bank or two to help the industry and trade, thus the industry and trade would increase in an unusual way. Kemal underlined that one of the greatest needs of industry and trade was roads and wanted transportation to be developed (Kemal, 1288i, p. 2). Kemal indicated while the smithies were unable to fabricate a convenient adze, in the dockyard and armoury, steel and armored vessels could be produced. Linking this to the lack of education, Kemal said that the industrial school and a couple of workhouses in the Istanbul were not enough to supply the need of the state. He emphasized that the industrial and business schools would had occur as such, if the public would had been sent their children to art and business school rather than sending them to council office to become civil servants (Kemal, 1288i, p. 1).

Kemal explained that the trade was the third source of wealth and Ottoman was in a position to manage the world trade in terms of location. Ottoman Empire couldn't use the advantages it had, and gave control of the domestic trade to foreigners beyond not taking a step in foreign trade. Kemal expressed that giving privileges to the foreigners and providing free trade opportunities in the country the trade agreement was the greatest reason of backward of state's trade. He emphasized that with this trade agreement, domestic trade was got into foreigners' hands (Kemal, 1285a, pp. 2- 3). He criticized the bureaucrats for not taking measures against the trade agreements and said that if the measures had been taken, lots of the damages would had been turned into benefits (Kemal, 1285a, p. 3). He argued that the lack of trade development in the country stemmed from the internal customs policy imposed by the Ottoman Empire. He said, while bringing a product to Istanbul, you had to pay customs a few times, however when bringing a product from Europe, there was only one point to pay customs. Indicating that the craft couldn't survive because of the high taxes taken from local manufactures within the state, Kemal criticized domestic customs. Kemal appealed to bureaucrats and said that both craft and trade would develop and the treasure incomes would increase if the domestic customs would be revoked (Kemal, 1288i, p. 2). He mentioned that there were not 300 traders who had 2.000 liras capital in Ottoman despite the state was at the center of three continents and four seas. Kemal emphasized that 300 years ago, European communities had been wearing Ottoman fabrics and using Ottoman guns; Ottoman traders had been doing business in Bukhara, Kashgar, Algeria, Morocco and Indian coasts. Kemal said that after the invention of compass, Europe had changed the trade

routes by overtowering in the seas and had proceeded with a big leap; on the other hand Ottoman had regressed day by day. In addition, he expressed that had already been in a bad situation, trade and industry went to wreck With the implementation of free trade policies (Kemal, 1288i, p. 1). Kemal emphasized that implementing a protectionism method wouldn't be enough to save the state from it's poor position and the reason for this was that the state had not been able to achieve the production that would provide domestic consumption. He said that the world conjuncture wouldn't let the state to become introverted and while Europeans were making free trade even in China an other side of the world, they wouldn't leave Ottoman to its own resources. He pointed out that the only way out of the decline of the country's economy would be solved by education both in industry and trade (Kemal, 1288i, p. 1). He brought forward proposals for agriculture, art and trade sectors in order to increase the wealth. Accordingly, educational institutions should be formed for agriculture and roads should be built in order to speed up the delivery of the products. For industry sector, giving vocational training institutions should be formed in order to raise artisans who understand modern technology and science. The number of employed civil servants should be decreased and to increase the public demand towards craft professions, incentive schemes should be taken. For trade to develop, trade must be laid down, education schools that provide modern commercial information should be opened, the privileges granted to European merchants should be abolished and foreign merchants should be tried to equalize with the Ottoman people in the courts (Kemal, 1285b, p. 3).

Kemal noted that trade was gained a reputation and the great wealth was accumulated and benefited from the formation of the companies in trade. He expressed that there were no factory in the country, the industry was not advancing, there were no Islamic banks and therefore there were no wealth. He criticised the ones who connected being unable to constitute factory, bank and companies to the lack of capital. He said that a capital could be obtained with the formation of such institutions and because the country had no wealth, the companies, the industry, the trade fallen back (Kemal, 1288b, p. 1). He expressed that even it wouldn't be a factory, a small stall could be established, with the income from this, a company and with it's profit a bank could be established and then the country would be enriched (Kemal, 1288b, pp. 1- 2). He explained the socio- ekonomik development of Europe's most developed country England to show what changes the country would have as a result of industrial and commercial development. Kemal said that in England, the buildings and constructions were in order and they were all magnificent, one could find any kind of goods in markets and the capitals of the banks were extreme (Kemal, 1288f, pp. 1- 2). He stated that rich coal and iron deposits had a major role in the development of the country, they were using modern science techniques to make the best quality and size of each product, and science and technology in a very functional way (Kemal, 1288f, p. 2).

