

# Wine Production and Consumption in Turkey 1920 – 1940

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by  
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## INTRODUCTION

My master thesis aims to provide an insight into the history of wine production in Turkey through 1920 – 1940. In almost every work about wine in Turkey, the country is portrayed as a historical vineyard and wine country with huge potential of production thanks to its climate and structure of a large portion of its lands; however this potential seems to have never been made use of adequately. The global statistics of wine and grape production in 2006<sup>1</sup> shows that Turkey, like in 1930's is a prominent grape producer with the 4<sup>th</sup> largest vineyard area in the world (Turkey ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in the world for vineyard areas in 1930's) but still a low level wine producer.

Focusing on the Economic basis of the issue, I will also consider the cultural and religious aspects of the subject. I will make comparisons with the early 20<sup>th</sup> century production levels as well as production levels of neighboring countries, and look for explanations for the slow growth of an industry with huge potential. The reason for choosing this period is based on the fact that the foundations of the modern wine industry in Turkey have been laid in this period. The leading wine brands of the country of the present time have their roots in this period (Doluca, Kavaklıdere, Kayra and etc.). Establishment of the Monopoly Administration and the first state intervention in the sector also date back to this period.

The 1920 to 1940 period also carries many contrasts; within a little more than a decade the country lived up to a period of prohibition followed by a period of production of wine and promotion of wine culture by the state.

In the appendix, I have included a short description of vineyard care and wine production process which I think will be useful in order to understand the most

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<sup>1</sup> As per tables at the appendix G, p.117.

important characteristics of the industry<sup>2</sup>. I hope this will help understanding the constraints of the agents involved in the whole process.

I will first provide some background information including brief history of wine production in Turkey through the history, then talk about the influence of Islam and socio-cultural aspects of drinking in the society I am dealing with. Then, I will describe the economic environment, the influences of demographical changes and prohibition of alcohol and finally make an evaluation of the monopoly administration through 1920 – 1940.

In my research I could not find any work focusing entirely on the history of wine industry in Turkey. I used the reports of the Industry Congress in 1930, The First Village & Agriculture Congress in 1938, the Viticulture and Wine Congress in 1946, the statistical data from the reports of Monopoly Administration and State Statistics Office; which were not continuous for all parts of the period under question. However, I believe I was able to collect sufficient data to draw a general picture of wine production until 1940's and in the conclusion I will evaluate the influences of cultural, religious, political and economical factors that affected wine production in this period, based on my findings and interpretation.

I would like to proceed with some facts on the basic cultural and sociological concepts concerning wine and alcohol consumption.

### **Wine and alcohol, cultural and sociological aspects of drinking**

Among many different kinds of substances used by people from all parts of the world to get special sensations, alcohol has been culturally by far the most important and popular since ancient times. Not only a source of entertainment or a companion to

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<sup>2</sup> Appendix A, pages 105-107

low morals; it has been widely used as a ritual and societal artifact<sup>3</sup>. Drinking in English and *içmek* in Turkish mean the same thing; consuming alcohol.

David G. Mandelbaum gives the following description:

Alcohol is a cultural artifact; the form and meanings of drinking alcoholic beverages are culturally defined, as are the uses of any other major artifact. The form is usually quite explicitly stipulated, including the kind of drink that can be used, the amount and rate of intake, the time and place of drinking, the accompanying ritual, the sex and age of the drinker, the roles involved in drinking, and the role behavior proper to drinking.<sup>4</sup>

There are also a wide range of religious connotations of alcohol. All religions and even different denominations under the same religion may treat alcohol differently. While retaining a front place in Catholic religious service, Protestant denominations do not allow alcohol usage even symbolically in the communion rite. Among the Aztecs, for example, worshipers at every major religious occasion had to get drunk; or else the gods would be displeased. There are several similarities and differences between the alcohol cultures of societies, but we will not go into details of these. What we are trying to look in to is how the drinking customs and the reception of drinking are shaped in the society, so that we can understand the changes during the period we are dealing with. Mandelbaum gives India as an example for the statement, "As a whole culture changes, so do the drinking mores of the people change...Gandhi was from the ascetic tradition, and, when the political party that he led took over the government of the country, the ascetic mode was respected. In order to reach their ideal of a pure India, many of the political leaders were in favor of legal prohibition which came to be applied through<sup>5</sup>." As we will point out in chapter 3 which is about the prohibition of alcohol by the Turkish

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<sup>3</sup> David G. Mandelbaum, "Alcohol and Culture." *Current Anthropology*, June 1965: 281-293.

<sup>4</sup> David G. Mandelbaum, "Alcohol and Culture." In *"In Beliefs, Behaviours and Alcoholic Beverages, A Cross Cultural Survey*, edited by Mac Marshall, 281-293. University of Michigan, 1979. p.15

<sup>5</sup> (D. G. Mandelbaum Jun., 1965) p. 283

National Assembly, not only religious zeal or cultural hegemony affects the consumption of alcohol. The special conditions including class structure, war, invasion, ethnic tensions also draw or strengthen the current lines between those who drink and those who do not. As in the example of Turkey, people of different ethnic backgrounds or religion in the same country may in a period develop drinking a certain kind of alcoholic drink as an exclusive habit, making it a part of their ethnic or religious identity. In the last years of Ottoman State, wine consumption had been associated with Greeks of Turkey “Rum” and other Christians while rakı drinkers were more often with Turks<sup>6</sup>, while among the higher class cognac was more popular.

#### **Islam and Alcohol, Ottoman administration’s attitude**

The process of prohibition of alcoholic drinks by Islam did not happen at once and its implementation differed between different sects and periods. The first verse about wine in Koran, 67<sup>th</sup> (Nahl) of 16<sup>th</sup> sura, praises wine<sup>7</sup>. By the time, the tone of verses changes against wine and gradually the prohibition comes against *Hamr*, meaning fermented drink. First, excessive drinking is condemned (*Bakara*, 219<sup>th</sup>), then to be drunk during prayer and finally with the *Maide* verse, comes the strict prohibition against drinking alcohol, along with gambling, and divining arrows.<sup>8</sup> However, among the promised wonders of the paradise, a river of wine is mentioned in Koran (15<sup>th</sup> verse).<sup>9</sup> Although drinking wine has been prohibited, the punishment is not mentioned in Koran or Mohammad’s practices. Hadits on corporal punishment of 40 sticks during Mohammad and Abu Bakr’s reigns had been

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<sup>6</sup> Vefa Zat, *Biz Rakı İçeriz*. İstanbul: Overtteam Yayınları, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Doç. Dr. Coşkun Üçok, "Osmanlı Kanunnamelerinde İslam Ceza Hukukuna Aykırı Hükümler." *AÜHFDM*, 1946: 125-146. p.138

<sup>8</sup> Robert C. Fuller, *A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States*. University of Tennessee Press, 1996. p.7

<sup>9</sup> Jean-Robert Pitte, *Şarap ve Din*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005. p.32

communicated but it was in Omar's reign that the punishment of 80 sticks became the established punishment. Only Shiites were loyal to the older practice of 40 sticks. Drinking a little amount is enough for being prosecuted, but the only material proof of drunkenness is the stink, absence of which would declare the suspect innocent. Even if there are eyewitnesses, if the suspect arrives at the court sober, the case is declared lapsed and thus null. New converts or newly arrived Muslims may claim they were unaware of the prohibition and will be forgiven. Non-Muslims are exempt from this prohibition.<sup>10</sup>

Followers of Heterodox Islam in Anatolia and Rumelia have followed a different path. The Turkic tribes on their way from Central Asia and Transoxania had produced a syncretism of their pre-Muslim beliefs and practices with Buddhist and Christian traditions to create a more relaxed attitude for drinking<sup>11</sup>. Followers of Bektashi order used wine in their rituals and Bektasi poets recited poems on the sacredness of wine. Muslim subjects of the Ottomans in Balkan provinces; where Bektashi tradition had long been settled and the long tradition of relaxed approach to alcohol since *Sarı Saltuk* times is evident, have been regarded as more associated with drinking alcohol.<sup>12</sup>

We also see traces of wine production in Bektashi Tekke's in Anatolia as well; Faroqhi, in her book "Anadolu'da Bektaşilik", mentions several times that there were vineyards in the lands of the Tekkes. Although vineyards refer to growing of grapes for both consumption and winemaking; at the Abdal Musa Tekke near Elmalı, among the early 19<sup>th</sup> century inventory of the Tekke are a wine press and wooden

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<sup>10</sup> (Üçok 1946) p.131-132.

<sup>11</sup> Irene Melikoff, *Kırklar'ın Cem'inde*. İstanbul: Demos, 2007. p.22.

<sup>12</sup> (Melikoff 2007) p.24.



barrels for wine<sup>13</sup>. We don't know the level of production and whether it has been traded, but it is a sign that apart from the cosmopolitan big cities, alcohol drinking culture may have roots among Muslims even in rural areas.

Ottoman state has followed an unstable attitude in this context. In general, they followed Sharia which permitted production and consumption of alcohol by the Dhimmi; while keeping its trade and consumption away from Muslim neighborhoods and prohibiting sales of alcoholic drinks to Muslims. But there have also been periods of total prohibition, during the times of Suleyman I, Selim II, Osman II, Ahmed I, Murad IV and Selim III most of which lasted for considerably short time<sup>14</sup>, mainly due to the prospect of collecting the special taxes levied on the production and sales of alcohol. Production and consumption would continue in hiding during these times but continue as usual soon after the ban is lifted. The Muslims who wanted to consume alcohol would either use the underground taverns or like many janissaries try boza (an originally non alcoholic drink made of millet or wheat) after keeping it in the open for a while so that it would get fermented and thus contain some alcohol. Some would add opium as well.

On the upper hierarchy of Muslim societies however, drinking and partying were neither uncommon nor prosecuted. Baburnama, Ibnu'l Erzak's Tarih-i Meyyafarakın, Ibn-i Bibi's Selcuknama and Bostanzade Yahya's Tarih-i Saf tells us stories of Muslim rulers of Mughal Empire, Marvanids, Seljuks and Ottoman Empire drinking wine in court gatherings with attendance of poets, musicians and dancers<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektasilik*. İstanbul: Simurg, 2003 p.98.

<sup>14</sup> Fuat Bozkurt, *Türk İçki Geleneği*. İstanbul: Kapı, 2006. p.55-68

<sup>15</sup> Necdet Sakaoglu, "Sofrada Kurulan Meclisler." *NTV Tarih*, March 2010: 46-53.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SOCIAL SETTING

### **Brief history of wine in Hittite, Byzantine, Ottoman Eras**

Based on the Ivriz stele found near Konya, dated to 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, the production of wine was common during the reign of the Hittite Empire<sup>16</sup>. As further evidence there are wine cups and several stone reliefs from Hittites depicting grapes and wine vessels. Based on further research in recent years, we know that Hittite laws include articles dealing with vineyards<sup>17</sup>. They also celebrated the grape harvest as a religious feast (Zena – Ezen - Buru). Libation and giving wine as sacrifice to gods<sup>18</sup> were also ritual practices and are explained in detail in cuneiform tablets. There are names for different types of wine; such as young wine, old wine, sour wine, sweet wine, red wine, etc.

Although the real origins of winemaking is still disputable, almost all historians agree that the area including and between Transcaucasia, Zagros Mountains in Iran and North of Mesopotamia is the cradle of the cultivation of *vitis vinifera* and production of wine. Consequently both are thought to have travelled to Mesopotamia, then to Egypt and rest of the ancient world.

We know that wine has been produced continuously since Hittites in Anatolia; through the Ancient Greek times, the Roman and Byzantine eras and the Ottoman Empire. The Ancient Greeks, although not having invented it, sanctified wine by naming a god, Dionysus as the patron of wine in their mythology. Dionysus

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<sup>16</sup> During 1930's when the Turkish History Thesis was in full swing; in the introduction chapters of some of the books on grape and wine we read the claim that first wine in history was made by the Hittites who were suggested to be Turks originally. An example is: İsmail Safa Künay, *Şarapçılık*. İstanbul: Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü, 1946.

Hamdi Dikmen and Necati Gönençer. *Bağcılık*. Cilt 1. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1938. p.4.

<sup>17</sup> Ersin Doğer, *Antik Çağda Bağ ve Şarap*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2004. p 160.

<sup>18</sup> Sedat Alp, *Hitit Çağında Anadolu*. Ankara: Tübitak, 2001. p 101.

cult, along with the Bacchus rituals and the story of King Midas has roots in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace<sup>19</sup>. Wine production and trade was one of the top economic activities in Ancient Greek and Hellenic times. Wine of Chios and Lesbos were famous in the ancient world and wine trade can be traced by the amphorae found in shipwrecks in the Aegean Sea base. For the Ancient Greeks, wine was a staple and counted among the three most important ingredients of the diet together with olive oil and wheat. It might have been a daily necessity, especially in areas where water was scarce. The Greek and Early Roman way of mixing water in wine is the traditional way of drinking, because this way the workers could take small amounts during the day to quench their thirst, without getting drunk<sup>20</sup>. Most of the time the ratio would be 1/1 and during banquets large craters would be used to mix the wine and water, hence the word *κρασί*, meaning wine in Modern Greek.

