

# **The Transformation of Social Mentality of Economy: Hellas and Turkey**

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## **Abstract**

In western countries the life of a human being is a composition of inevitable circumstances or coincidences. But in Eastern societies the life of a human being is his destiny. This approach to human life in West and East shows two different ways of thinking which undoubtedly, shapes the socio-economic way of thinking of Hellas and Turkey and West's too. The thesis of this article, firstly, is to show the diversity of socio-economic way of thinking of Hellas and Turkey towards the West and secondly, to show the conditions that being transformed into a Protestant way of thinking.

## **Keywords**

Hellas (Greece), Turkey, Protestant ethic, Orthodoxy, Islam, West, East, Community

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## Introduction

Hellas and Turkey are two peripheral countries whose destinies are determined by the hegemonic countries and steered in the direction of the dominant values of the world system. The aim of this article is to compare the religious and ethical values of those countries, as well as those values that the western powers are trying to impose on them.

The key that we will use in order to determine the meaning of the socio-economic mentality will be found in the religion values. This is because, from this study's point of view, religion is one of the important factors that constitute a people's "way of thinking", also in every aspect of socio-economic life.

The economic regime of the West is capitalism. As we know from Weberian analysis, there is a connection between capitalism and the Protestant ethic. The appearance and expansion of capitalism has moved in parallel with the appearance and expansion of the Protestant religion. According to Max Weber, Protestantism gives to capitalism the "moral weapons" with which it expands. As Andreas Andrianopoulos noticed in his book:

"Lutheranism made the most significant transformation transferring the "mission" concept of the religious into the secular field. Before Luther the dedication to God, and to his followers, and the sense of mission, consisted of the priestly or monastic life, but after the intervention of Luther every occupation in this life was a "mission". Each person was to fulfill the will of God during his daily activities. Lutheranism, above and beyond the religious upheavals, had enormous socio-political significance. This is because it gave ideological justification and

social acceptance to the phenomenon of the bourgeois in society.”<sup>1</sup>

Protestantism expresses the transition from the *homo spiritualis*<sup>2</sup> to *homo economicus*.<sup>3</sup>

At this point I would like to offer a clarification. Putting under the same heading Orthodoxy and Islam does not mean that they are the same. Of course these two religions have deep differences and each religion has various branches which approach that religion from differing points of view. So in order to emphasize this diversity, not only within Orthodoxy and Islam, but also within the West, in this article when I refer to “God” I do so with reference to the West, when writing of Orthodoxy I use Theos/Tanrı, and for Islam Allah.

But before we go into further details it would be useful to compare these different “ways of thinking”.

## Comparison of Two Mentalities

Because of the large scale of our comparison of the philosophy of Protestantism, the true analysis of which is offered by Max Weber, with the philosophy of Orthodoxy and Islam, in this article we will limit ourselves to three points. Why these three

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<sup>1</sup> Ανδρέας Ανδριανόπουλος, *Ο Θρίαμβος του Δημοκρατικού Καπιταλισμού*, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις LÍBRO, 1988, σελ. 47. (Andreas Andrianopoulos, *The Triumph of Democratic Capitalism*, Athens, LÍBRO, 1988, p. 47)

<sup>2</sup> Δημ. Γρ. Τσάκωνα, *Μαθήματα Εισαγωγής στην Φιλοσοφία*, Αθήνα, δεν αναφέρεται εκδοτικός οίκος, 1969, σελ. 7. (Dimitris Tsakonas, *An Introduction to Philosophy*, 1969, p. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Şennur Özdemir, “Yeşil Sermaye Söylemi”, *Ekonomik Kurumlar ve Terimler Sözlüğü*, Ankara, Özgür Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007, s. 1356. (Sennur Özdemir, “The Discourse of Capital of Anatolia”, *Economic Institutions and Glossary of Terms*, Ankara, Özgür University press, 2007, p. 1356).

points? In my opinion, the individual/community together with the dimension of property are the basic elements which shape the social mentality of a given economy.

### **Faith and Individual**

The first point is to show how the West – as a continuation of the Protestant ethic – has approached the concept of the individual. The individual's wisdom is the result of a synthesis of the nous and the logic. Cultivating logic, the individual obtains “worldly wisdom”. Having gained “worldly wisdom” the individual can approach the real knowledge (logokrasy)<sup>4</sup> by a process of recording progress. Progress is one of the most basic notions that the Enlightenment Age developed<sup>5</sup>. Immanuel Kant in his famous essay “What is Enlightenment?” (1784) said:

“Enlightenment is man's exodus from his self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's understanding without the guidance of another person. This tutelage is self-incurred and its cause lies not in any weakness of the understanding, but in indecision and lack of courage to raise the mind without the guidance of someone else. “Dare to know?” Have the courage to use your own understanding; this is the mother of Enlightenment.”<sup>6</sup>

Man in the West, until the Renaissance and especially until the Reformation, sees life as a personal struggle with sin and

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<sup>4</sup> Δημ. Γρ. Τσάκωνα, *Εισαγωγικά Μαθήματα Κοινωνιολογίας*, Αθήνα, δεν αναφέρεται εκδοτικός οίκος, 1972, σελ. 51-54. (Dimitris Tsakonas, *An Introduction to Sociology*, 1972, pp. 51-54).

<sup>5</sup> Ahmet Çiğdem, *Aydınlanma Düşüncesi*, 1. Baskı, İstanbul, İletişim yayınları, 1997, s. 42-46. (Ahmet Çiğdem, *The Thought of Enlightenment*, 1st Edition, İstanbul, İletişim press, 1997, pp. 42-46).