Kemal said that the public was hardworking. Even a 80 years old person would go to his store and work and all of the public were dealing with sa'y (in Ottoman Turkish; working hard, effort). Kemal said that it was the result of the work of England to come to this level of progress and a person could have anything as a result of hard work (Kemal, 1288f, p. 3). In this direction, Kemal said *"It is affirmative with verse, reason, consensus, hearsay, experience and a case that whatever or however something happen for a man it would happen by sa'y. If anything happens to man, it happens with sa'y"* and emphasized that the only condition of enrichment is to work (Kemal, 1288b, p. 2). He tried to instill the ring work impulse to his people after mentioning that civilization in Europe was the result of work. He indicated that Islam always wants a person to work for two worlds with the hadith *"Work for the world as if you would never die; work for the hereafter as if you were to die tomorrow"*. Kemal showed people who had been living lazily as living

pilgrims as the greatest miserable people in the world (Kemal, 1289d, pp. 2- 3). Kemal stated that those who earned the fortune with sa'y did not waste their time, but they were evaluating the time, knowing it was valuable (Kemal, 1289d, p. 3). Kemal said that even if human beings would increase their profits, they must save and only way to secure the future was to earn two and spend one. He transmitted the 39th verse of Necm Sura, "*And that there is not for man except that [good] for which he strives*" and emphasized the importance of working again (Kemal, 1289d, pp. 4- 5).

Kemal said that every person in the country had a desire to become a civil servant, and as a result of this enthusiasm, of course in the country the government would have a problem of subsistence, and the trade and industry would decrease (Kemal, 1288ç, p. 1). Kemal expressed that he was hopeful for the country's future, the soil was fertile, the country was suitable for shipping trade and the agriculture in Ottoman had a potential to feed European countries (Kemal, 1288a, p. 1). He summarized the financial needs of the state: 1. To do not indulge and employ foreigners in the state; 2. To level the playing field among citizens; 3. To work on paying the state's debts; 4. To do not appeal to borrowing method; 5. To develop agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors of the country; 6. To be careful that the forests and mines to be operated by suitable companies to benefit from them; 7. To establish domestic ferry and factory companies that would compete with foreign companies; 8. To work as an example of high-ranking bureaucrats in order to ensure the popularity of people in the ornament works of the country; 9. To be careful about the capabilities on promotions and to dismiss the unskilled bureaucrats thereby disgracing them; 10. To abolish civil servants who were accepting or giving a bribe, abusing their profession and exploitin state money; 11. To make the important schools more functional for the education and training of the people (Kemal, 1287, pp. 1- 2).

Kemal stated that while West was nervous about population growth, Ottoman was suffering from decrease of population. He expressed that the villages had only 3 o4 for houses and the country's territory was covered by bushes and rocks due to lack of population. If the laws would be paid attention to on population increase, the decrease of the population would be removed. He numbered the reasons preventing the population increase according to economy discipline: 1. The ill weather; 2. Dirtiness of the streets and homes; 3. Lack of health conditions; 4. Carelessness while dressing to keep your body; 5. Eating things that are harmful and do not feed your body; 6. Irreligiousness and immorality; 7. Using unhealthy products like alcohol and tobacco; 8. War and unrest; 9. Fate and mystic thought; 10. Miscarriages (Kemal, 1288c, p. 2).

3.3. Transportation

Kemal criticized the selection of transit routes linking the Rumelian railway to the Mediterranean. He said Edirne- Gallipoli route would be better economically than Edirne- Dereagaç route. He expressed that there were no agricultural product to carry to Europe, territory of the region was infertile and there was no chance to develope for the region due to lots of marshes (Kemal, 1288g, pp. 1- 2). He offered to make a second accommodation road to Gallipoli. He stated that the region was an important agricultural zone, besides a significant portion of Anatolian exports and imports came from Gallipoli. He emphasized that if Rumelian railways would merge with European lines and for Anatolian lines, download a branch to Lapseki, Rumeli and Anatolia's agricultural and trade development would emphasize (Kemal, 1288g, p. 2). Saying that the Rumelian railroad was a burden for treasure, Kemal indicated that in a country where 99% of the production was covered by agriculture blazing a trail and developing the river navigation would bring more benefit than constructing railroads. He emphasized that Tuna- İstanbul and Üsküdar- Baghdad railroads

wouldn't do any good to country (Kemal, 1288k, pp. 1-2). He said that Ruse- Varna railroad didn't have any contribution to Ottoman economy and if the Varna port was cleaned with the money given to the railway, it would benefit more from this investment. He mentioned that even though it was an important investment, İzmir railroad would harm the local community because it would interrupt the low- cost camel transportation. He expressed that Istanbul- Baghdad or Trabzon- Erzurum railroads were not suitable for country's interests and it wouldn't provide any benefit rather than enriching many upstart capitalists (Kemal, 1288k, p. 2).