The Byzantine era also was a time for large scale wine production. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-Saxon tradition, Byzantine was named Winburga, an Empire of “wine cities”. William of Ruckbuck, bought muscat wine *venom muscatels* as a gift for his hosts, on his departure to Caspian. Deriving from “moskhatos” in Greek which means “smelling nice”, this grape still has similar names in European languages. Chios and Lesbos were the prime sources of good wine, and protected their fame in the Ottoman era too; other areas worth noting were Misaim, Isaura (an antique city near modern Konya), Crete, Samos, Bithynia and Ganos in Eastern Thrace. Byzantine wine was an export good originating mainly from Crete; Malmsey was a kind of fortified wine, prepared with addition of higher alcoholic spirits to endure the long journeys to Germany, France and England.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Robert Krugman, *Dionysos*. Ankara: Yurt Kitap Yayın, 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Ersin Doğer, *Antik Çağda Bağ ve Şarap*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2004. p. 106

<sup>21</sup> Andrew Dalby, *Bizans'ın Damak Tadı*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004. p.76-77

Wine was the most popular alcoholic beverage all around the empire and Constantinople, due to the abundance of vineyards in the country and the simplicity of production methods it needed compared to other spirits. In Constantinople there was other alternatives though, the honey liquor which was more abundant in the Northern Europe during middle ages and the Phouska which resembled modern beer. Phouskaria was a kind of tavern where this and other beverages were sold.<sup>22</sup>

As described in the context of Islam and wine, the attitude of Ottoman authorities towards wine was not a stable one. But based on Islam's tolerance for wine consumption by non-Muslims and the opportunity of receiving the constant cash flow from taxation of wine, production and consumption continued throughout the Ottoman period. There were declines in production of wine at some earlier wine producing centers, though. Like Crete, where people gradually changed specialization from winemaking to olive oil production. But in general, based on tax records and the accounts of European merchants traveling in the Empire, Christian communities in Anatolia continued producing wine. Tavernier, a French merchant who travelled in Anatolia from Izmir to Persia with trade caravans several times in seventeenth century praises the wine he drank in Izmir, Tokat & Girne. He also tells a story where he and his companions drink wine during their stop for lunch nearby a small mosque, during the holy month of Ramadan. They manage to avoid persecution by paying small amounts of bribes to the janissary who brought them to the kadi in Scalanova, somewhere near Ephesus.<sup>23</sup>

An examination of Ottoman customs records from mid-sixteenth-century Buda in the Ottoman province of Hungary shows that there was an ethnic division of

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 80

<sup>23</sup> Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Tavernier Seyahatnamesi*. Edited by Stefanos Yerasimos. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006. p. 121

wine trade. "Of the merchant entries, 68% were Muslim, 26% were Christian, and 6% were Jews. Of those trading in foodstuffs, 97% were Muslim, 1% Christian, and 2% Jews. Of those trading in wine, 92% were Christian and 8% Jews. Of those trading in miscellaneous articles, 98% were Muslims and 2% Christians"<sup>24</sup>.

At the center of late Ottoman drinking culture stood the *meyhanes* (taverns) usually run by Greek, Jewish or Armenian owners, with servants from Sakiz (Chios) island. The location of taverns, to whom they served and the correct times and routes for carrying wine to taverns or houses were strictly fixed and kept under inspection. In 17<sup>th</sup> century, Evliya Çelebi gives the number of people working in the 3000 taverns as 6000<sup>25</sup>. Taverns can be found in large quantities in the following neighborhoods: Galata, Samatya, Kumkapı, Unkapanı, Cibali Kapısı, Ayakapısı, Fener, Balata Kapısı, Hasköy and in the small villages along the Bosphorus. The Taverns are regulated by the "Hamr Eminligi" meaning Fermented Drinks Trust which collects a considerable portion of the tax revenue from its headquarters in Galata. In 18<sup>th</sup> century, meyhane ownership was designated as an exclusive gedik among other trades.

A look at the tax records of Istanbul dated December 16, 1829; shortly prior to the declaration of Tanzimat reforms reveals a fairly high number of drinking venues even before adjustment of laws to ease drinking alcohol for Muslims. According to these records, a total of 554 tax paying meyhane's (some named şerbethane) are counted. There are areas where you can find Ottoman Greek, Armenian and Jewish shopkeepers usually with the above mentioned order of occurrence; from Besiktas to Sariyer along the Bosphorus, From Kadikoy to Beykoz

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<sup>24</sup> Benjamin Braude, "Venture and Faith in the Commercial Life of the Ottoman Balkans, 1500-1650." *The International History Review*, November 1985 Vol. 7: 519-542. p. 535.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in (Bozkurt 2006) p.65.

along the Bosphorus and Galata. The religious identity of owners are usually based on the neighborhood they're located. Jewish shopkeepers are prominent in neighborhoods like Balat, Tekfur Sarayı, Balıkpazarı, Cibali, Haskoy and Piripaşa. In Beyoğlu, Tatavla, most meyhane owners are Greek and Armenian. The total annual amount of taxes collected from these shops is 180,000 *kuruş*<sup>26</sup>.

Despite lack of promotion and any kind of governmental or regional control on the wine quality, Ottoman wines gained prizes in the international wine competitions of 1867 and 1873.<sup>27</sup> Three winemakers from Istanbul; namely Monsieur Prokash, Collaro and Nikolaidis were awarded Order of Merit.

Second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century is marked with the devastating effects of Filoxera insect which was carried by French winemakers who unknowingly brought sample vines from North America bearing Filoxera and cultivated in France. By the end of the century Filoxera eradicated almost all vineyards in southern Europe. As Ottoman lands were far from the first affected areas, wine exports enjoyed record high levels through the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century. By the time the European grape farmers discovered that American rootstock was not affected by Filoxera, and gradually the vines in European vineyards were replaced with American rootstocks.

In December 1881, the tax revenue and administration of taxation of wine trade was transferred to the Düyun-u Umumiye<sup>28</sup>. With the decree of July 1888, for the first time wine exporters were encouraged by a 50% refund of tax and kept

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<sup>26</sup> Ahmet Hezarfen, "H.1254'te (1829) Başmuhasebeye Gedik Olarak Kayıtlı İstanbul Meyhaneleri." *Tarih ve Toplum*, September 1994: 36-39.

<sup>27</sup> Haydar Kazgan, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Şirketleşme, Osmanlı Sanayii, Monografi ve Yorumlar*. İstanbul: Töbank Yayınları, 1991. p.178.

<sup>28</sup> İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü. *Şarapçılığa Ait Rapor*. Ankara: T.C. Ziraat Vekaleti, Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi, 1938., p. 14.

exempt from the 1% custom tax for exported amounts of more than 200 kg<sup>29</sup>. In April 1918 Düyun-u Umumiye changed the tax level from 15% to the fixed amount of 15 *kuruş* per Hectoliter. Later, in January 1920, Düyun-u Umumiye changed the tax level to 25 *kuruş* which stayed same until tax collection was taken over by the Republic's tax agency.<sup>30</sup> During Düyun-u Umumiye period alcohol retailers were responsible for paying another tax called "bey'iyye" which amounted to the 25% of the rental cost of the shop. This tax also continued during the Republic era. Du Velay explains that sometime in 1890's Düyun-u Umumiye suggested the government to take the alcohol production into a kind of monopoly, implement indirect taxes to move the tax burden from supply to demand side and promote wine production by decreasing taxes while taxing the high alcohol spirits at a higher level. This proposal was not ratified at that time<sup>31</sup>. 30-35 years later similar steps of monopolization of alcohol production and promotion of its consumption were taken by the government of the Republic.

During the Düyun-u Umumiye times, the import wines were being taxed 8%, creating a disadvantage for the local winemakers. Also, the report of 1938 which was prepared by the General Directorate of State Monopoly mentions that in this period wines with higher alcohol than 12 degrees were taxed extra per each degree, giving comparative advantage to import wines which were at 12 or lower degrees, while local produce usually had higher alcohol content. Haydar Kazgan also argues that, relying ultimately on its tobacco revenues Düyun-u Umumiye intentionally limited wine production; because both tobacco and grapes were cultivated in the same areas

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<sup>29</sup> Suut Doğruel and Fatma Doğruel. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Tekel*. İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı, 2000.p.118

<sup>30</sup> (İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü 1938) p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> A. Du Velay, *Türkiye Maliye Tarihi*. Ankara, 1978.p. 321.

and neighboring fields; higher demand for vineyards would lead to changing of crops by the peasants and lower revenue for the institution<sup>32</sup>. However Du Velay, in his book *The Fiscal History of Turkey* has counter arguments; he claims that it was Düyun-u Umumiye who tried to convince the government to make certain reforms in order to improve the quality of wines, increase the level of production and eventually the tax revenue<sup>33</sup>.

Düyun-u Umumiye also founded a nursery to cultivate American vines which were resistant to Filoxera in 1871 in Göztepe, Istanbul, and the first attempt to overcome the destruction of the insect in Turkey before it reached the majority of the vineyards in the Asian part. However this attempt would not prove to be successful despite producing a level of relief to parts of the vineyard stock<sup>34</sup>.

Table 1 Yearly tax revenue from Wine and Rakı

Year	Amount in kg	Revenue in <i>Kurus</i>
1884	65,388,507	9,726,688
1885	80,238,772	12,672,239
1886	107,374,660	13,414,134
1887	104,681,002	10,980,629
1888	99,503,935	10,846,212
1889	98,402,370	11,133,554
1890	88,213,954	9,889,381
1891	117,119,201	13,806,977
1892	91,768,009	14,176,319
1893	98,803,220	15,311,087
1894	78,630,090	10,244,498
1895	109,845,191	13,029,654
1896	101,416,201	12,639,337

Güran, Tevfik. *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997.

The table shows that there was an average of 92,007,951 kg yearly production.

<sup>32</sup> (Kazgan 1991) p.177.

<sup>33</sup> (Velay 1978)

<sup>34</sup> (Doğruel and Doğruel 2000) p 120.



In the First Statistical Yearbook, there is also a breakdown of tax revenue from wine among provinces and here we see that in 1897, Salonika (over 2 million *kuruş*) is taking the lead while Adana, Lesbos and Izmir (over 600 thousand *kuruş*) following respectively<sup>35</sup>. It should be noted that, although after the reform period Muslims have been involved with consumption of alcohol openly, the production of wine and other alcoholic beverages were produced mainly by Christians.

Table 2 Production and tax revenue of Alcoholic Drinks in 1896

Product	Amount in kg	Revenue in <i>Kurus</i>
Wine	86,132,328	7,736,157
Rakı	14,058,857	4,664,602
Brandy	31,708	14,833
Beer	1,193,308	223,745
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>101,416,201</b>	<b>12,639,337</b>

Güran, Tevfik. *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997. p.221

Table 2 shows that wine production is around 6 times the amount of rakı production in 1896. We will see later that in 1930's the two amounts will be similar although at a much lower level than of 1896's. The population decrease and massive changes in religious concentration can explain the decrease.

Table 3 Export Import Statistics of 1894

Product	Import (in <i>Kurus</i> )	Export (in <i>Kurus</i> )
<b>Alcoholic Drinks</b> (other than the kinds enlisted below, most of this amount should be wine)	<b>2,589,458</b>	<b>7,000</b>
<b>Grape Molasses "Pekmez"</b>	<b>61,997</b>	<b>234,329</b>
<b>Rakı</b>	<b>1,581,617</b>	<b>423,291</b>
<b>Beer</b>	<b>6,055,361</b>	<b>5,555</b>
<b>Ethyl alcohol</b>	<b>16,728,361</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Brandy</b>	<b>9,442,292</b>	<b>53,000</b>

<sup>35</sup> Tevfik Güran, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997. p.222

Tevfik Güran, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997. p.201

The table above shows that the import of wine is much higher than its export and the main item of alcoholic export is rakı while the greatest import is Ethyl Alcohol because there was no Ethyl alcohol production in the country at that time. From this table, we understand that a very high percentage of the wine is consumed domestically.

There are two yearly wine production figures reported in the booklet published by “Türkiye Ticaret Odaları Sanayi Odaları ve Ticaret Borsası Yayınları”

Table 4 Wine Production in 1904 and 1913

Year	Wine Production in Liters
1904	340 million
1913	41 million

Türkiye Ticaret Odaları, Sanayi Odaları ve Ticaret Borsaları Birliği. *Türkiye'de Şarap Sanayii*. Ankara:n.p., 1957. p.42

The decrease can be explained with the loss of population and provinces; as well as the ongoing Balkan wars.

With the “Tanzimat” Administrative Reforms and consequent Constitutional eras, the prohibitions and limitations on alcohol consumption relaxed and Muslims frequented taverns and from the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, bars where a new kind of drink, beer was sold were opened. By this time, also the principal drink of taverns, wine, faced competition from different kinds of distilled spirits which are similar to the current rakı; duz, duziko, mastika became popular, especially among the Turkish drinkers. The preference of rakı instead of wine would become evident during the

early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>36</sup> and rakı would eventually become the “Turkish national drink”, especially after the main bulk of wine drinking Greeks and Armenians had been deported or left the country.

The Industrial census of 1913, 1915 was designed to include alcoholic products under the classification of Food Industry; however due to difficulties of gathering information, with the exception of beer which was produced by a few large factories, the alcoholic drinks were left out of the census. The organizers of the census advise that the irregularity and unreliability of accounts prevented them from including these in the census. They do have some observations to convey about this industry though<sup>37</sup>. They state that the alcoholic beverages industry was working efficiently even during the war and there must have been an increase in production after the war times.

Ethyl Alcohol was still not produced in the empire at the time of census and the records reveal 12,874,962 kg of ethyl alcohol importation in the year 1913. 37% of this amount has been estimated to be consumed in Istanbul. They mention the approximate number of Rakı, Mastika, Brandy, Rum and dessert wine producers as up to 50, who make use of the ethyl alcohol import in their production. With the declaration of war, these companies faced a shortage in ethyl alcohol and many of them started producing this ingredient themselves or buying from newly established domestic producers.

On a separate note out of the tables, the production in Istanbul based on the records of Düyün-u Umumiye is enlisted by the authors as:

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<sup>36</sup> (Zat 2010)

<sup>37</sup> A. Gündüz Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayi, 1913, 1915 Yılları Sanayi İstatistiki*. Ankara: DIE Matbaası, 1997. p.34

Table 5 Production of Alcoholic Drinks in Istanbul, in 1914

Product	Amount in kg
Rakı	1,240,577
Brandy	70,401
Rum	15,735
Liquor	5,635
TOTAL	1,332,348

<sup>1</sup> A. Gündüz Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayi, 1913, 1915 Yılları Sanayi İstatistiki*. Ankara: DIE Matbaası, 1997. p.34

They also give an estimate that there are 8 alcoholic beverage producing companies in Izmir with a minimum of 10 workers.

However these evaluations are not reliable and should be supplemented with further data.