<sup>6</sup> H. Cunliffe-Jones, *Christian Theology since 1600*, 1st Edition, London, Gerald Duckworth & co. Ltd., 1970, p. 36.

temptation, and to win over these is considered man's triumph, instead of being God's triumph in favor of man.<sup>7</sup> So the term West or Western means the starting point which defines humankind and history.<sup>8</sup> The individual tries to find God inside history. The Reformation "created" the demand for religious toleration, in order for the individual to have the liberty to choose a life according to his preferences. That means the individual's self-realization, with as little interference as possible.<sup>9</sup> According to Weber, the first step of rationalism in the framework of the Protestant ethic is the individual's purification from superstitions.<sup>10</sup> As mentioned above, the West sees everything from an anthropocentric point of view. According to the Orthodox tradition, it is the Theos/Tanrı that creates the man (theocentric)<sup>11</sup>. The salvation of man will not come as a result of individual acts but will come from Theos/Tanrı's love. The Orthodox believer interprets his life through eschatology. This means the experiencing of the Kingdom of Theos/Tanrı. That is why the Orthodox tradition tries to determine Theos/Tanrı, not by logic or

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<sup>7</sup> Γεωργίου Ι. Μαντζαριδου, *Ορθοδοξία και Οικονομία: Διάλογος με τον Alfred Müller-Armack, Θέματα Κοινωνιολογίας της Ορθοδοξίας, Θεσσαλονίκη, Εκδόσεις Πουρνάρα, 1975, σελ. 107.* (Georgiou Mantzridou, *Orthodoxy and Economy: Dialogue with Alfred Müller-Armack, Issues for Sociology of Orthodoxy, Thessaloniki, Pournara press, 1975, p. 107.*)

<sup>8</sup> Χρήστος Γιανναράς, *Ορθοδοξία και Δύση σήμερα: Η Θεολογία στην Ελλάδα σήμερα, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις ΑΘΗΝΑ, 1972, σελ. 13.* (Christos Giannaras, *Orthodoxy and West: The Theology in Hellas today, Athens, ATHINA press, 1972, p. 13.*)

<sup>9</sup> Eccleshal R., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 2nd Edition, London & New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Max Weber, *Protestan Ahlakı ve Kapitalizmin Rubu*, çev: Zeynep Aruoba, 2. Baskı, İstanbul, Hil Yayınları, 1997, s. 92. (Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translator: Zeynep Aruoba, 2nd edition, İstanbul, Hil press, 1997, p. 92).

<sup>11</sup> Genesis 2:7.

by seeing Him inside history, but sees the acts of Theos/Tanrı “working” for the salvation of man.<sup>12</sup>

In the Orthodox tradition, man has two gnostic centers: nous<sup>13</sup> and logos. Nous represents the theoretical “part” of the soul and logos the practical. The “theoretical” part means of nous is much closer to Theos/Tanrı, and nous obtains the “knowledge of Theos/Tanrı” or “wisdom of Theos/Tanrı”. Logos exactly express this perception.<sup>14</sup> Briefly, this is how knowledge is approached in the Orthodox tradition.

Islam also approaches the man and creation issue in a way which is identical with the Orthodox religion. To illustrate this we will mention where it says in the Koran: “*O people! Submit to your Allah who has created you and those before you; in this way only you may expect to save yourselves.*”<sup>15</sup> Muslims accept the fact, according to them, of “Ahiret”,<sup>16</sup> which means that they accept the existence of the afterlife. We must not forget that belief in apocalypse (in the sense of the Day of Judgement) is one of the basic conditions for being a Muslim. In Koranic terms: “*Praise is only for Allah, the Lord of the worlds.*”<sup>17</sup> *The Compassionate, the Merciful.*<sup>18</sup> *The Sovereign of the Day of Judgement.*”<sup>19</sup> If we look from the etymological viewpoint, the word Islam derives from the root s-l-m (س ل م), which means “delivering. According to Koran: “*The worst of beasts in the sight of*

<sup>12</sup> Αρχιμ. Ιεροθέου Σ. Βλάχου, *Ρωμηοί σε Ανατολή και Δύση*, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Ιερά Μονή Γενεθλίου της Θεοτόκου, 1993, σελ. 34-35. (Archim. Ierotheou Vlahou, *Greeks in East and West*, Genethliou tis Theotokou Monastery press, 1993, pp. 34-35).

<sup>13</sup> Turkish: “us”.

<sup>14</sup> Αρχιμ. Ιεροθέου Σ. Βλάχου, *Ορθόδοξος και Δυτικός Τρόπος Ζώνης*, 1<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Ιερά Μονή Γενεθλίου της Θεοτόκου, 1992, σελ. 46. (Archim. Ierotheou Vlahou, *Orthodox and Western way of life*, Genethliou tis Theotokou Monastery press, 1992, p. 46).

<sup>15</sup> Al Baqara 2/21.

<sup>16</sup> English: “Afterlife”.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Fatiha 1/2.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Fatiha 1/3.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Fatiha 1/4.

*Allah, are the deaf, the dumb, who have no common sense*<sup>20</sup>. Also it will be useful to see how, Imam Ghazali approach knowledge. We may refer to book, *The Road to Reality*. Imam Ghazali asserts that the road to reality passes through a stage of obtaining “certain knowledge”. According to him there is “certain knowledge” (*al-ilm 'l-yakin*), *known to leave no doubt about the information in the appearance of the person.*<sup>21</sup> Knowledge is the synthesis of two key elements: revelation (vahiy) and sense.<sup>22</sup>

In conclusion, in Orthodoxy and Islam, a key component of the individual’s gaining knowledge is that it comes from Theos/Tanrı/Allah, and consists of the “enlightenment of the nous”. After that, the logos are used to find the means of expression. In contrast to this, in the West we have the union of nous and logos in order for man to reach knowledge.