Kemal stated that construction attempts were necessities for every country and these expenses were requisite in order to development of the country. He wanted the state to be active in overall constructional attempts due to the lack of necessary capital to provide these services with private enterprise in the country. He indicated that everyone should exploit from state's construction operations or that the beneficiary sector should be the majority. Kemal said that Belgrade- İstanbul and Üsküdar-Baghdad railroads could be shown as an example (Kemal, 1289a, pp. 1- 2). He wanted that the construction operations made with state's contribution to be laid on generation to benefit from it, and that the government should provide necessary support for general daily municipal services (Kemal, 1289a, p. 2). He remarked that there were lots of problems in Istanbul about the smoothing of life and the cleaning of unfavorable areas for health. He emphasized that the illumination of Istanbul, the construction of municipal services, the laying of sidewalks and the wide use of roads could also be done with the domestic capital in the country. He pointed out that if there were no capitals, these attempts should be done with foreign capital and emphasized that the government should show the easiness of the foreign capital for the railways also for the municipal services of the country (Kemal, 1288h, pp. 1- 2).

Kemal expressed that the public had been striving to purchase and sell railroad lottery, reaping a profit from it however that was no help on railroad construction (Kemal, 1289-b, p. 2). He said that instead of investing their fortune in lottery tickets, people should have used their capital to increase production. He emphasized that the public would monetise two or three times more if they would have invested in enterprises that would develop the trade rather than lottery tickets. Kemal said that leather, paper and candle factories could be installed in the country, capital owners might come together to form companies and might be found in such undertakings that both themselves and the state could make a great profit (Kemal, 1289c, p. 1).

4. CONCLUSION

Starting to write in period's newspapers in 1862, Namık Kemal questioned the political and financial policies of Babıali. Even though being banished to Erzurum by the government in 1867, Kemal escaped to Europe with Mustafa Fazıl Paşa's offer and continued to be objector. He founded New Ottomans Association with other escaped intellectuals and managed *Hürriyet* the media organ of the association and he resumed his criticisms towards government in his newspaper columns. Staying in Europe for three years, Kemal returned to country and published *İbret* in 1872 and continued to write his criticisms.

One of the subjects Kemal mentioned in his writings in *Tasvir-i Efkar*, *Hürriyet*, *İbret*, *Cüzdân* and *Diyojen* was the state's economical problems. He was aware that the state would have to be strong economically for economic progress and he suggested some offers in this direction. He questioned the state's borrowing policy and expressed that this policy was harmful for state's finance. He criticized the bureaucrats managing the government harshly and said that the country had been badly administrated economically. He also criticized the bureaucrats for using the state's income

as their personal income. He stated that the public had so much tax burden and this burden was blocking the production.

While mentioning state's problems, Kemal said that the government could not sufficiently benefit from agricultural, commerce and industry sectors, which were important wealth resources due to the economic policy that the state implements. He wanted the government to play an active role on all of the three sectors. He referred the significance of education for state development and in this direction he wanted that giving vocational education institutes to be established. He also wanted banks to be established as soon as possible in order to solve capital problem of the producers. For trade sector, Kemal said that the timing of the free trade agreement was wrong and the agreement accelerated the regression of both industry and trade sectors.

In his writings, rather than producing general finance theories and politics, Kemal mentioned the economical problems of the state and brought offers. While mentioning his offers, he didn't defense a specific thought system. His primary purpose was to provide the economic development of the country. Demanding that the state should actively intervene in the economy in order for the country to develop economically was the proof that he wanted to see the government to be active in economics. He was also aware of the importance of private enterprises and wanted that the public to earn by sa'y rather than being civil servants. Even though saying that the timing of the 1838 trade agreement was wrong, Kemal didn't want custom rates to be increased in order to industrialize. And this showed Kemal had a dilemma in his thinking. This might be caused by the adoption of free trade by military force even in remote China by Western countries or by the admiration of the development of the country while living in London. Instead of referring to Kemal as neither liberal defender nor anti-liberal, we can say that his primary purpose was to find a solution to the problems of the country as soon as possible and to provide the development of the country.

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