As a consequence of the 1<sup>st</sup> World War, when the Greek army occupied Izmir, a report was prepared for the National Bank of Greece by Trakakis in 1920, under the orders from the occupation authority<sup>38</sup>. A bias towards establishing a stronger Greek presence could be expected due to the circumstances of the times it was prepared. However the figures are of interest. There were over 174 manufacturers of every scale producing wine in Izmir area, all the owners were Greek and the production was entirely local. There were 45 distilleries all but one were Greek owned<sup>39</sup>.

### **Anti Alcohol Movement and *Yeşil Hilal* (The Green Crescent)**

Living in a society with people of different cultures and religions brought some challenges to the ordinary Muslim in the Ottoman society. We read from several travel writers on their encounters with Ottoman Muslims, especially Turks drinking alcohol, many times in excess, and finding excuses or making up pretexts to rationalize if not legitimize their drinking habit.

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<sup>38</sup> Çağlar Keyder, In *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire & Turkey 1500-1950*, edited by Donald Quataert. New York: State University of New York, 1994.p.134

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p.136

Here, I would like to talk about the early 20<sup>th</sup> century anti alcohol movement in late Ottoman society and Turkish Republic.

First of all, we have to make the distinction with the ordinary religious man whether an imam or a pious Muslim who is against drinking by law of God. This kind of criticism to alcohol drinkers have been evident since much earlier times, and will continue among these circles as the verdict in the book is clear about this matter. But the public opinion stepped back gradually from this line, as alcohol started to become more legitimized since the times of Mahmut II, Administrative Reforms of 1939 and finally the 2<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional period. This period has passed with the normalization of drinking alcohol among Muslims. In big cities especially Istanbul, moderate drinking has become the norm, and only excesses are to be criticized or condemned<sup>40</sup>.

The first anti-alcohol book was written by Besim Ömer Pasha, in 1888 with the name Alcohol and Narcotics “Müskirat ve Mükeyyifat“<sup>41</sup>.

According to Fahrettin K. Gökay, the modern approach to anti-alcohol struggle developed during the Armistice period<sup>42</sup>. A group of intellectuals, with doctors taking the lead, have written about their concerns about the debauchery and decadence inflicted upon the society by the imported spirits. This kind of sentiment is widely shared by novelists who used this period’s Istanbul as their setting. The Istanbul street scenery with the drunken soldiers and officers of invading armies in

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<sup>40</sup> François Georgeon, "Ottomans And Drinkers." In *Outside In: On the Margins of the Middle East*, by Eugene Rogan (Editor), 7-30. London: I.B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2002. p.26

<sup>41</sup> Prof. Dr. Fahrettin K. Gökay, *Yeşil Hilal Ne Yaptı Ne*. İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1932. p.4

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p.3

different uniforms, who interact with local people who lost their dignity and self respect, is a common theme<sup>43</sup>.

The first association to fight against alcohol was established by Psychiatrist Mazhar Osman in March 1920, only 11 days before the actual occupation of Istanbul. The members include Raşit Tahsin, Dr. İsmail Hakkı, Dr. Boğosyan and Baha Bey.

The occupation and the consequent independence war were just an addition on the traumatic events including the Balkan tragedy and WWI; all culminating into the rejection of a culture that prospered in the longer part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Objection to this cultural atmosphere, galvanized with the desire to establish a national economy by cutting the income channels of Christian subjects was one of the major motives behind the law on prohibition of alcohol as discussed in the related chapter.

Added to these motivations, were the public health concerns. Mainly comprised of medical doctors, the association supported the ban of alcohol on the basis of protection of public health. While the sessions were proceeding in the National Assembly concerning the abolishment of the prohibition law, the association supported maintaining the law, by writing letters, essays to newspapers making use of statistics and holding conferences. Understanding that the law will cease to be affective, they propagated bringing limitations to the access of youth to alcoholic beverages.

Dr. Fahrettin Kerim Gökay held the presidency of the association in 1922 and became the influential leader of Yeşil Hilal and a popular public figure. He engaged in polemical debates with the columnists about alcohol consumption, the rakı

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<sup>43</sup> Mehmet Törenek, *Türk Basınında İşgal İstanbulu*. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2002.p. 140

drinkers dubbed the bottle of a popular rakı brand as Fahrettin Kerim, based on his physical appearance resembling the short and fat bottle.

The association started to publish a magazine called Yeşil Hilal in 1925. The magazine issued articles warning public on the health problems caused by alcohol and advised that temperance is not the solution, complete abstinence from alcohol is required to avoid the evils of it. They followed the anti alcohol movements in the world and especially made the US case a model for Turkey. Criticizing the drinking habits of Europeans, they gave examples of the public awareness on this issue and the benefits US gets from the prohibition. The end of prohibition in US caused grief and the reason Gökay claims that the reason is economic, just like the case in Turkey<sup>44</sup>.

A polemic erupted between Yunus Nadi of Cumhuriyet and Fahrettin K. Gökay when the former supported drinking wine instead of rakı, citing a speech by French Minister Albert Saron in France where he praised the contribution of grape growers and winemakers in French economy as well as the benefits of wine to health<sup>45</sup>. This was one of the many articles that would be published, supporting lower alcohol beverages instead of rakı. 2 days later, Fahrettin K. Gökay replied saying both are equally harmful for health. In the Yeşil Hilal issues, he would support consumption of fruits instead of alcoholic beverages, to support the economy without disturbing health.

Maintaining that their objection to drinking alcohol was completely based on scientific facts, the association made showcase of non-alcoholic modern entertainment options, by organizing Green Days, every year. They rented a public

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<sup>44</sup> (Gökay 1932) p. 3

<sup>45</sup> (Nadi 1933)

boat and arranged boat trips on the Bosphorus and the Prince's Islands and distributed green banners, advising abstaining from alcohol for a day.

The association was partly successful in delivering its message, the youth branch of the association was established with the name "İçki Düşmanı Gençler" Youth Against Alcohol, the association was arranging lectures inviting international figures such as William Johnson of the World League Against Alcoholism<sup>46</sup>.

The pro-wine literature of the period is also basing its claims on scientific ground, citing ancient wisdom and modern scientific research; and praises the benefits of moderate consumption of wine to health<sup>47</sup>.

Table 6 Alcohol Consumption (drink) in years 1927-1930<sup>48</sup>

Years	1927	1928	1929	1930
100° Liters Per person	0,200	0,255	0,275	0,261

According to 1927 – 1931 statistics, the leading areas for alcohol consumption are:

Istanbul (41 - 45%); Izmir (11%); Ankara, Sivas, Amasya (4 - 5%); Tekirdağ, Edirne, Kirklareli (2,5-3,9%)<sup>49</sup>

As evident from the ratios, Istanbul is by far the largest consumer of alcoholic drinks in this period. Therefore, it can be suggested as the center of drinking culture in Turkey.

The table shows that the alcohol consumption through the years 1927-30, exhibited a fairly steady growth. The production levels of alcohol have increased

<sup>46</sup> (Sülker 1985) p. 157

<sup>47</sup> (İnhisarlar İdaresi 1944, vol 117) p.68

<sup>48</sup> (TC Başvekaleti İstatistik Umum Müd.Publication 1932) p.74

<sup>49</sup> (TC Başvekaleti İstatistik Umum Müd.Publication 1932) p. 61-63



considerably as pointed out in 6 and shows that the abstinence movement has not been able to turn this tide.

In this chapter, I tried to provide a general picture of wine production before the War of Independence and proclamation of Turkish Republic, also giving additional facts on the state of alcohol culture in Turkey before and during the period under question. The following chapters will be devoted to analyzing the factors that affected wine production through 1920 - 1940.

## CHAPTER 3: THE FIRST ASSEMBLY AND PROHIBITION OF ALCOHOL

Nature of discussions leading to the enactment of prohibition

On April 28<sup>th</sup> 1920, a member of parliament from Trabzon, Ali Sükrü Bey gave a draft bill for the prohibition of drinking alcohol to the First National Assembly. It took 6 months for the assembly to take a decision, and the bill named “Men-I Müskirat Kanunu” Law on Prohibition of Alcoholic Drinks, which did pass after the final vote in 14<sup>th</sup> September 1920.

At the time of discussions, the First Group led by Mustafa Kemal was the leading group in the assembly and the Second Group gained a major victory by this vote, claiming also a moral high ground, at a time when the country was struggling against occupation and neither of the groups had consolidated its structure and political program.

We will deal with the claims on both sides as this discussion sheds light on the political and social condition of Turkey in the beginning of the period under question. The formation and member profile of the 1<sup>st</sup> Assembly is worth noting. It is the combination of the *Müdafaa-i Hukuk* or Legal Defense Committees of Rumelia and Anatolia with the pre-elected *Meclis-i Mebusan* (Ottoman Parliament) members. The newly elected 349 members of parliament were joined by 88 members of the Ottoman Parliament. In the face of Greek occupation in the West and Armenian conflict unsettled in the east, none of the members were from either of these ethnicities.

In Turkish historiography, it has long been claimed that the 1<sup>st</sup> group comprised of progressives while the 2<sup>nd</sup> group comprised of conservatives. The personal backgrounds of 2<sup>nd</sup> group members have been brought up as evidence to support this claim. Falih Rifki Atay claims that the majority of the 2<sup>nd</sup> group was the

consisted of religious school graduate fundamentalists of “ulema” class, who were in support of theocratic rule<sup>50</sup>.

Ahmet Demirel, in his book “Birinci Meclis’te Muhalefet” argues the opposite, quoting Mete Tuncay’s work “Turkiye’de Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması”<sup>51</sup> and Eric Jan Zürcher’s work “Milli Mücadele’de İttihatçılık” on the subject. According to this revisionist approach, the main criticism of the 2<sup>nd</sup> group was to the strengthening personal authority of Mustafa Kemal in the administration. It was not a homogenous entity and it had members from different educational and political backgrounds. Contrary to claims that the ratio of *Medrese* graduates in the opposition was much higher, the real difference is 4%. There is also the fact that many *Medrese* graduates have also been educated in other schools including 7.1% high school and 8.5% university. In most other aspects, such as profession and age group, the two sides do not show a wide disparity.<sup>52</sup>

However, from the mood of the discussions in the assembly, it could be noted that religious conservatism was dominant among both groups. None of the speakers, including the opponents of prohibition could mention that himself is drinking alcohol, (although apparently many did) or make any positive comment about it. All speakers condemn alcohol for different reasons.<sup>53</sup>

In spite of this, the proponents of prohibition rarely mentioned religious motives, basing their defense on the issues of health, ethical concerns and economic

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<sup>50</sup> Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Atatürk Ne İdi*. Edited by S. Dursun Çimen. İstanbul: Pozitif, 2010.

—, *Çankaya*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 1969.

<sup>51</sup> Ahmet Demirel, *Birinci Meclis'te Muhalefet*. İstanbul: İletişim, 1994. p. 46

<sup>52</sup> *İbid.*

<sup>53</sup> Onur Karahanoğulları, *Birinci Meclisin İçki Yasağı, Men-i Müskirat Kanunu*. Ankara: Phoenix, 2008.

sovereignty. Ethical reasons were described in the context of gaining full support of the Muslim people in the hard times of national struggle.

Although not mentioned too many times, one of the main concerns could be that during a struggle with foreign occupation, it was assumed unthinkable to spend on alcoholic drinks produced by Greeks and European countries which were carrying on or supporting the occupation and the ongoing war. This argument also came along with the prospect of redistribution of wealth in favor of the Muslim businessmen. As Keyder mentions in his analysis of ownership in late Ottoman Industry, the Muslims who were the majority now had traditionally not been involved in industrial production except being workers at factories workshops owned by foreigners or non-Muslim businessmen<sup>54</sup>. Wine business was even more so; during the Ottoman times even after the Muslims were allowed producing wine, still it was more difficult as a Muslim to fulfill the formalities, not only because of religious prejudices of officials but also the comparative disadvantage against many of the fellow Greeks and Armenians who had the advantage of having the dual citizenship of a Western state, and hence much easier access to business permits.<sup>55</sup>

Before being discussed in the assembly, the bill has been reviewed by the Justice, Health, Economy and Sharia Committees. Justice and Sharia committees have approved the bill while Justice Committee although approving the idea of prohibition recommended delaying the decision as it was not worth wasting time in time of national struggle. Only the Economy Committee objected, recommending instead, a tax rise in alcohol consumption to increase tax revenue.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> (Keyder 1994)

<sup>55</sup> (Kazgan 1991) p.180

<sup>56</sup> (Karahanoğulları 2008) p.44

Ali Sükrü himself energetically led many of the arguments making convincing speeches which met with applause and cheers at large. The government tried delaying the vote several times seeing that the majority would vote in favor. The Minister of Economy made speeches opposing the law claiming that the urgent need for tax revenue, and the foreseeable destruction in the vineyard and winemaking sectors should be considered and only tax increase should be implemented. His argument caused even higher resentment in the assembly. Ali Şükrü in a later speech summarized the mood of the assembly as follows “everyone here is against alcohol. Even Minister of Economy and the Government who fear the approval of prohibition agree with us on the evil nature of alcohol. Because they are Muslim and they are human, they are for the prohibition of alcohol”<sup>57</sup>

Among opponents was a member of parliament from Bolu, Tunalı Hilmi. His children would establish a leading brand in Turkish winemaking, Kavaklıdere in Ankara in 1929.

When it became evident that the bill would be ratified, secondary concerns on implementation and scope of the law, and punishment terms started to be discussed. Some speakers from both opponents and proponents of the bill spoke against the implementation of the ban against Christians, either full exemption or being allowed to consume during religious rites were proposed, making use of verses from Koran and giving examples from Ottoman tradition of tolerance. However, the reply came from Ali Sükrü; who claimed that the bill was not put forward for Muslims only or based on the regulations of Islam anyhow; it was aiming the health and social benefit of the whole society. In his argument he made use of the prohibition bills enacted in non-Muslim countries; especially mentioning USA,

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<sup>57</sup> (Karahanoğulları 2008) p.47

Australia and Bolshevik Russia. With outright frankness he said, “The complaints of Christians cannot be taken into consideration, because America which they trust so much has ratified the prohibition bill. Armenians had complained to America. Now that they’ve accepted this, there’s no higher authority to complain.”<sup>58</sup>

He continued his argument with “...it is argued that 120 million kilograms of drink is being consumed, think of the revenue that goes to the pockets of Greek and Armenians...” His later statements and comments from other speakers underline the plans of using the prohibition as a tool to modify the current economical distribution.