## Property

The second point of comparison concerns the “ways of thinking” about property. In the West the concept of property can be summarized in one word: atomocentric (individualistic). The individual is the only master of his property, which, through using his nous by hard work, can be managed to increase his property. Hard work is one of the most important points in Weber’s *Protestant Ethics* thesis. According to Weber, God has chosen a profession for every individual.<sup>23</sup> The individual’s main “mission” is hard work. In this way the individual can correspond to God’s expectations. In other words, each person’s heaven and hell is the ground he steps on. As we can see, Weber gives a “sacred value” to work for the Protestants. The individual must not waste time

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<sup>20</sup> Al-Anfal 8/22.

<sup>21</sup> İmam Gazali, *Hakikate Giden Yol*, çev: Ali Kaya, 6. Baskı, İstanbul, Semerkand Yayınları, Mart 2010, s. 32. (İmam Gazali, *The road to Reality*, translator: Ali Kaya, 6th Edition, İstanbul, Semerkand press, March 2010, p. 32).

<sup>22</sup> İmam Gazali, *Hakikate Giden Yol...*, pp. 46-152.

<sup>23</sup> Max Weber, *Protestan Ahlak ve...*, p. 71.

because, according to Weber's analysis, "time is money". But, if the individual wants to earn God's favor, Weber posits some "esoteric criteria" that must be fulfilled: "talk less", "sleep as much as necessary", "need less", and even "eating restraint". Weber expresses it as a "this-worldly asceticism".

In Orthodoxy, the individual is not considered the absolute master of his property. We can see this very clearly in the Creed of Orthodoxy. This says that: *"I believe in one Theos/Tanrı, the Father Almighty, Maker the Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible..."* From the phrase "I believe in one Theos/Tanrı" we see that He is recognized as the only owner of the universe and of all things.<sup>24</sup> The Apostle Paul in his speech at the Areopagus said *"Theos/Tanrı, who created everything that is in the world and who is Lord of heaven and earth..."*<sup>25</sup>.

Starting with the data that Theos/Tanrı is the ruler of all things natural gives a different approach to the concept of "work". As we wrote above, Weber's analysis gives to work a holy characteristic. But from the aspect of the Orthodox tradition *"work" is seen as an institution established by Theos (Tanrı) himself in order to serve individuals' social needs.*<sup>26</sup> According to the Orthodox Fathers, work is considered as an imitation of Theos/Tanrı. This is because, as Basilios the Great noted on the fact that Theos/Tanrı is a master of universe, the "head workman of the universe" created a "laboratory of creation"<sup>27</sup>. Apart from the universe, Theos/Tanrı created man too, not to be slow but active and

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<sup>24</sup> Ν. Θ. Μπουγάτσου, *Το Πρόβλημα του Θεσμού της Ιδιοκτησίας: Ορθόδοξη Άποψη*, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις ΚΟΡΑΛΙ, 1982, σελ. 21. (N. Mrougatsou, *The issue of Property Institution: The Orthodox aspect*, Athens, KORALI press, 1982, p. 21).

<sup>25</sup> Παράξεις ιζ 24.

<sup>26</sup> Χρίστου Θ. Κρικώνη, *Πατερικά Θεολογικά Μελετήματα*, 1<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση, Θεσσαλονίκη, University Studio Press A.E, 1998, σελ. 482. (Christou Krikoni, *Patristic Theological essays*, 1st Edition, Thessaloniki, University Studio Press A.E, 1998, P. 482).

<sup>27</sup> Χρίστου Θ. Κρικώνη, *Πατερικά Θεολογικά...*, p. 482.

capable, in order to be more profitable. If he is not profitable he will be accountable before Theos/Tanrı.<sup>28</sup>

The Orthodox tradition, insomuch as it accepts “property” as we mentioned, for private property offers the term “self-sufficiency”. So what is the meaning that the Orthodox tradition gives to self-sufficiency? “Self-sufficiency is the perfect satisfaction of human (especially material and spiritual) needs. In a sentence attributed to the philosopher Socrates, “The characteristic of God/ Theos/Tanrı/Allah is that he is not in need of anything.” The characteristic of the divine man is the need to have only little”<sup>29</sup>. Chrysostomos said: “*When we talk about self-sufficiency we mean the utilization of necessary needs, without which we cannot survive.*”<sup>30</sup> So the self-sufficient man will have the time to worship Theos/Tanrı without making any effort to increase his capital. Money is only a means and must not be the purpose of the human. Money is available only in the case that it is used for the common good.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, private property becomes a means of social assistance for the weak.<sup>32</sup> The Orthodox tradition confers the character of asceticism to the one who is devoted to the implementation of Theos/Tanrı’s commandments.<sup>33</sup>

According to Islam, property also comes within the sovereignty of Allah, and specifically: “O Allah, Owner of Sovereignty! You bestow kingdom on whom You will, and You take it away from whom You will. You exalt whom You will, and

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<sup>28</sup> Χρίστου Θ. Κρικιώνη, *Πατερικά Θεολογικά...*, p. 483.

<sup>29</sup> Ν. Θ. Μπουγάτσου, *Το Πρόβλημα του Θεσμού...*, p. 174.

<sup>30</sup> Ν. Θ. Μπουγάτσου, *Το Πρόβλημα του Θεσμού...*, p. 174.