In the end the bill was voted and accepted on 13<sup>th</sup> September 1920. The votes were split evenly until the last minute, then the chairman of the assembly voted in favor of the bill and it passed. It’s worth noting that the votes were split 72/71 and the number of 2<sup>nd</sup> group members was only 63 while the 1<sup>st</sup> group members were 202 and 90 were independent.

The new law included the following clauses:

Clause 1: In the Ottoman state, production, import, sales and consumption of all kinds of alcoholic drinks is forbidden.

Clause 2: Those involved in production, import, sales and consumption of all kinds of alcoholic drinks will be charged fifty liras fine in cash per kg. The beverage will be destroyed.

Clause 3: Those who consume alcohol in public or are found out to have consumed it secretly and got drunk will either receive the corporal punishment according to Sharia or pay the amount of fifty to two hundred liras cash or imprisoned for a period of 3 to 12 months. Civil servants will be dismissed. The punishments in this respect cannot be rejected and court of appeals cannot be applied.

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<sup>58</sup> (Karahanoğulları 2008) p.51

Clause 4: With the ratification and publishing of this law, all instruments used in production of alcohol are confiscated. The alcoholic beverage already in stock will be destroyed.

Clause 5: All kinds of spirits needed for medical use will be distributed by the Ministry of Health and its consumption will be controlled by the ministry.

Clause 6: Ministry of Health will determine the instructions on the consumption of spirits to be used for medical purposes.

Clause 7: This law is valid upon its publishing.

Clause 8: The ministries of Internal Affairs, Justice and Health are responsible for the enforcement of this law. <sup>59</sup>

There were other countries which enacted similar prohibition laws in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century including the Soviet Union, Mexico, Iceland<sup>60</sup> and United States.

In the United States, the Protestant temperament movement of 19th century shifted to “total abstinence” policy and as a result of their collective efforts together with the progressive movement who had other goals such as attacking the liquor industry as they saw it as a tool used by employers to pacify workers, and combating inefficiency; the Volstead Act was enforced<sup>61</sup>. It stayed even longer than the Men-i Müskirat and was repealed in 1933.

Apart from health and religious concerns, Harry G. Levine and Craig Reinerman stress the economic reasons in both enactment and abolition of the prohibition in US.

Just as World War I had provided the necessary context for rallying popular support to pass prohibition, the Great Depression provided the necessary context for repeal.

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<sup>59</sup> Turkish Version in the appendix B, page 108.

<sup>60</sup> Helgi Gunnlaugsson Galliher and John F. "Prohibition of Beer in Iceland: An International Test of Symbolic Politics." *Law & Society Review*, 1986: 335-354.

<sup>61</sup> (Fuller 1996)

Prohibition's supporters had long argued that it would ensure prosperity and increase law and order. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, prohibition's opponents made exactly the same argument. Repeal, they promised, would provide jobs, stimulate the economy, increase tax revenue, and reduce the "lawlessness" stimulated by and characteristic of the illegal liquor industry<sup>62</sup>.

It is interesting that the estimated amount of wine consumption increased due to homemade wine which was cheaper than smuggled spirits but much worse than the table wine produced industrially in the pre prohibition period. As a result of the prohibition years, the American viniculture was dealt a serious blow which made it possible for quality wine production only by the beginning of 1960's. Cultivated vineyards, equipment and trained personnel had been lost as well as a cultivated consumer market who lost the taste for good native wine.<sup>63</sup>.

Apparently, the process of prohibition in Turkey was much different from that of the United States; in fact more similarities can be found in the Mexican and Indian cases.

Unlike USA, where public opinion and social organizations such as Women's Christian Temperance Unions led the prohibition struggle; the prohibition rules in Mexico were imposed from top to bottom. "During the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) several states prohibited liquor production and consumption. For example, the state of Durango prohibited the sale and manufacture of alcohol and in Mexico City all pulquerias were forced to close down by decree. Sanctions for violating alcohol prohibition differed in kind, the most extreme being death in Chihuahua and

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<sup>62</sup> Reinerman, Harry G. Levine and Craig. "From Prohibition to Regulation: Lessons from Alcohol Policy for Drug Policy." *The Milbank Quarterly* (Blackwell Publishing) Confronting Drug Policy: Part 1 (1991) Vol. 69, No. 3 (1991): 461-494. p.464.

<sup>63</sup> (Fuller 1996)



Sinaloa”<sup>64</sup>. Following 1920, the prohibition laws in Mexican states gradually loosened and except some border states with USA, most of Mexico became free for alcohol production and consumption. This change is attributed to economic reasons; the new states, quite like in the Turkish case were in dire need of funds, and the alcohol ban in US created a huge opportunity for Mexican alcohol producers who could produce for local and through smuggling to US market without competition.

Coming to the Indian case, in their essay Fayeh and Manian argue that Gandhi portrayed the prohibition as a patriotic pursuit, explaining the political and ethical grounds for prohibition within the context of British imperialism.

Gandhi stigmatized the drink habit as foreign to India, blaming it on British imperialism. Thus, according to Gandhi the pursuit of prohibition was a patriotic pursuit that could be followed even as India sought its independence. While not denying that a few Indians had drunk in the past, Gandhi claimed that ‘if drink in spite of its harmfulness was not a fashionable vice among Englishmen, we would not find it in the organized state we do in this pauper country’<sup>65</sup>.

Supporting Gandhi's assessment, Fayeh and Manian argue that the British were much more comfortable with the increased Indian consumption of alcohol than with Indian use of cannabis and opium. The British government's tolerance for the increased consumption of alcohol within India might well have been related to the significant revenue brought in by alcohol sales. “From this perspective, Gandhi's argument that prohibition was patriotic made sense because any diminution in consumption, let alone a complete ban, would hurt imperial finances. Not only this,

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<sup>64</sup> Gabriela Recio, "Drugs and Alcohol: US Prohibition and the Origins of the Drug Trade in Mexico, 1910-1930." *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Cambridge University Press) Vol. 34, No. 1 (2002): 21-42. p.29.

<sup>65</sup> David M. Fayeh, and Padma Manian. "Poverty and purification: the politics of Gandhi's campaign for Prohibition." *The Historian*, September 22, 2005. : 489-506.

but the call for prohibition placed Indian nationalists in a position of moral superiority over their foreign overlords.”<sup>66</sup>

Coming back to the prohibition years in Turkey; for a country in war with occupation in its western parts and Istanbul, with few police to enforce the law, and with a government which was against the law in the first place, it can be assumed that the consumption did not decrease as much as intended, at least until the independence war ended. The taverns were closed down, but several of them worked under cover. Many people; according to rumors of the time including the Security Chief of Ankara, produced alcohol for own consumption or for commercial purposes. According to Falih Rıfki Atay<sup>67</sup>, Mustafa Kemal did not drink in public until he came to the newly liberated Izmir. Only there, he sat at a table at the Kramer Palace hotel and ordered his rakı. But despite the efforts of ordinary drinker to get his daily beverage in one way or the other, the overall production was dealt a serious blow.

According to *Ikdam* newspaper<sup>68</sup>, there were total 2023 taverns and beerhouses in Istanbul owned 80% by Greeks, 10% by Armenians, 5% by Foreigners and 5% by Turks. The newspaper specifically points out that with the closure of these, the Greeks in town will lose up to 50% of their business. We can assume there's exaggeration in this percentage but the mention of it underlines the sense of nationalism in the part of the journalists and the general mood of the times.<sup>69</sup>

In 1923, a commission was formed under the management of Istanbul Chamber of Trade and Industry with the aim of preparing a report to the Ankara government describing the situation of commerce and industry in Istanbul, and

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<sup>66</sup> (Fayeh ve Manian 2005)

<sup>67</sup> (Atay, Çankaya 1969)

<sup>68</sup> *Ikdam Newspaper*. İstanbul, January 30, 1921.

<sup>69</sup> For further literature on association of alcohol production and sales with national feelings and propaganda, please check the *rakı* advertisement in the appendix page 113. by Bakus.

making suggestions to improve it. The commission interviewed 104 prominent businessmen from Istanbul and drew a picture of the commercial life in Istanbul at the end of a decade of wars. Alcoholic beverage industry is not counted among the industries. The only related industry is Ethyl Alcohol production, which is explained in detail. We understand that as production is limited and quite difficult with the current tax levels; most of the Ethyl Alcohol in the marketplace is brought illegally, avoiding the high customs<sup>70</sup>.

### **Amendment and annulment of the law on prohibition**

In the enforcement phase, due to the strict nature of the law which was designed to dismiss attempts to resolve judicial problems in the courts of appeal, several times the individuals had to appeal to the Assembly to solve the conflict. The assembly had to discuss and in some cases decide to give clemency to individuals who were convicted unrightfully. Through its implementation the efforts of the government continued to lift the ban. With the prestige and power claimed by victory in the war of independence, the government finally brought the matter to the attention of the assembly again and in April 9<sup>th</sup> 1924 the prohibition law was amended to allow production by companies who acquire a license, the National Assembly voted with 94 for and 35 against the amendment. The prohibition law was completely annulled in March 22, 1926.

Among the reasons that led to the annulment of prohibition we can count the following:

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<sup>70</sup> Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasında Müteşekkil İstanbul İktisat Komisyonu. *Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasında Müteşekkil İstanbul İktisat Komisyonu Raporu, 1924*. İstanbul: İTO Yayınları, 2005. p.66

The prohibition had caused resentment among the political elite including Mustafa Kemal who was known to be drinking although not in public<sup>71</sup>. In the National Assembly sessions during the arguments on prohibition, even the police chief of Ankara was speculated to produce rakı illegally<sup>72</sup>.

The inefficiency in its enforcement had created a number of illicit producers who used meat grinders for crushing grapes, laundry basins for fermentation and gasoline cans for distillation<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, there were reports of great amount of contraband alcohol coming from Greek islands and Bulgaria<sup>74</sup>.

The main reason for lifting the ban can be suggested as the expectation of income for the state treasury through taxation and state production. This was indeed the only reasoning of the sustained resistance against the prohibition before it was enacted. Shortly after the annulment of prohibition, the monopoly was established and taxation started.

In summary, neither production nor consumption of alcohol was eliminated during the prohibition; on the contrary the production continued in unhealthy conditions, without producing any income for the state. It is also worth mentioning that one of the major arguments of the pro prohibition group was the transfer of wealth from Muslim drinkers to Christian producers and meyhanes owners; this argument was used once again during the sessions on lifting the ban, by Gümüşhane parliamentary Zeki Bey, who said “this amendment will once again be to the benefit Apostols, Nikolis...”. However, this time it did not find many supporters, apparently

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<sup>71</sup> (Karahanoğulları 2008)p.148.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. p.154.

<sup>73</sup> Müfit İter, *Rakının Tarihi*. İstanbul: n.p., 1984. p.8

<sup>74</sup> Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasında Müteşekkil İstanbul İktisat Komisyonu. *Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasında Müteşekkil İstanbul İktisat Komisyonu Raporu, 1924*. İstanbul: İTO Yayınları, 2005. p.65 and 157

in consideration of the recent changes that took place in the demographic structure of the country which left much fewer Christians.

### Effects of Prohibition on Wine Production

Table 7 Grape Production figures of the Aegean Economic Region 1917–1926

Years	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Amounts	33600	28000	25200	29780	33900	32200	33600	35000	30000	39500

Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *İstatistik Yıllığı*. Official Statistics, Vol.10 Publication no.142, İstanbul: Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938-39. p 251

We do not have the wine production figures of this period as obviously whatever produced was to be kept in secret; but we can see from table that the grape production did not fall in high amounts; there are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, a high percentage of grapes produced are sold as raisins or fresh grapes. A small amount was used for wine production anyway. Another reason could be the assumption of grape farmers that the prohibition would not last long now that the government was against it. Considering their vineyard as an investment that cannot quickly be revitalized once destroyed because it will take up to 5 years for vines to give standard product, the might have kept their vineyards. The traditional structure of grape farming in Turkey would also allow them because the farmers tended to cultivate grapes that can be consumed fresh as well as used for wine production; in case the wine business deteriorates, then they can sell their fresh grapes in the market. For this reason, the high quality wine production was not achieved easily in Turkey because the grapes for fine wine production are usually not fit for fresh consumption<sup>75</sup>.

Soon after the consumption and production was declared legal, a tax in the amount of 10 *kuruş* per liter was levied on wine. This level was preserved after the

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<sup>75</sup> Rıza Zafir, *Şarap Sanayii Raporu*. 1930 Sanayi Kongresi: Raporlar, Kararlar, Zabıtlar, Ankara: Ankara Sanayi Odası, 1930, reprinted in 2008, 244-262. p.248

Monopoly was established, adding on top an extra fee for wines with alcohol level higher than 12 degrees. In 1931, this addition was lifted and the flat amount per liter was decreased to 5 *kuruş*.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü. *Şarapçılığa Ait Rapor*. Ankara: T.C. Ziraat Vekaleti, Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi, 1938. p.21

## CHAPTER 3: DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS AND WINE

### **Migrations before 1923**

In the last decades of Ottoman Empire, the wars, forced migration and ethnic purification policies created mass migration of people in and out of the borders of present day Turkey. First the Russo – Ottoman war of 1878, then the Balkan Wars, forced migration and mass killing of Armenians, Greek - Turkish war and the consecutive agreement on compulsory population exchange changed the demographic structure of the country immensely. Two comparisons reflect the change in numbers: 1- The overall population within the current Turkish Republic borders fell from approximately 15 million in 1906 to 13,6 in 1927, a total loss of 1,4 million people<sup>77</sup>. 2- A common comparison of religious identity in population suggests that where the Christian citizens' ratio was one to five (20%) in 1913 and by the end of 1923 the ratio had become one to forty 2,5%<sup>78</sup>. The effects of this dramatic change in wine production will be discussed in this chapter.