<sup>31</sup> Ν. Θ. Μπουγάτσου, *Καπιταλισμός και Ορθόδοξος Χριστιανισμός με αναφορά στον Μ. Weber*, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις ΜΥΝΗΜΑ, 1983, σελ. 26. (Ν. Μπουγάτσου, *Capitalism and Orthodox Christianity with reference to Max Weber*, Athens ΜΙΝΙΜΑ press, 1983, p. 26).

<sup>32</sup> Δημ. Γρ. Τσάκωνα, *Μαθήματα Εισαγωγής...*, p. 66.

<sup>33</sup> Άρχιμ. Ιερόθεου Σ. Βλάχου, *Ορθόδοξος και Δυτικός Τρόπος Ζώης...*, p. 96.

You abase whom you will. All goods are in your hand. Most surely, You have full power over all things.”<sup>34</sup>

“It is He who created the heavens and the earth in truth. On the Day when he says: “Be”, it is. His word is the truth; and on the Day, the Trumpet will be blown, His will be the sole Sovereignty. He has full knowledge of the visible and the invisible, and He is All-Wise, All-Knowing.”<sup>35</sup>

“On that Day, the Sovereignty will be Allah’s, He will judge between them; so those who believe and do good deeds will be in Gardens of Delight.”<sup>36</sup>

“He causes the night to pass into the day and the day into the night and He subjected the sun and the moon till an appointed time. Allah is your Lord. Sovereignty belongs to him alone. The deities whom you invoke besides Him have no power over anything.”<sup>37</sup>

Islam gives an individualistic dimension on the issue of property, as the West does, but gives importance to the social dimension (the right of society).<sup>38</sup> In other words, the Muslim “works” within the framework of rules laid down by the Koran as well as the life of the Prophet.

### **Community (Κοινότητα/Cemaat)**

In the West, basically, give an utmost importance in the organization of human life in the body of society. All the

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<sup>34</sup> Al Īmran 3/26.

<sup>35</sup> Al-An’am 6/73.

<sup>36</sup> Al Hajj 22/56.

<sup>37</sup> Fatir 35/13.

<sup>38</sup> Sabahattin Zaim, *İslam-İnsan Ekonomi*, İstanbul, Yeni Asya Yayınları, Mart 1992, s. 97. (Prof Dr. Sabahattin Zaim, *Islam- Human Economy*, İstanbul, Yeni Asya press, March 1992, p. 97).

contemporary socio-political systems born in the West exist in order to find an answer to the human's pursuits. This is because, if society is organized properly, then the people will be "good". There is the belief that if you want to have maximum practical performance through history, you need organizations which are achieved within institutions. For the West, practical feasibility is very important, because every action comes from this practical feasibility, even religious actions are integrated into individual utility. This prioritizes saving the individual personality, because it is thought that the salvation of man depends of this.

At this point I would like to emphasize the concept of solidarity in the West. Generally the mentality of solidarity in the West is found among people who want to help each other because they want to, and is not subject to rules that usually stem from religion.

One of the many important factors is the way the professional activities of the Western individual function. These people are organized in unions and various professional organizations that are mainly interested in prosperity, and per capita income. Mainly, in other words, in material issues.

In Hellas we have the community (κοινότητα). For Tsakonias, community can be seen in these terms: *"This social formation's main goal is that the individual living within it can achieve a perfect repletion. The ideal type of the secular community is the monastery which reflects the society of angels. Equal distribution of material goods means justice and, as a result, approaching holiness."*<sup>39</sup>

The main characteristics are: self-sufficiency, self-consumption, low money circulation, and a low level of

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<sup>39</sup> Δημ. Γρ. Τσάκωνα, *Κοινωνιολογία του Νεοελληνικού πνεύματος*, 3<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση, Αθήνα, δεν αναφέρεται εκδοτικός οίκος, 1972, σελ. 27-28. (Dimitris Tsakonias, *The Sociology of Neo-Hellenic spirit*, 3rd Edition, Athens, 1972, pp. 27-28).

commercialization.<sup>40</sup> But from a sociological point of view, it was the spirit of solidarity that existed among the members, a solidarity that “*tied the people within the community*”<sup>41</sup>. The core of this solidarity was the church, the parish, the monastery. The church was a place of assembly which not only fulfilled religious needs, but was a place of development of all social relations.<sup>42</sup> One of the characteristics that determine social relations is cooperation and unity as shaped by their professional activities. People aim to participate in that cooperation and unity (in the Byzantine period called *συντεχνίες*, and in the Ottoman period called *esnaf*), not only for the circulation of their products, but also to “solve” their psychological and social needs.<sup>43</sup>

In Ottoman times we have the same pattern. Instead of the church we have the mosque, and instead of parishioners (*ενορίτες*) we have *cemaat*. The artisans (*esnaf*) worked on the basis of Islamic rules. We should also not forget that the Prophet’s profession was that of a merchant. This means that in Islam work and worship were considered together. The state has a duty to protect Muslims because of two of the basic principles governing the model of the Islamic economy, according to Sabahattin Zaim: “*In Islam there is no conflict between individual-state. The main aim is to carry out Islam,*” and “*If the individual does not comply with Islamic principles, the state can oblige him to come to the path of Islam.*”<sup>44</sup>

During the Byzantine period communities (*κοινότητες*) were separate tax units with the main feature that taxes were not

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<sup>40</sup> β. ι. φίλια, *Κοινωνία και Εξουσία στην Ελλάδα: Η νόθα αστικοποίηση 1800-1864*, 2<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση, Αθήνα, Β. Μακρυωνίτης & ΣΙΑ Ο.Ε, Αύγουστος 1975, σελ. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Δημ. Γρ. Τσάκωνα, *Κοινωνιολογία του Νεοελληνικού πνεύματος...*, pp. 28.