Before the Balkan wars, in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century 2 million Muslims are estimated to have migrated into Ottoman lands from provinces occupied by Russia, Austria and Greece. During the Balkan wars 130,000 Greeks migrated to Macedonia, Greek Islands and Greek Mainland. A similar number of Muslims fled from mainly Greek occupied Macedonia to Anatolia. A total of 250,000 Muslims are estimated to have fled from Balkan Peninsula to Istanbul during the war<sup>79</sup>.

In light of reprisal attacks by fresh immigrants to minorities living in both sides after the war, a population exchange was discussed by Ottoman and Greek

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<sup>77</sup> (Keyder, Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar 1989). p.102

<sup>78</sup> (Keyder, Nüfus Mübadelesinin Türkiye Açısından Sonuçları 2005) p. 59

<sup>79</sup> (Aktar 2005) p.120

authorities first in 1914<sup>80</sup>. The suggestion covered the exchange of Greeks in Ottoman Aegean coast and Muslims in Greek Macedonia; however the project did not materialize due to the start of WWI.

Despite this, voluntary mass migration of Greeks either forced or voluntary, mainly from the Aegean coast to Greek Islands covering a population varying from 150,000 to 200,000 took place. Only in Cesme, in 1914 the Greek population of 40,000 people voluntarily embarked on ships they rented and were carried to the nearby Chios Island in two weeks time. It is worth noting that the ancestors of this population were Greeks from the islands who moved to Cesme in late 18<sup>th</sup> century and started cultivating vineyards in the area which was mainly covered with cereal crops earlier<sup>81</sup>. Their houses and land was settled by Muslims newly arrived from the highlands of Macedonia. Like the examples of majority immigrants we will discuss under the Population Exchange section, these people were from a very different geography and climate; consequently they had no knowledge of viticulture or other types of farming involved in Cesme area. The governor of Cesme points out these facts as well as giving interesting examples of lack of accommodation such as immigrants who fed anise seeds to their cattle. The new migrants and the government was hopeful of a return to their original dwellings therefore the housing was dubbed as “iskân-ı adi” or “tali iskan”; meaning simple housing or tentative housing<sup>82</sup>. General disorganization and lack of attention on the matching of immigrants and

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<sup>80</sup> Ayhan Aktar, "Nüfusun Homojenleştirilmesi ve Ekonominin Türkleştirilmesi Sürecinde Bir Aşama: Türk Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi, 1923-1924." In *Ege'yi Geçerken*, by Renée Hirschon, 111-160. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005.p.120

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. p. 123

<sup>82</sup> Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomasi Ve Göç:Türk - Yunan Mübadelesinin Öteki Yüzü*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2006.p.156



settlement areas based on skills and background of new settlers would become a pattern that would be repeated during the Population Exchange years.

Further to these transformations on the Balkan Peninsula and the Aegean Coast, in 1915 during the WWI the Unity and Progress administration implemented a countrywide plan to dislocate a great majority of the Armenian population. Although mainly populated in the Eastern part of the country, there were sizeable Armenian communities in almost every city, including Izmir and Istanbul. The severe conditions caused by forced migration on foot and several mass killings en route resulted with dislocation or death of half to two third of the whole Armenian population<sup>83</sup>. The Armenian population was estimated at more than 1,234,000 in the 1914 census, some sources put the population up to 1,700,000. The departure of Armenians from certain cities has created drastic losses in production and consumption of wine and other alcoholic drinks. Although the industrial production was centered in the Thrace and Coastal Aegean regions where Greeks were more densely populated, there was a significant level of local wine production in the Eastern cities where Armenians lived. According to tax statistics of 1897<sup>84</sup>; Adana, where a sizeable Armenian population used to live, a total of 71,884 kilos of wine was produced making it the third vilayet after Izmir and Istanbul, within the current borders of the then Ottoman territory. In Diyarbakir, where 60,000 Armenians were living for instance, a total of 153,840 kilos wine and 44,870 kg of rakı was produced in 1905<sup>85</sup>. With the loss of Armenian population, the related Missionary stations

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<sup>83</sup> Çağlar Keyder, «Nüfus Mübadelesinin Türkiye Açısından Sonuçları.» *Ege'yi Geçerken* içinde, yazar Renée Hirschon, düzenleyen Renée Hirschon, 53-72. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005. p. 58.

<sup>84</sup> Tevfik Güran, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997. p. 223.

<sup>85</sup> *Diyarbakır Sancağı Salnameleri*. İstanbul: Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1999. p.410.

were gradually abandoned as well. This also can be considered to cause some loss in the overall wine production as most missionaries are known to have vineyards and wine production facilities. “

Apart from the obvious reduction of demand due to population loss, the drinking habits of the lost population in question also have to be considered. The loss of Armenian population can be suggested to have caused a cultural shift concerning wine drinking in the areas they left as well, because these areas would rarely be repopulated by Balkan or Cretan refugees who were more accustomed to alcoholic drinks and drinking culture.

### **Immigration during Greek – Turkish War and Compulsory Population Exchange**

After the Mondros Armistice was signed in October 1918 population movement started with the return of some Greeks who had left during WWI to their home. The inner migrations continued with the Turks moving eastward following the advance of Greek troops and Greeks moving westward to the newly occupied land. Despite general public view which suggests the Greek population left after the Compulsory Population Exchange agreement was signed; the truth is that most of the Greeks left Turkey as soon as the defeat of Greek army became evident<sup>86</sup>, after being attacked or in fear of attacks<sup>87</sup>. Keyder puts the number of refugees who left Turkey in the end of 1922 at more than half million people based on the works of Pentzopoulos (1962), Ladas (1932) and Arı (1995). Memoirs of many Greek refugees were collected by the Asia Minor Historical Research Institute in Athens; many of these people were grape farmers and they had to leave their villages just about the harvest time. The grape was usually left behind or collected by Turkish

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<sup>86</sup> (Keyder, Nüfus Mübadelesinin Türkiye Açısından Sonuçları 2005) p. 59

<sup>87</sup> (Yıldırım 2006) p. 3

workers of the owners. Then, the vineyards are confiscated by the notables of the area or army commanders. In one instance; the accounts reflect that although the Greek owner of the vineyard in Manisa left it to his Turkish assistant grape grower, probably to act as a caretaker until their probable return; however the vineyard has been confiscated by a notable of the town in a matter of days<sup>88</sup>. On another account, the refugee secures protection of the army commander by offering him his 30 acre vineyard estate<sup>89</sup>.

The imminent result of the war was a bad harvest that year. But the long term affects were much deeper and diverse. Until fairly recent works of Arı (1995), Yıldırım (2006), Keyder (2005) and Aktar (2005) the population exchange has been considered mainly a huge source of problems requiring serious government policy for Greek side only, after all the estimates for Greek Orthodox immigrants is around 1,200,000 while Muslim Immigrants are estimated at around 400,000. With the lack of earlier studies on this issue, the mainstream domestic and international view is that the Turkish Government faced a much simpler task of housing and employment for the new comers, considering the much higher number of Greeks who left their houses, land and production facilities behind. The truth revealed looks quite the opposite.

I will investigate the influence of the war and population exchange on wine production under 3 categories:

### **Influences on Grape Production**

With the development of Izmir – Aydın and Izmir – Kasaba railroads in 1860's following two valleys along the Gediz and Buyuk Menderes rivers; these areas

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<sup>88</sup> Herkül Milas, *Göç, Rumlar'ın Anadolu'dan Mecburi Ayrılışı (1919 - 1923)*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2002. p. 56

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. p.52

developed as the hinterland of Izmir port and became the first centers of export agricultural production in Anatolia. Grape, raisins and fig were the top cash crops produced in the region and top export goods through late Ottoman and early Turkish Republic era. This area was the immediate occupation area of the Greek army and with its retreat it was quickly abandoned by the Greek population.

The houses and land abandoned by Greeks were fast occupied and confiscated by different groups of people including “harikzades” the people whose houses were burnt down during Greek occupation, the refugees fleeing from the East where battles with Armenian forces were going on, the Kurdish tribes displaced by the government and most commonly by notables and army commanders in the area. There are reports on ordinary people from Central Anatolia who traveled to Aegean towns for looting and Arı (1999) puts the number of looters at 200,000<sup>90</sup>. Therefore, in the period between September 1922 until the arrival of first Muslim immigrant groups from Greece, many of the houses and vineyards were already seized by the above mentioned people. This caused a lot of trouble in land and house distribution because the seizures of “emval-i metruke” were naturally not reported and appointed new owners would find out that there were people already residing in the houses they are entitled. This caused further trouble in the ill-planned settling program of the “Mübadele İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı”, a ministry specifically established for the task of administering the compulsory immigration<sup>91</sup>. Soon many of the vineyards ended up in incapable hands that were looking for quick wealth. In some areas, the

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<sup>90</sup> (Aktar 2005) p.131

<sup>91</sup> (Aktar 2005) p.130

government forcefully evacuated the occupiers; in others with the aim of up keeping of the vineyards and houses, the occupiers were asked to pay a rent<sup>92</sup>.

The planned evacuation of Muslim immigrants started in November 1923, 10 areas had been selected for settling, among the top 10 cities for new immigrants; the grape growing cities can be counted as Edirne (40,041), Tekirdağ (22,237), Izmir (19,920), Niğde (15,668), and Manisa (11,872)<sup>93</sup>. These cities covered the greater portion of grape and wine production in the country. Only in Izmir, 59,015 hectares of vineyards were distributed to the immigrants; with 6 to 10 hectares per household. The immigrants had been classified based on their talents and occupation and their distribution was planned accordingly. But the fact that most were specialized on growing grains and tobacco provided the task of targeted allocation difficult. Although the government tried to distribute the emigrants based on their farming skills, there was a huge deficiency in number of farmers who knew how to cultivate vineyards. Consequently tobacco production increased in areas with suitable climate and soil pretty quickly, but there were several cases where vineyards were uprooted and used for heating.

In December 1923 a small congress was assembled with the attendance of Western Anatolia Administration of Agriculture and School of Agriculture in Bornova. The congress discussed precautions on up keeping of abandoned vineyards and asked for either settlement of immigrants who know viticulture in Izmir and surrounding area, or educating those who don't know this type of farming, in order to avoid structural damage to vineyards due to inaccurate pruning. In some cases, the governors of certain towns went forward and applied the Ministry of Population

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<sup>92</sup> Kemal Arı. *Büyük Mübadele, Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995. p.119

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. p. 113

Exchange, Planning and Habitation asking the settlement of immigrants of a certain talent in their area. An example is the Izmir governor asking 1000 Cretan immigrants who know viticulture to be sent to Urla near Izmir<sup>94</sup>.

On the contrary, many of the Greeks originating from Izmir and surrounding areas have moved to Crete during the population exchange. In the years following this event, the grape production in Crete increased in a fast pace. Especially the Sultana variety they brought to Crete was very successful and the export of this grape type was recorded as follows:

Table 8 Wine Production in 1904 and 1913

<b>Year</b>	<b>Crete's Sultana Exports in Tons</b>
<b>1928</b>	<b>15,000</b>
<b>1930</b>	<b>14,000</b>
<b>1932</b>	<b>17,000</b>
<b>1934</b>	<b>23,000</b>

Oraman, Nail. *Bağcılık Raporu*. İstanbul: Türkiye Bağcılığı.III. Milletlerarası Üzüm, Üzümsuyu ve Şarap Kongresi, 1947.

Another point worth mentioning is the difficulty caused by sudden loss of a merchant group who were the main traders of grape export. As in other parts of the country, the merchants in Izmir were mainly Greeks and as a special condition for Izmir, Levantines<sup>95</sup>. This population fled and continued their business in the free port of Trieste and some Greek ports. Newly developing Turkish merchants were acting as middleman who collected the goods from farmers, but the real control of export and prices were in the hands of these merchants. In 1925, the Director of Izmir Chamber of Commerce Alaiyelizade Mahmut Bey prepared a report which shows that with the continuous support of the government, the export crops including raisins, figs, tobacco, olive oil and cotton has reached the pre war amounts. This

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p. 152

<sup>95</sup> (Keyder, Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire & Turkey 1500-1950 1994)p.134-137.

report has to be evaluated with a bit of reservation, as the aim is to prove that Turkish merchants have quickly replaced the Christian merchants. However, despite all the misgivings of the population exchange in grape production, we can say that the overall influence of it on wine production through grape production amounts has been minimal. As a matter of fact, the agricultural production has been the earliest to be restored, the trade would take some more time, until 1930's with the formation of Agricultural Credit and Sales Cooperatives; however the industrial production; including and more exclusively wine production would have been hit much harder.

Table 9 Grape Production figures of the Aegean Economic Region 1921–1926

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Amounts in Tons	33900	32200	33600	35000	30000	39500

Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *İstatistik Yıllığı*. Official Statistics, Vol.10 Publication no.142, İstanbul: Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938-39. p 251

As the table suggests, the amounts in Aegean Economic region did not change much, we can only assume that within years, using pruning method the type of grapes in vineyards could have been modified from wine varieties to table and raisin varieties due to the fact that a lower ratio of grapes would be needed for wine production.

We should also keep in mind that the grape production in Aegean region was more concentrated on table and raisin varieties, while the grape production in Thrace had a higher concentration of wine varieties, feeding the wine and rakı producing factories in the region. Thrace has received a high percentage of refugees (Edirne has received the highest number of refugees from Greek Macedonia and Tekirdağ is among the top 10 cities.) And tobacco production which was very little before the arrival of immigrants seems to have replaced vineyards in this area. In 1923, total production of tobacco in Turkey was 23 million kg, up to 2,5 million kg of this was

produced solely in Edirne. Tobacco harvest of only one year before was 2 million kg<sup>96</sup>. More than two folds of tobacco production were achieved by the efforts of newly arrived farmers from Greek Macedonia.

### **Influences on Wine Production**

I will use Izmir as a representative for the wine industry in general as it was the second most prosperous city before the war and has higher wine production than Istanbul. In the end of this section I will give brief information on wine production in Thrace as well.

Izmir's pre war population included Ottoman Greeks, Muslims, Jews, Armenians, foreigners and Levantines; but the Greek minority regarded the city under Hellenic cultural and economic dominion. There are facts justifying this claim. During the occupation, National Bank of Greece, under orders from the occupation authority prepared a report on manufacturing in the Izmir region<sup>97</sup>. Although the report can be considered carrying biases, as it was concerning a contested territory and establishing a stronger Greek presence could have been a concern. However, these figures can be taken into account.

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<sup>96</sup> (Kemal Arı 1995) p.180

<sup>97</sup> (Keyder 1994) p.134



**Table 10** Number of Industrial Establishments in Izmir by Nationality of Ownership in 1920

Nationality	Number of Industrial Establishments	Nationality	Number of Industrial Establishments
Greek	4,002	Austrian	6
Turkish	1,216	Italian	3
Armenian	28	German	2
Jewish	21	American	2
British	13	Belgian	1
French	8		

Keyder, Çağlar. In *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire & Turkey 1500-1950*, edited by Donald Quataert. New York: State University of New York, 1994. Quoting Trakakis Report

The report goes on to deliberate the fields of industry and gives the number of wine makers as 174, all Greek. The market is entirely local. There are also 45 distilling factories all Greek except 1 Turkish owned. As evident from these figures, the ratio of industrial ownership between Greeks and Muslims was not reflected on the wine sector, it was completely dominated by the Greeks. In fact the ratio for general industry was not much different for the whole country, the incomplete 1913-1915 census reveals that only 20% of the manufacturing sector was Muslim owned. Therefore we can assume that the consecutive wars, deportations, mass killings and population exchange resulting in a vacuum in the manufacturing sector in the country. This should be even more so for the wine sector as the community who left the company were the main producer and consumer of wine.

Another Greek source for the same period is an Izmir City Guide printed in 1920, translated and published in Turkish by Dr. Engin Berber. In this guide, wine is counted among both import and export goods. It mentions that Greeks own 90% of all industry and counts total 19 winemakers, all Greek owned; 4 of them producing

for export and the rest for domestic consumption<sup>98</sup>. Through the guide we see the advertisements of 5 wine producers, all Greek.

For a comparison, we can check the figures of Izmir Trade and Economics Guide, 1926, prepared by Sabri Yetkin. Here we see a table of trade figures which show an import of alcoholic drinks of 38,477 kg and an export of 16,100 kg; making export amount much less than half of imported alcoholic drinks in 1923<sup>99</sup>. The members of the Board of Chamber of Commerce are all Muslim except a Jewish member.

In the guide, there are 16 advertisements of Alcoholic drink manufacturers; all Muslim owned except 2 Jews. What is striking here is that the advertisements mention Rakı first; wine is almost always a secondary good. Six of these companies produce only rakı and not wine. Wine is exclusively made from the Muscat, a local grape variety.

Coming to Mürefte and Şarköy, located on the Northern Marmara Sea coast, these two towns had been producing wine since Byzantine times and by 1920, the population of Mürefte was comprised of 1000 to 1200 Ottoman Greek households and 300 Muslim households. Greeks were mostly dealing with grape farming and wine production while Muslims were involved in brick production and grape farming. In a 1927 dated official document concerning the conditions of tender on the sales of wineries following the population exchange, the situation of vineyards and wine production in the area was described as follows:

Before the disastrous years of Balkan Wars, the devastating earthquake of 1912 and finally the WWI; there were 40,000 hectares of vineyard and 107 wineries

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<sup>98</sup> Dr. Engin Berber, *İzmir 1920, Yunanistan Rehberinden İşgal Altındaki Bir Kentin Öyküsü*. İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1998. p.12

<sup>99</sup> Sabri Yetkin, *Ticari ve İktisadi İzmir Rehberi, 1926*. İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2002. p. 7

in Mürefte. The production figure for wine is mentioned as 13 million *kıyyes* (more than 16 million kilograms)<sup>100</sup>.

If we make a comparison with the Mürefte production figures in this document with the overall production figures we obtain from official statistics. The regional production amount is up to 70% of the total wine production in the country based on 1911 figures<sup>101</sup>. Some exaggeration in the regional production figures can be expected. In the continuum of the 1927 document it is stated that the production level of 1926, one year prior to the preparation of the document, the vineyard area had dwindled to 11,000 hectares and the production had declined to 500,000 kilograms.

There was little violence in the area during the war of independence, as the battle took place further away. The population exchange was also carried out peacefully, taking 3 months<sup>102</sup>. Following the population exchange the wineries were sold to the wine producers of the region, the largest of them being Ali Paşazade Ahmet Effendi, father of Doluca's founder Nihat A. Kutman. The document states that the payment will be made through 8 years by the new owners. There are criticisms that the timing of tender was driving out the grape growers who were in need of money in the harvest time, and thus lowering the sales prices of the wineries. The attempt by Ahmet Effendi's relatives to buy several wineries is also among the concerns. It is also understood that the local producers and notables wrote petitions

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<sup>100</sup> Devlet Arşivleri. "Emval-i Metruke, Belge no 30.10.171.187.13 ." *Mürefte'de satışa konulan şarap ve rakı fabrikalarının Tekirdağ ve İstanbul'daki Mübadillere verilmesinin engellenmesine dair yazının takdiri*. 09 03, 1927.

<sup>101</sup> TC Başvekaleti İstatistik Umum Müd.Publication. *Devlet İnhisar İdareleri ve İnhisar Maddeleri İstatistiği*. Ankara: TC Başvekaleti İstatistik Umum Müd. Neşriyatı, 1932. p.64

<sup>102</sup> Y. Can Özturgut, *Yağmalanan Belde; Şarköy - Mürefte*. Tekirdağ: Kent Matbaası, 1985. p.93

to the government to prevent the application of emigrants (of the population exchange) settled in Istanbul and Tekirdağ for the tender.

Eventually, it was in this region that the first major private wine manufacturers flourished and the first state owned wine factory was opened in 1930. Among the reasons for this we can count; the availability of wine grape growing vineyards and equipment in the abandoned wineries, skilled workforce, cultural affinity of local Muslims to wine production and the ease of transportation from the area to Istanbul, where there still is a sizeable Christian community exempt from population exchange as well as wine consuming Muslims. The area experienced difficult times in the end of 1920's and beginning of 1930's due to filoxera.

### **Social & Cultural Influences**

We should make a brief point on the influence of the acute demographic changes that took place in the Ottoman society which evolved into the Turkish Nation through a turbulent period. Keyder claims that the evolution of Turkish bourgeoisie is characterized by the transfer of capital -mostly under informal and illegal conditions- from the mostly Christian Ottoman bourgeoisie. This kind of transfer has created a less autonomous bourgeoisie, continuously craving for the legitimization of the bureaucracy. Unlike their predecessors, they also lacked the support of foreign powers, making it difficult for them to organize an autonomous political line or opposition.

Since the beginning of CUP era, bigger Anatolian towns had turned into trade centers; with their clubs, concert halls, elegant stone houses; the newly born bourgeoisie and educated middle classes were making progress in economical and social aspects. Muslims had been stagnant in face of this new social structure. Therefore, the inevitable outcome of the

population exchange was the departure of the economically and socially most modernized section of the population from the country<sup>103</sup>

We should underline the fact that quality wine consumption is the convention of modernized, mid to high income classes. Lack of this social structure diminishes chances of a large, quality wine making industry, unless it is export oriented, as in the case of Algeria. It is worth mentioning that, in the absence of an autonomous bourgeoisie, drinking wine in public would become a fashion by the end of 1920's especially during state receptions as the higher bureaucracy was keen on acting as the trend setters who had the responsibility to westernize the public; and drinking wine was regarded as a sign of observance of western values.

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<sup>103</sup> (Keyder, Nüfus Mübadelesinin Türkiye Açısından Sonuçları 2005) p.64

## CHAPTER 4: ECONOMIC POLICIES OF TURKISH STATE BETWEEN 1920-40 AND REFLECTIONS ON GRAPE AND WINE PRODUCTION

### **Economic Developments in Turkey between two World Wars**

I believe a brief description of developments in Turkish economy in the mentioned period will help us put the government policy about wine production into context.

Turkish Economy suffered deeply through the period from 1912 till 1945 due to ongoing wars, which the country was actively involved except the Second World War. The countryside was devastated and as a consequence new borders were drawn; vast demographic changes occurred and the imperial body reorganized as a nation state. I will use the facts and data from Sevket Pamuk's article "Interventions during the Great Depression" featured in the book *Mediterranean Response to Globalization before 1950*<sup>104</sup>, Çağlar Keyder's *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*<sup>105</sup>, Korkut Boratav's Economic History articles in the *Türkiye Tarihi vol. 4*<sup>106</sup> and İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin's *Cumhuriyetin Harcı*<sup>107</sup>

Total casualties through the 1913-1923 period including Muslim, Greek and Armenians in the same geography as present day Turkish Republic is estimated at close to 3 million. Following this period, the population exchange resulted with an additional loss of up to 800,000 people, an important percentage of whom were the skilled labor and better educated part of the entire population. The short term

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<sup>104</sup> Şevket Pamuk. "Intervention During the Great Depression." In *Mediterranean Response to Globalization Before 1950*, by Şevket Pamuk, 321-339. London: Routledge, 2000.

<sup>105</sup> Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*. İstanbul: İletişim, 1989.

<sup>106</sup> Korkut Boratav. *İktisat Tarihi 1908-1980*. Vol. 4, in *Türkiye Tarihi, Çağdaş Türkiye 1908-1980*, edited by Sina Akşin, 265-303. İstanbul: Cem, 1997.

<sup>107</sup> İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin. *Cumhuriyetin Harcı*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

economic outcome of this depopulation in a country relying on agricultural production was bitter, due to a surplus of land and shortage of labor. However, the consequent recovery after the wars was also quite strong and provided to be resilient enough to maintain sustainable growth even in the worst years of depression.

Figure 1 GDP Per Capita in Turkey, 1907-1950 (in 1990 PPP dollars)

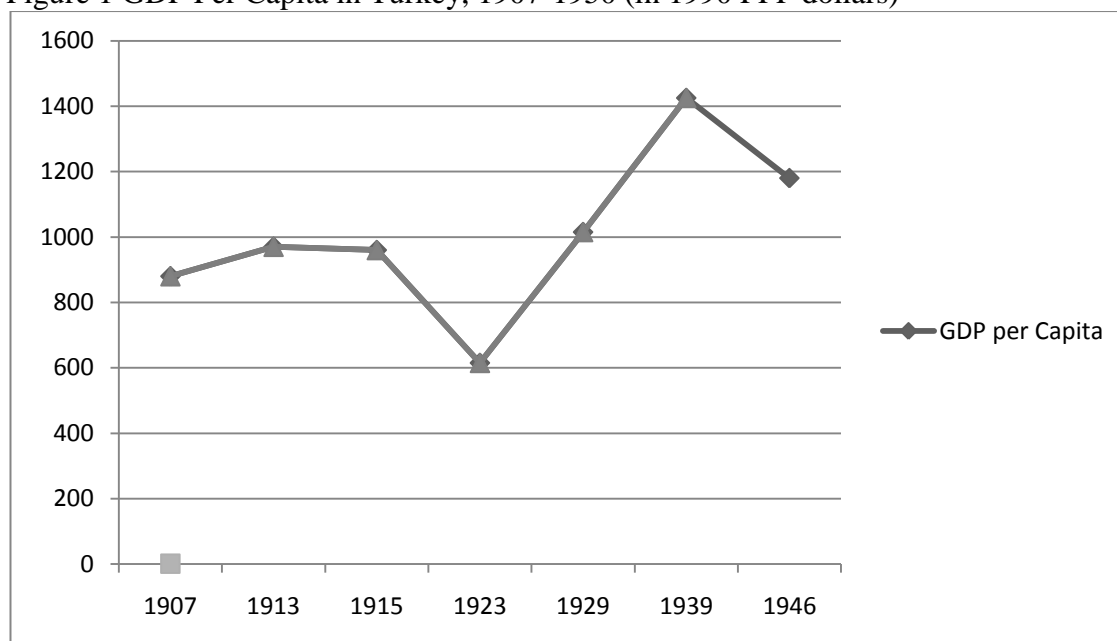


Table 11 Turkey's Basic Economic Indicators 1923-1946

	1923	1929	1939	1946
Population in millions	13	14	17,5	19
Share of Agriculture in Labor Force	n/a	80	77	77
GNP Per Capita in 1999 PPP dollars	615	1015	1425	1180
Share of Agriculture in GNP (per cent)	40	52	39	46
Share of Manufacturing in GNP (per cent)	12	9	17	13

Pamuk's<sup>108</sup> sources for both the Figure and Table: Calculations based on Turkey, State Institute of Statistics (1994); Bulutay et al. (1974) and for the conversion to 1990 PPP dollars, Maddison (1995:184– 185). The Bulutay et al. estimates for the growth rates of manufacturing output and other related aggregates for 1929– 39 were revised downwards following the calculations by Zendisayek (1997: Ch. 4).

<sup>108</sup> (Pamuk, Intervention During the Great Depression 2000) p. 326

The depopulation was not evident only in the countryside; the population of Istanbul, the industrial and trade center of the country fell considerably as well.

From the pre WWI numbers of 1,200,000 to 674,000 in 1927; flour consumption in Istanbul also fell from 5000 sacks to 3500 sacks in the same time frame<sup>109</sup>. A similar, if not worse picture is valid for Izmir. The population of the Vilayet of Aydın which includes Izmir fell from 1,6 million to 1,3 million<sup>110</sup>. It's also worth mentioning that in both cities the people who went were among the most qualified in the present labor force. In the agriculture sector which dominated the economy, a loss of more than 50% from 1911 to 1923 is estimated<sup>111</sup>.