<sup>42</sup> Νεοκλής Σαρρής, *Οσμανική Πραγματικότητα: II. Η Διοικητική Διοίκηση*, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Ι. Δ. Αρσενίδης & ΣΙΑ, Φεβρουάριος 1990, σελ. 339. (Neoklis Sarris, *The Ottoman Reality: II. Administration*, Arsenidis press, February 1990, p 339).

<sup>43</sup> Άρχιμ. Ιερόθεου Σ. Βλάχου, *Ορθόδοξος και Δυτικός Τρόπος Ζώης...*, p. 34.

<sup>44</sup> Sabahattin Zaim, *Islam-Insan-Ekonomi...*, p. 98.

paid by each person separately, but rather the whole community (κοινότητα) was responsible to the state.<sup>45</sup> In the Ottoman Empire, communities (κοινοότητες), according to some Hellen writers, were the social organizations through which the Orthodox tradition was maintained.<sup>46</sup>

As we wrote, in Islam there are religious rules considering commerce. In Byzantine times the Orthodox Church looked on commerce as a given reality.<sup>47</sup> The Orthodox Church in its sermons could condemn trade, but at the same time we have the positive contribution of trade to Church missions, where the trader came with the missionary as a kind of “expert development.”<sup>48</sup>

The mainly reason that I referred to these three characteristics is to show see a way of thinking, which expressed by Orthodoxy and Islam, despite the differences between them. A way of thinking which contradicts the West or the whole spirit of capitalism.

As we shall see below, the spirit the way of thinking that expresses three elements, during their own historical processes in Hellas and Turkey, are embraced by social groups which operated “independently”<sup>49</sup> of formal economic activity.

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<sup>45</sup> Γιάννης Κορδάτος, *Ακμή και Παρακμή του Βυζαντίου*, 3η Έκδοση, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Μπουκουμάνη, 1974, σελ. 30. (Giannis Kordatos, *Rise and Decandense of Byzantium*, 3rd Edition, Μπουκουμάνη press, 1974, p. 30).

<sup>46</sup> Άρχιμ. Ιερόθεου Σ. Βλάχου, *Ορθόδοξος και Λυτικός Τρόπος Ζώης...*, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> Γεωργίου Ι. Μαντζαρίδου, *Ορθοδοξία και Οικονομία: Διάλογος με τον Alfred Müller-Armack...*, p. 142.

<sup>48</sup> Γεωργίου Ι. Μαντζαρίδου, *Ορθοδοξία και Οικονομία: Διάλογος με τον Alfred Müller-Armack...*, p. 143.

<sup>49</sup> With term “independence” we mean the opponent attitude to official ideology.

## The “Left” in Hellas and the “Right” in Turkey

As we mentioned above, in Hellas and Turkey, there are social groups that act “independently” of formal activity. What are the reasons for these social groups pushing to independence? In my opinion, there is one main reason that creates this wish for independence, namely their negative attitude towards the existing socio economic and socio political process.

As we all know in 1923 the Turkish Republic was founded as a nation-state. Its founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk said that the economy would be in the hands of those who participated in the establishment of the country.<sup>50</sup> The party that retained the founding philosophy was the Republican People’s Party (CHP) and according to Turkish literature this party is identified with the term “left”. On the other hand, the socio-economic and socio-political formation which was opposed to the founding philosophy has been expressed through Anatolian capital. Thinking that stems from Islam will be identified as “right”. This mentality which determines Anatolian capital is represented by Ahmed Ziyaüddin Gümüşhanevi, the sheikh of Nakşibendi order. The basic feature of Gümüşhanevi is his negative attitude to Western capitalism.<sup>51</sup> I argue that: ‘*Gümüşhanevi, in order to break the power of the banks, to save his disciples and to save society from interest rates, set up a solidarity fund (Karz-ı Hasen). It means interest-free and long term debt*’.<sup>52</sup> Acting as informal banks, one of the methods being used was the slate. Also a particular type of family and specific way of clothing are among the characteristics of the people who built up the Anatolian capital<sup>53</sup>. This “independence” continued until 1980. By

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<sup>50</sup> Bilsay Kuruç, *Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ekonomi*, Birinci Baskı, Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi, Aralık 1987, s. 19. (Bilsay Kuruç, *Economy in Mustafa Kemal Era*, 1st Edition, Ankara, Bilgi press, December 1987, p. 19).

<sup>51</sup> Christos Teazis, *İkincilerin Cumhuriyeti*, İkinci baskı, Ankara, Mızrak Yayınları, 2011, s. 104. (Christos Teazis, *The Republic of the Seconds*, 2nd Edition, Ankara, Mızrak press, 2011, p. 104).

<sup>52</sup> Christos Teazis, *İkincilerin Cumhuriyeti...*, p. 104.

<sup>53</sup> Christos Teazis, *İkincilerin Cumhuriyeti...*, p. 121.

implementing the policies of neo-liberalism, the “right” has begun to be incorporated into the international economy. Basically the process of integration began with the acceptance of the Marshall plan.

But in the case of Hellas the “independence” was caused, by internal factors originating from the implementation of the Marshall Plan, and from internal factors which were influential in the period after the civil war. The Marshall Plan was implemented after the Second World War, in order to “protect” Hellas from the communist danger. So the “left” was excluded from the structures of state. Because of their exclusion, people who belonged to the left moved professionally into the commercial sector and independent business.<sup>54</sup> But beyond this there were social groups that may not belong ideologically on the left or on the right, but their lifestyle and way of thinking on various issues, even consumer habits, made them opponents to the hegemonic spirit which was “right”.

To make a synopsis we would say that in Turkey the social groups that operated independently from the official economic activity were described by the term “right”, whereas in Hellas the corresponding role was undertaken by the “left”.

At this point it would be useful to explain what the key element is that characterizes the neo-liberalist spirit. We will also explain what those elements are of the “right” in Turkey and “left” in Hellas, elements that were contrary to the spirit of neo-liberalism.

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<sup>54</sup> Βάλια Αρανίτου, *Το μικρό εμπόριο στην μεταπολεμική Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση, 2006, σελ. 168. (Valia Aranitou, *The small trade in postwar Greece*, Papazisi press, 2006, p. 168).

## The Spirit of Neo-liberalism

As we noted above the key difference that sets the West in contrast to Orthodoxy and Islam is that the West gives utmost importance to nous and its progress, while Orthodoxy and Islam give a predominant role to the spiritual cultivation of nous. The value that the West gives to nous we can see from the words of Abraham Lincoln, word which became the ideological platform of the Republicans:

“...to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere.”<sup>55</sup>

The words of Lincoln summarize the basic way of thinking that dominates American political thought. In order to be able to understand this way of thinking and how this affected foreign policy, we must refer to the thoughts<sup>56</sup> of Woodrow Wilson. Wilson puts the individual in a historical development in which his/her progress is not affected by institutions, but stems from the individual. Wilson called it a “self-liberation”<sup>57</sup> and also noted that: “In a new age we must acquire a new capacity, must be men upon a new scale and with added qualities. We shall need a new Renaissance, ushered in by a new “humanistic movement”, in which we shall add to our present minute, introspective study of ourselves, our jails, our slums, our nerve-centers, our shifts to live,

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<sup>55</sup> *The History of the Republican Party: 1854-1970*, no writer, Ropers C. B Morton, no year, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Wilson’s thought was influenced by two schools: the Historical School, whose roots comes from England and Germany, and Historicism, which is based on German idealism.

<sup>57</sup> Ronald J. Pestritto, *Woodrow Wilson and the roots of Modern Liberalism*, Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers INC, 2005, p. 38.

almost as morbid as mediaeval religion, a rediscovery of the round world and of man's place in it, now that its face has changed"<sup>58</sup>.

To this evolutionary progress Wilson gave a religious tinge, and asserted that there is a divine plan and the main aim of America is to implement it on earth, playing the role of the "good", while those who do not accept the plan are regarded as "evil"<sup>59</sup>. This is an understanding which is typical of Protestantism. It means that the basic element is the divine mission of America to spread the American values and American culture becomes sacred. In other words Protestantism expresses a "worldly religious" in parallel to a sacralization of American constitutions.<sup>60</sup> This Protestant spirit, in our opinion, is the basic way of thinking that neo-liberalism is built on. One of the main methods used the dissemination of American culture is the circulation of products.

What happened in the case of Hellas and Turkey? Neo-liberalism started to be applied basically in both countries in 1980. In Hellas, we have the rise to power of the party of Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) headed by Andreas Papandreu and in Turkey the Motherland Party (ANAP) came to power headed by Turgut Özal.

Andreas Papandreu came to power with the slogan "Change". This means that from the politically point of view he pushed the "right" out of the limelight and from the structures of the state and opened the door to the "left". So we cannot talk about the transformation of the state, but a "change" of those who staffed. And from the socio economic point of view we had the enlargement of the consumer base to include those social groups

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<sup>58</sup> Ronald J. Pestritto, *Woodrow Wilson and the roots...*, p. 38.

<sup>59</sup> Ronald J. Pestritto, *Woodrow Wilson and the roots...*, p. 40.

<sup>60</sup> Παυλίνα Νασιουτζικ, *Αμερικάνικα Οράματα στη Σύμψη των 19<sup>ο</sup> Αιώνα*, 1<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση, Αθήνα, Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας, Μάιος 2002, σελ .34. (Pavlina Nasiouchik, *American visions in Smyrna in the 19th century*, 1st Edition, Athens, Estia press, May 2002, p. 34).

that had not penetrated the way of thinking of new-liberalism. And Hellas started to manifest the typical characteristics of a wealthy society.<sup>61</sup>

In Turkey with the rise of Turgut Özal, we have the inclusion of the “right” or Anatolian capital in the formal economic activity. Which way? Permission was given to open banks operating on the basis of Islamic law “Islamic Banking” or “interest-free banking” (1984: Al-Baraka Türk, Faysal Finans, 1988: Kuveyt Türk, 1991: İhlas Finans Kurumu AŞ).<sup>62</sup> At the political level it may be that no specific development was seen but from socio economic point of view we have the start of a widening consumer base<sup>63</sup>. In other words we have the transition from the “state-centered economic model to a society-market centered model”<sup>64</sup> which culminated in the period of the Justice and Development party (AK Parti).

Also in the issue of small businesses we see similarities in the political discourse of the two parties. Andreas Papandreou described the small businesses as the “backbone of the Change” and Turgut Özal denoted them as the “central column of the economy”.

Why did both parties have a complete convergence of views concerning the issue of small business?

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<sup>61</sup> Η Ελλάδα στη Δεκαετία του '80: Κοινωνικό, Πολιτικό και Πολιτισμικό Λεξικό, Επιστημονική Επιμέλεια Βασίλης Βαμβακάς- Παναγής Παναγιωτόπουλος, *Καφετέρια*, Νίκος Παπαδογιάννης, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις το Πέρασμα, 2010, σελ. 261. (Greece in the 80's: Social, Political and Cultural dictionary, Ed Vasilis Vamvakas- Panagis Panagiotopoulos, *Café*, Nikos Papadogiannis, Athens, Perasma press, 2010, p. 261).