The cultural revival developing in the smaller towns of Anatolia with the formation of a local bourgeoisie comprised mainly of the Christian minorities in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century faded away with the departure of Greeks and Armenians. The trade became more centralized in Istanbul and Izmir, with Ankara being an exceptional center of growth in Anatolia.

The emigrations left behind huge amounts of abandoned property and land, which were confiscated, bought or rented by local notables, bureaucrats or soldiers throughout the country. Due to need for continuous approval and legitimization from the state, a new type of national bourgeoisie which exceptionally had to be in good terms with the state authority was in the process of formation. The departure of the non-Muslim bourgeoisie also resulted with increased foreign investment and presence in the economy. Quoting from G. Ökçün's book *1920-1930 yılları arasında Kurulan Türk Anonim Şirketlerinde Yabancı Sermaye Sorunu*, Ankara, 1971; Keyder

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<sup>109</sup> Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasında Müteşekkil İstanbul İktisat Komisyonu. *Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasında Müteşekkil İstanbul İktisat Komisyonu Raporu, 1924*. İstanbul: İTO Yayınları, 2005. p.205

<sup>110</sup> (Keyder, Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar 1989)p.103

<sup>111</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p.74



argues that the amount of investment by foreign capital in the industry between 1923-1929 is twice the amount by local entrepreneurs<sup>112</sup>. This is related to the policy of the government, which continues the traditional policy of CUP which favored partnerships between foreign and local entrepreneurs rather than direct foreign investment. The nature of these partnerships was usually based on bringing foreign financial capital together with social capital of the local bureaucrats or businessmen who have close relations with government circles.

In 1923, First Economic Congress convened in Izmir with the representation of 1100 delegates classified in four groups based on professions; tradesmen, industrialists, farmers and workers. Boratav argues that the decisions taken in the congress resembled a continuation of the *Milli İktisat* (National Economy) policy of the CUP era. The local and foreign capitalists as well as farmers who produced export crops were favored, while a mild protectionism was provisioned.

The congress was organized in the prohibition period, and probably due to this I could find no mention of wine production in the speeches concerning Agriculture and Industry.

Among the topics were the importance of economic independence and call for protection of local industry. Although the program was quite liberal, main infrastructure investments rested on the governments' shoulders. Especially building railroads was among the top priorities of the government, in order to create economic and political unity in the country.

As a result, the government initiated a liberal economy, with little state intervention until 1929. The government only took action to assist private sector, providing credits to industrial and agricultural sectors. Industrialization and creation

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<sup>112</sup> (Keyder, Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar 1989) p. 121

of a Turkish Bourgeoisie which was aimed by consecutive administrations using different methods under the “National Economy” banner was assumed as the key to development of the country.

The economic policy between 1923 and 1929 was constrained by the limitations of the Lausanne Treaty on custom regulations. The tariffs would be frozen at the level of 1916 until 1929. Differential rates of excise taxes on imported and locally produced commodities were not allowed. Also, no quotas could be implemented on foreign trade, except for government monopolies for revenue purposes. Also, the first installment of the payments to settle Ottoman era debt would be due in 1929.

Under these circumstances, autonomous policy planning and implementation would be hard to consider for the government. Although this obligation limited the extent of protectionist policies; there was an escape clause which enabled the government to establish state monopoly on import and production of certain goods and overprice these goods to increase state revenue. This opened the way to nationalization of some industries, and emergence of a pattern. The state would nationalize a certain sector or importation of a good and then pass the monopoly rights to a local or foreign company or partnership which would be able to make a high amount of profit. This pattern was evident in the following sectors; matches and lighters, alcohol, oil imports, gunpowder and four port administrations<sup>113</sup>.

Likewise, following the establishment of monopoly in alcohol production and sales; the monopoly rights were indeed awarded to a corporation formed by İş Bank and a Polish company, in return for payments to be made in a one year period and special regulations to be followed.

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<sup>113</sup> (Boratav 1997) p.280

The annual growth in industry sector for the pre depression period is calculated as 8.5% which indeed is a high percentage. The growth in numbers is attributed to return of male population from battlefields to workplaces and easing of the difficulties in providing raw material during war time. Hence, this period is regarded as a reconstruction period rather than industrial development by Boratav. The structure of the industry is quite similar to the late Ottoman years, still based on small manufacturers with less than 4 workers and great majority specialized in food, textile and leather sectors with similar percentages; 89% in 1913 and 87% in 1927<sup>114</sup>.

The main source of capital for the private sector is banking<sup>115</sup>. With up to 28 private banks established since 1920, only Is bank, initiated by Mustafa Kemal in 1924 and managed by Celal Bayar had nationwide branches.

In 1927, the law on Encouragement of Industry “*Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu*” was enforced. This was similar to CUP’s 1913 law carrying the same name. Based on criteria, this law provided free land, raw material, tax exempt at different levels to the applying companies. The statistics show that in 1932 there were 11 and in 1933 there were 14 companies who had applied for the benefits of this law<sup>116</sup>. By 1939, a quarter of all workers in the industry were being employed by companies who benefited from this law<sup>117</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> (Boratav 1997) p.288

<sup>115</sup> Mustafa Türkeş, "A Patriotic Leftist Development, the Turkish Kadro Movement." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* , Vol 33, No. 1 Feb 2001: 91-114.p. 93

<sup>116</sup> Müdürlüğü, Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel. *Başbakanlık İstatistik Gen. Müd. Sanayi İstatistikleri, Teşviki Sanayi Kanunundan İstifade Eden Müesseselerin 1936-41 Yılları Faaliyetleri*. Official Statistics, Ankara: Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü, 1945.

<sup>117</sup> (Keyder, Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar 1989) p. 132

In the aggregate however, still the main and leading sector of economy is agriculture. With an annual growth of 16,2% in pre depression period, the agriculture sector provided the basis for the overall growth of 10,9% in the economy.

This high growth rate is explained by three factors; the return of male population back to their farmlands, the utilization of idle capacity following the migrations and the abolition of tithe.

The abolition of tithe in 1925 is suggested by Pamuk<sup>118</sup>, Keyder and Boratav to have created an increase in output levels in agriculture. Pamuk says “Most importantly, the abolition of the tithe in 1924 may have contributed to the recovery of the family farm by improving the welfare of small and medium-sized producers and helping them to expand the area under cultivation or to raise yields.”

Boratav made further analysis on the abolition of tithe, where he explains that tithe income constituted 22% of the 1924 budget and abolition of it transferred a sizeable income from consumers living in the cities to the farmer households, by increasing consumption taxes to compensate for the loss in revenue<sup>119</sup>.

As explained above, according to the Lausanne Peace Treaty there were some restrictions on economy; the fulfillment of term, coinciding with the depression in 1929, provided legitimacy and autonomy for the government to change the tracks of economic policy.

### **Economy Policy during the Great Depression**

Even before the Great Depression was felt, the government was in search of policies to stimulate growth. Sakir Kesebir, a parliamentary from Edirne prepares an

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<sup>118</sup> (Pamuk, Intervention During the Great Depression 2000) p 326

<sup>119</sup> (Boratav 1997) p.289

investment plan which would not be implemented due to the start of depression. This plan would later be used in preparing the first Five-year industrialization plan.

When the depression hit, the Turkish Economy was in the following conditions:

- 1- An economy relying heavily on agricultural products and foreign finance.
- 2- Set to pay the first installment of the Ottoman debt.
- 3- An economy whose mining, social security, banking, infrastructure and railroad sectors are managed by foreign companies<sup>120</sup>.

With the depression, the deflation hit especially agricultural products, consequently Turkey's foreign trade rates and domestic trade rates of agricultural products declined considerably. Prices of the leading export crops; raisins, tobacco, hazelnuts and cotton declined at an average of 50% and recovered only after a decade<sup>121</sup>. Despite continuous increase in annual output levels, the real incomes of most market oriented agricultural producers fell sharply. Grape prices fell from 4,7 to 3,00 *kuruş* per kg through the years 1929 to 1934<sup>122</sup>. The price decline for grapes could have created a more favorable environment for winemakers, however, the task of selling wine in the global depression environment and with complete lack of connections should have been difficult. On the other hand this period created an unfavorable environment for capital accumulation by grape farmers, some of whom might have invested in wine making, should the grape prices were higher and created an extra income.

These policy measures were naturally disliked by the big landowners who were partners in the ruling block with the trade bourgeoisie whose ranks were swollen with the recent inclusion of rich bureaucrats. However the state had little

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<sup>120</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p.244

<sup>121</sup> (Pamuk, Intervention During the Great Depression 2000) p. 328

<sup>122</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010)p.246

maneuverability due to lack of sources to compensate for the price declines in the international markets. Government protection to agriculture was limited to avoiding deflation of prices below international level and containing seasonal fluctuations.

The fact that trade bourgeoisie had lost considerable power with the emigration of Greek tradesman and running their business from free ports like Trieste now, gave extra power of autonomy to the government. The industrial bourgeoisie was even less strong making government intervention easier.

In response to the depression, as soon as the restrictions of the Lausanne Treaty on commercial policy ended, the government issued new regulations increasing average on imports of foodstuff and manufactured consumer goods from 13 to 16 percent in 1929, and up to 60 percent by the second half of 1930's<sup>123</sup>.

The depression provided the basis for autonomous government intervention in the market. Having experienced a period of liberal policies with low profile intervention; the government's new policy choice in response to the depression was a form of import substitution; which advocated protectionism against consumption commodities, while keeping the customs for investment goods like machinery low. With this policy two balances were aimed to be achieved; exchange rates, by protecting the value of Turkish *Liras*. And balance of payments, to avoid budget deficit.

Among the measures taken to protect the currency and facilitate monetary policy were the implementation of Law on Protection of Turkish Liras and establishment of a Central Bank. Pamuk argues that although seemingly Keynesian, the fact that the government did not let Turkish Lira depreciate so that Turkish exports gained advantage deviates from Keynesian approach.

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<sup>123</sup> (Pamuk, Intervention During the Great Depression 2000) p. 328

The concern for trade deficits and balance of payments problem moved the government increasingly toward clearing and barter agreements and bilateral trade. By 1935, more than 80 percent of the country's foreign trade was being materialized under clearing and reciprocal quota systems.

The immediate beneficiaries of the import substitution policies were the small and medium scale manufacturers dealing with textile, flour, brick factories, tanneries and glassworks. The average growth of this manufacturing sector is estimated at 6,3 percent during the 1929-33 period<sup>124</sup>.

However, the immediate results of the new policies and the effects of the Great Depression were not favorable for the majority of the population, mainly the cash croppers who produced for exports in the western part of the country, along the Eastern Black Sea region and also the big land owners in cotton growing Adana.

Table 12 Turkey's Agricultural Production and Prices 1928-1946<sup>125</sup>

	1928-9	1932-3	1938-9	1945-6
Internal terms of trade Agricultural prices/non agricultural prices	100	69	81	95
Prices of non-cereal crops/non agricultural prices	100	90	104	109
Cereal Prices/non agricultural prices	100	55	57	80

As the table suggests, the internal terms of trade particularly for cereals but in general for all agricultural products declined considerably until the end of WWII.

It's worth noting that the Income Substitution policies which were followed in étatism era were supported by a group of intellectuals who were writing for the monthly Kadro magazine. Kadro was published between 1932 and 1934, by the

<sup>124</sup> (Pamuk, Intervention During the Great Depression 2000) p. 329

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. p. 329

following team: Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, the ideologue; Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, the legal licensee; Vedat Nedim Tör, editor; İsmail Hüsrev Tökin and Burhan Asaf Belge<sup>126</sup>. The magazine aimed to fulfill two tasks; to develop an ideological framework in which to interpret the Turkish revolution that had created the republican regime and to suggest economic policies that in accordance with this ideological framework the regime should pursue in the future. Kadro argued that the Depression provided an opportunity that the Turkish government could help establish light as well as heavy industry in Turkey. Kadro believed that this could be achieved by a protectionist foreign trade policy; acceleration of national production; disciplined, rationalized, modernized, and state-controlled industry; and substantial land reform.<sup>127</sup>

Although the magazine stopped being published after 1934; we can say that apart from the land reform, the government followed the basic recommendations of Kadro with some variations. Kadro argued that rural development in Turkey depended on three interrelated issues: the structure of land ownership, problems identified with the ownership structure, and the need for substantial land reform<sup>128</sup>. Neither the big landowners who spent the money for their personal joy, nor the owners of land cultivated by share croppers who were usually shop keepers in small towns invested in agriculture and industry. On top of that the fragmented land under sharecropping was an obstacle for efficient cultivation.

In 1932, the government announced the beginning of a new strategy, étatism. The same year, the first Five-Year Industrialization plan which covered developments in iron, textile, pulp, earthenware, chemical, worsted, hemp and sulfur

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<sup>126</sup> (Türkeş Vol 33, No. 1 Feb 2001) p. 94.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. p.105.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p.105.



industries was adopted. Kadro suggested including additional industries such as alcohol and alcoholic drinks in the program, but this was not included among the programs objectives.

Étatism involved takeover of the state monopolies which have been handed over to private firms in 1920's, nationalization of the European owned railways which were crucial in transporting export crops and the emergence of state sector enterprises leading key sectors such as iron, steel, textiles, sugar, glass, cement, utilities and mining<sup>129</sup>.

Boratav splits the 1929-39 into two periods, in the first period between late 1929 until 1932, the protectionist measures including exchange rate and foreign trade policies were implemented, the government was still cautious about state intervention in economy. In the 1933-39 period however, étatism became evident in the economic policy<sup>130</sup>. He argues that the election results of 1930 when *Serbest Firka* proved to receive considerable support basically from the impoverished rural population who suffered from the declines in agricultural product prices; was one of the dynamics which prompted a policy change including the decision to increase state intervention in the economy.

Looking from a macroeconomic perspective, as of 1938 the state presence in the economy still amounted up to 25 percent of employment while the rest was provided by small scale private enterprises. Pamuk's answer to the question "did étatism hurt the private sector during the Great Depression period" is no. As an evidence for this he gives the investment figures. Total gross investment in Turkey averaged more than 12 percent of GDP during 1927-29. Private investment constituted 9 percent and state sector 3 percent, primarily in railway construction

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<sup>129</sup> (Pamuk, *Intervention During the Great Depression* 2000) p. 331.