<sup>62</sup> Christos Teazis, *İkincilerin Cumhuriyeti...*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>63</sup> Christos Teazis, *İkincilerin Cumhuriyeti...*, p. 116.

<sup>64</sup> Şennur Özdemir, *MÜSLAD: Anadolu Sermayesinin Dönüşümü ve Türk Modernleşmesinin derinleşmesi*, 1. Baskı, Ankara, Vadi Yayınları, Nisan 2006, s. 101. (Şennur Özdemir, *MÜSLAD: The transformation of Capital of Anatolia and deepening of Turkish modernization*, 1st Edition, Vadi press, April 2006, p. 101).

As we noticed the “left” in Hellas and the “right” in Turkey were independent of the formal economic activity. One of the main methods, in our opinion, by which we might grasp how there was an introduction of informal mechanisms that functioned as an informal banking system and as a medium of exchange was the slate (Hellen: βερεσές<sup>65</sup>, Turkish: veresiye). The exchange of money from hand to hand and non reliance on formal means such as bank account shows an autonomous way of thinking.

## Conclusion

The most basic characteristic that shaped the way of thinking of the West is nous, and recording its progress. During this process will have to “remove” all obstacles which might hamper its further progress. According to the West, main obstacle is the most basic: state.<sup>66</sup> Regarding the issue of religion, as we stressed above the basic characteristic of capitalism is that it developed and expanded through the Protestant religion. In other

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<sup>65</sup> For more details: Βάλια Αραβίτου, *Το μικρό εμπόριο στην μεταπολεμική...*, pp. 115-131.

<sup>66</sup> One of the principles of neo-liberalism is the minimal state. If the state is being limited, then the individual found free scope for progress. What were the practical ways in which this could be achieved? By privatizations. Particularly in Hellas, since 1974 rather than pushing for privatization nationalization was favored, which became greater during the period of PASOK. The burgeoning state was in stark contrast to the philosophy of neo-liberalism. The enlargement of the state was so great, that according to Andreas Andrianopoulos, the big state approached the soviet mentality. At the outbreak of the financial crisis in Hellas, one of the ministers of PASOK, Mihalis Hrisoxoidis, stressed the need for Hellas to come out of this soviet mentality.

In Turkey there was a smooth transition in this direction starting with the privatizations when the Motherland Party came to power and culminating in the period of the AK Party. Indicative are the statements made at times by the prime minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, that we shouldn't expect everything from the state.

words, Protestantism gives the moral cover for the legitimacy of capitalism. The legitimacy was represented mainly by America and after 1980 with the implementation of neo-liberalism, Europe too embraced this way of thinking. This attitude affects particularly the social mentality of the economy. After 1980 the way of thinking of neo-liberalism, or Protestantism as its spirit, starts to affect and transform the social mentality of the economy in Hellas and in Turkey.

In Hellas the dominant social mentality of the economy has its roots in the Byzantine period and is based primarily on solidarity between the members of the community (*κοινωνία*). After the civil war those social groups that either for political reasons or their way of thinking were not identical with the prevailing thought of the “right”, as a result were excluded from the state. Those independent we have characterized as the “left”. So the “left” headed to trade and small businesses. But, that the “left” became merchants does not mean that the commercial mentality was transformed according to their mentality. In our opinion, consciously or unconsciously they adopted the mentality and the way of thinking of community (*κοινωνία*). In 1980 with the rise of PASOK to power, “independence” ended and the “left” took her place in the state in the place of the “right” which saw its power become more impoverished. This is what the “change” meant.<sup>67</sup> This traditional way of thinking began to lose ground since the beginning of 1990. Especially from 1990 until to 1994 10,000 grocery stores closed and a gradual decrease occurred to which in 1995 based left the percentage the traditional stores at around 25% and in 2003 the reached 9%.<sup>68</sup> At the same time we have the rise of supermarkets and the onset of the crisis as well as the establishment of multinational shopping centers.

In Turkey also the social mentality of the economy is based in Islam and its roots go back to the Ottoman Empire. In the

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<sup>67</sup> It will be useful to remember that PASOK with the slogan “Change” comes to power.

<sup>68</sup> Βάλια Αραβάντου, *Το μικρό εμπόριο στην μεταπολεμική...*, pp. 87-88.

Ottoman Empire, as a reaction against to the Western capital which penetrated the economy, created a "solidarity funds" was created. Their main exponent was the şeyh of the Nakşibendi order Gümüşhanevi. Gümüşhanevi created these funds set up an independent socio-economic system according to the rules of Islam, which we have characterized them as "right". The pillar of this informal economic activity was the traders or small businesses. This independent way of thinking continued even after the foundation of Republic of Turkey in 1923. The dominant philosophy first of all was the philosophy of the nation-state, as expressed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Following the philosophy of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the CHP which we have characterized as "left". The "right" tendency ceased to be independent in 1980, with the rise of Turgut Özal. Özal, who is said to have been influenced by Gümüşhanevi, incorporated the "right" into the formal economic activity as the first thing he did.

The transformation was very peacefully and as I noted in my book:

"...As with the Ottoman empire, in the Republic of Turkey, religion determined the socio-cultural structure of society. That religious factor joined with the socio-economic structure. The most famous example is the Anatolian capital. Neo-liberalism, especially in cases affecting the Turkish economy and its socio-economic area, supported the Islamic movement and the economic backbone of the Islamic movement has led to the organization of Anatolian capital. The establishment of MÜSİAD<sup>69</sup> in the 90s was a high point. As the new situation took shape with, the AK Party, founded in 2001, Anatolia gained visibility in the capital economy of the socio-political structure. In the 2002 elections, the AK Party came to

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<sup>69</sup> The opening of MÜSİAD is "Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association". The time that founded the word independent expressed the "independency" from the state.

power. So the socio-economic structure was transported to the political structure...’<sup>70</sup>

Here we should notice a major difference between Hellas and Turkey. In Hellas the path towards transformation of the social mentality of the economy took the country through the closure of tens of thousands of small shops. In Turkey traders grew their business and gradually transformed the Islamic ethic of work to the Protestant ethic.

At this point we must ask ourselves why the transformation is taking place in Hellas in a “hard way”, through crisis, while in Turkey has become quite “painless”?

To be able to answer this question we should make a distinction between the Hellenic society and Ottoman/Turkish society. Hellenic society is a “cultural society” in Amir Ahmad Fekri’s definition:

“Depending on the geographical location of culture and lifestyle, in the evolving cultural societies there is a continuity and stability. The reason for the continuity of culture, conservation and immutability is: There is a quite tightly-woven weave and a collective consciousness in these societies. This collective consciousness, an ancient historical process, is developed as a result of the collective communication styles. With the development of symbolic and verbal communication styles of a collective class, the written language was developed’<sup>71</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup> Christos Teazis, *İkincilerin Cumhuriyeti...*, p. 184.

<sup>71</sup> Amir Ahmad Fekri, *Alevilik İnanca ve Sözel Gelenegin Yazılı Kültürel Beşiği*, Selçuk University, Selçuk Üniversitesinde yayınlanmamış post doc ödevi, 2011, s. 10. (Amir Ahmad Fekri, Faith of Alevism and the Written Cultural Ground of Verbal Tradition, unpublished postdoc paper, 2011, p. 10).

Based on this definition we can say that the Orthodox tradition is one of the largest components in what we call ancient culture. The baton of continuity and immutability of ancient culture was maintained by the Orthodoxy tradition. In relation to this issue, we will provide an example in this: Byzantine period and during the Ottoman empire the center of the community (κοινότητα) was the Church, so also in ancient Hellas the center was the market (αγορά) where there were statues of ancient gods<sup>72</sup>. Müller Armack stresses that the democratic spirit of the Orthodox Church comes from the demokratik spirit of the ancient culture and survives thanks to the Fathers of the Church who transformed this spirit into solidarity.<sup>73</sup>

Also we should highlight another parameter. When Hellas became an independent state, Protestant missionaries became active, especially in the field of education.<sup>74</sup> The involvement of Protestants in such an area, perhaps created, consciously or not, a Protestant way of thinking. We should not forget that one of the keys features of the Hellenes is the strong individuality they possessed<sup>75</sup>. Within the framework of the Orthodox tradition this

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<sup>72</sup> Γεωργίου ΗΛ. Κριπά, *Η Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Διαφημισεώς*, Αθήνα, Έκδοση του υπουργείου εμπορίου, 1978, σελ. 17-18. (Georgiou Kripa, *The History of Greek advertising*, Athens, Ministry of Commerce press, 1978, pp. 17-18).

<sup>73</sup> Γεωργίου Ι. Μαντζαρίδου, *Ορθοδοξία και Οικονομία: Διάλογος με τον Alfred Müller-Armack...*, p. 130.

<sup>74</sup> For more details see: Παυλίνα Νασιουτζι, *Αμερικάνικα Οράματα στη Σύμψη του 19<sup>ο</sup> Αιώνα*, 1<sup>η</sup> Έκδοση, Αθήνα, Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας, "Μάιος 2002",

ΠΡΕΣΒ. Γεωργίου Δημ. Μεταλληνού, *το Ζήτημα της Μεταφράσεως της Αγίας Γραφής εις την Νεοελληνικήν κατά τον ΙΘ αιώνα*, Αθήνα, αδημοσίευτη διδακτορική διατριβή, υποβληθείσα εις την θεολογικήν σχολήν του πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, 1977. (Georgiou Metalinou, *Question of the translation of the Bible in the Greek language during the 19th century*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Athens, 1977).

<sup>75</sup>A. Groiset, *Οι Αρχαίες Δημοκρατίες*, μετ: Α. Πάγκαλος, Αθήνα, εκδοτικός οίκος Γ. Φέξη, 1959, σελ 21-22. (A. Groiset, *The Ancient Democracies*, translator: A. Pagalos, Athens, Feksi press, 1959, pp. 21-22).

is personalized religiosity. We, for example, not often go to Church on Sundays, but can go any other day and time to "discuss" alone with Theos/Tanrı. On the contrary, in Turkey we have a collectivistic religion. This is seen especially during the Friday prayers, when Muslims pray in a atmosphere of "unity and solidarity" (birlik ve beraberlik).

As for Turkey; Turkey is a "traditional society"; Amir Ahmad Fekri defines "traditional society" as: "In other groups, in which of people distance themselves from the cult traditions, with no cultural background, with no connections with settled life, there are nomadic communities... In traditional societies adopted traditions, customs, rituals, habits and beliefs do not apply, such as in the case of continuity and stability, hit in this type there is change and innovation, with open and tolerant societies. Traditional societies can also very flexible and open relations with other civilizations and cultures"<sup>76</sup>.

This above-mentioned transformation in the socio-religious mentality of the economy does not mean they are ended all together. What happens is that there is a transformation of their mentality into one close to the Protestant way of thinking -in Hellas there is a tendency towards Protestant way of thinking in the Orthodox tradition; and the same is true for Turkey to.

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<sup>76</sup> Amir Ahmad Fekri, *Alevilik İnanç ve Sözel...*, p. 9.