<sup>130</sup> (Boratav 1997) p.295.

form. With the Great Depression, private investment dropped sharply to 5 percent of GDP and stayed at that level until the end of 1930's. The state investments rose to 5 percent of GDP and continued like that. Almost half of the state investment went to railway and other types of transportation construction. Investments in large and expensive projects in intermediate goods and providing them as inputs to private enterprises constituted the rest of the state investments. On the other hand, private investments continued to be subsidized through the decade<sup>131</sup>.

Boratav also rates the performance of economic policies of 1930's in the industry as quite successful. The annual growth rate in industrial output based on fixed prices is in average 11,6 percent. The ratio of industrial production in economy has increased from 9,9 percent in 1929 to 18,3 percent in 1939<sup>132</sup>.

#### **Performance of Turkish Economy and Agriculture in 1930's**

During the Great Depression and following years, Turkey presented an exceptional case in Eastern Mediterranean; both with the scale of state intervention and the strength of economic recovery. Through the 1930's the manufacturing industry managed an average of 5,2 percent growth annually while the average agricultural output growth was 1 percent annually. In the end of this period Turkey turned from being a small net importer of cereals into a small net exporter of wheat and other cereals.

The seedless grape production also saw a constant growth through the period under concern:

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<sup>131</sup> (Pamuk, Intervention During the Great Depression 2000) p. 331.

<sup>132</sup> (Boratav 1997) p.298.

Table 13 Seedless Grape production through 1904 - 1938<sup>133</sup>

1904-08	av. 44,000	
1909-13	av 54,000	
1914-18	av. 37,000	WWI
1919-23	av. 31,000	Invasion and War of Independence
1924-28	av. 42,000	
1929-33	av. 48,000	
1934-38	av. 64,000	(exceptionally good harvest in 1935, 80,000 tons)

It should be noted that the cost of cultivation of one Decare vineyard fell from 31,75 TL in 1931 to 23,60 TL in 1935, which accounts to 60 percent decrease in the cultivation costs of grapes. In the same period the price of grapes fell only 30 percent. We can say that despite the price decline in international markets, the grape producers were better off in the second half of the decade. Further declines in grape production were kept at bay by purchases of Bank of Agriculture from the Manisa agricultural exchange through 1932-33.

Pamuk counts several factors, especially stressing the increase of land cultivated as a result of the population boom in rural areas. According to his views; new agricultural techniques and expansion of credits introduced by the government played minimal role in this output growth<sup>134</sup>. He does not mention the influence of Agricultural Cooperatives which I'll try to explain using Tekeli and Ilkin's book.

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<sup>133</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p.261.

<sup>134</sup> (Pamuk, Intervention During the Great Depression 2000) p.336

## **Agricultural Cooperatives**

In 1931, Mustafa Kemal made an extensive visit to the Aegean Region; he gave a speech at the congress of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce in which he made mention of cooperatives. Same year in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of CHP (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* – Republican People’s Party) on May 10th, among the principles of the Republic, under the étatism section, Cooperativism is counted as the 7<sup>th</sup> sub principle. Only ten days later Turkish Cooperative Foundation is established. Cooperativism is both a subsection of the Étatism Principle and also an integral tool of the Populism Principle, such that is aimed to create accordance among social classes by improving the conditions of the rural population<sup>135</sup>.

The first cooperative of grape farmers opened in Alaşehir in 1931, then in other towns, Manisa in 1932, Salihli and Turgutlu in 1933. Corporatization was sponsored by the government and supported by local and national media, including the liberal *Yeni Asır*. Izmir Union of Fig and Grape Agriculture Sales Cooperatives were established with the combination of 16 cooperatives in 1937-38. With 3,886 partners in 1937-38 it accounted for the sales of 4 percent of the total production. By 1941-42, with 16,547 partners, it accounted for the sales of 16 percent. Using the surplus it had accumulated, the Union started building a wine factory in Manisa.

In 1935, an important crisis surfaced for grape farmers; the newly established Keçiborlu Sulphur Factory was supplying only half of the domestic sulphur; and the rest was imported by Sumerbank from Italy. Sulphur is an important substance used as insecticide and fungicide in vine cultivation. As Sumerbank was late in finalizing the contract with Italy, the sulphur reserves depreciated and price for it increased, causing complaints from the farmers. Despite the inconvenience, the weather that

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<sup>135</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p.244.

year went so well that a record harvest was managed. Same year, a brand new establishment by *İş* (Business) and *Ziraat* (Agriculture) banks called Grape Foundation Ltd. bought an important share of the surplus output, preventing price decline and associated income losses.

### **The Ideological Background of Agricultural Policies**

The Agricultural policies of the government were rooted in mainly two ideological and philosophical approaches embraced by the Turkish modernist elite since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century; Populism which had roots from the struggles against and relations with narodnik rebels in Macedonia, and Positivism which was common among Ottoman intellectuals since the Young Ottomans.

In 1932, author Sevket Rasit Hatipoğlu led a team of writers to issue *Dönüm*, a monthly magazine dealing with agriculture, which was in essence quite similar to *Kadro*<sup>136</sup>. The magazine aimed at recommending agricultural policy alternatives to the related government agents. The agriculture sector during the depression years was urged to fulfill the following requirements; a) to provide national provision, b) to provide national industry with necessary raw materials c) to increase export income in order to fund the industrial development and growth.

The magazine claimed to maintain an independent, positivist approach aiming research in the field and implementation of scientific methods instead of a distanced and abstract rhetoric. As agriculture is the main production sector in Turkey's economy, the authors deal with agriculture covering its connections with trade and industry. Although specialized in agriculture, the authors propose that agriculture should provide the surplus in order for the investments in industry, and the

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<sup>136</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p.284.

agricultural products should be fed into related industrial manufacture areas as intermediates to create end products with higher added value.

In this respect, they suggest investment in winemaking in several of its issues. Dr. Sait Tahsin criticizes the state of wine industry in the country saying “We can’t consume even the total of 3 million kg domestic wine produced annually. The reason for this is the quality problems of wines, which is due to the mistakes in the development strategy on the art of winemaking and its incompetence with the conditions of our country”<sup>137</sup>. He goes on criticizing the lack of education and technique resulting in the inferior quality of wines. Admitting that a lot of funds have been channeled for developing wine industry but he underlines the lack of attention to the compatibility of the projects to the existing conditions.

Dönüm does not only concentrate in domestic matters; in every issue there is a section devoted to global agriculture news with special concentration on the neighboring countries. Concerning grape and wine production, the magazine follows the developments in Bulgaria and Greece, and recommends following successful examples of these countries. We learn from the November 1933 issue that Greece wine export to Germany in recent years is more than 6 million kg, which is twice the amount of wine produced in Turkey<sup>138</sup>. Bulgaria has sold a similar amount of wine to Austria in 1927. USA which has just finished the prohibition years has become a target of competition for wine sales. Among other countries, Palestine has made agreements for selling 1 million kg, Turkey has also applied but it seems unlikely that it will get a contract due to the quality of wines, according to Dönüm.

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<sup>137</sup> Dr. Sait Tahsin, "Türkiye'de ziraat mahsullerinin kıymetlendirilmesi ve Ziraat sanatlarının vaziyeti ve temayülleri." *Dönüm*, October 1933: 19-34.p.26

<sup>138</sup> Dönüm. "Şarap İhracatı." *Dönüm*, November 1933: 45. p.45

In an article devoted to the problems of viticulture, Necati Ziya complains from two major obstacles in grape farming;

- 1- The delay and incompetence in replacing of rootstocks in vineyards wiped out by filoxera, despite some efforts since filoxera came to the Ottoman lands in the last decade of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although state nurseries have been established in the recent years; many of the farmers prefer buying from private importers who bring rootstocks which may not be suitable for the soil and weather conditions of the vineyards. He approves the government ban on private import of rootstocks which was initiated in 1932. But still there are private nurseries which make adverse propaganda on state rootstocks and try convincing local entrepreneurs to buy their grafted rootstocks.
- 2- The lack of trained grape growers. There were many people who recently wanted to invest in viticulture, but as they were not trained in this area and there were very few trained grape growers; they were prone to misleading advices. Due to the nature of vines, already 3-4 years will have passed when they understand that they have chosen the wrong grafted rootstocks or used wrong methods in the cultivation, especially pruning.

Dönüm recommends opening compulsory technical courses for grape growers, who will be given a certificate after 6 months training. Another recommendation is the opening of nurseries in the vineyard areas so that compatible grafted rootstocks can be cultivated and distributed to wine growers<sup>139</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup> Necati Ziya, "Bağcılığımızın belli başlı dertleri." *Dönüm*, June 1934: 14-16.p.15

## **Transportation Policies**

In 1934, after forcing the French railroad company to discount ticket prices and transportation fares for goods the previous year, the government purchased the Kasaba line and implemented a low price – high volume policy which benefited both its clients (farmers and tradesmen) and the company as well. Fritz Brode who wrote a report on grape sector in 1936 stated “in brief we can say that the state is doing everything to improve the conditions of transportation for producers”<sup>140</sup>

## **Ministry of Agriculture’s actions for development of viticulture**

12 years later from the critical articles in Dönüm, in 1946 Mehmet Oluç working for the Thrace Agriculture Institute took a retrospective look at the recent history of vine growing in Turkey pointed out two major problems in viticulture. The first being the major demographic changes that occurred between 1912-1924. Especially due to the population exchange, a population with little knowledge or experience about viticulture have settled in vine growing areas which led to negligence and in years loss of vineyards. The second problem is the destruction of filoxera.

Based on Gleisberg’s report on viticulture in 1936, nurseries have been established in the second half of the decade and American rootstocks which are resistant to filoxera have been grown under the administration of the Ankara Institute for Higher Agriculture. Apart from fighting with filoxera, there are two major objectives; achieving standardization and productivity. According to the Annual Statistics, vol. 17-19, in 1939 the state nurseries distributed 3,116,050 rootstocks. The distribution maintained a similar level in the following years. The estimates

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<sup>140</sup> Quoted in (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p. 275



reveal that this amount of rootstocks will be used for the cultivation of up to 6,000 decares of vineyards; considering that the total area of vineyards in Turkey at that time was up to 3,450,000 decares; despite the fact that not all of this area was under filoxera threat, it is evident that this amount hardly provides sufficient replacement for filoxera infected or old, inefficient vines<sup>141</sup>.

As a conclusion on the evaluation of efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture; we can say that the fight against filoxera was not managed well. The funds during the depression were surely scarce, but from the reports of the government and complaints by winemakers, we can suggest that what's available was not channeled to the correct direction. But the Ministry did support the grape growers with pre-fixed price and by providing informational and technical support, including distribution of fertilizers, insecticide, etc. As for the research and development activities and the foundation of establishments for technological advance in agriculture; we can say that almost all such activities were managed by the state. The large farms and large landowners were not inclined to invest in these areas. In most instances share croppers were cultivating the land of large landowners and the price declines during the depression years have caused disintegration of large farms into small land ownership especially in the Aegean and Thrace regions. The few exceptions for this are some vineyards established in Tekirdağ's Şarköy – Mürefte area. Under these circumstances the state was left with no other choice but intervention, the scope and effectiveness of this intervention were however limited with the resources of the government in the given period<sup>142</sup>.

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<sup>141</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p. 325

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. p. 355

## **Competition in Mediterranean Economy before 1950**

For a comparative analysis, I'll give brief information about the state of Mediterranean agriculture related foodstuff products in the selected period. The research I will quote from Pamuk is focused on olive oil production but also deals with wine production. The author Ramon Muñoz explains that wine, together with olive oils, vegetables and citrus fruits; was one of the few commodities in which most Mediterranean countries enjoyed a comparative advantage in world markets until World War II.

Quoted in (Pamuk ve Williamson, Globalization challenge and economic response in the Mediterranean 2000) from the article "Specialization in the international market for olive oil before World War II." In Mediterranean Response to Globalization before 1950, by Ramon Ramon-Muñoz, edited by Şevket and Jeffrey G. Williamson Pamuk, 159-198. London: Routledge, 2000:

*“Ramon- Muñoz’s study shows that there emerged three well differentiated world markets for olive oil. He also documents the existence of a well established hierarchy among the Mediterranean suppliers by the early part of the twentieth century. France and Italy occupied the top rung of this ladder, specializing in the export of high-quality products while Greece, Turkey, Algeria and Tunisia occupied the low-quality end of the market. Spain was in the middle, exporting products for both ends of the market...Ultimately, however, the hierarchy established in olive oil reflected the differences in the levels of economic development around the Mediterranean. Ramon-Muñoz points to the existence of similar hierarchies in other export commodities from the region, such as wine. One might conclude that the*

*Mediterranean countries were exporting similar goods, but they tended to cover different market niches<sup>143</sup>. “*

From the original article by Ramon Ramon-Muñoz:

*“Our findings....suggest two general remarks on economic performance before World War II. First, it seems that remarkable processes of specialization took place within the Mediterranean basin in the period under consideration. Research available for other Mediterranean product; such as wine and cork, seem to provide evidence in the same direction. If these processes of specialization were really so widespread, one might conclude that while Mediterranean countries were trading similar goods, they tended to cover different segments of the international demand.*

*In the case of wine, for example, it is clear that Spain was largely oriented toward exporting cheap table wines rather than fine and high-quality wines, whereas France had taken exactly the opposite direction.”<sup>144</sup>*

In this research Turkey was counted among the lower end of the olive oil exports, along with Greece, Algeria and Tunisia. A parallel positioning is asserted for the wine exports, but obviously with the exclusion of Turkey, because Turkey's wine exports were never anywhere near Greece and Algeria's.

What's more interesting about the case for wine production in the Mediterranean is the specialization of wine production in Algeria as organized and managed by the French. Here, a planned specialization takes place where Algeria

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<sup>143</sup> (Pamuk ve Williamson, Globalization challenge and economic response in the Mediterranean 2000) p.7.

<sup>144</sup> "Specialization in the international market for olive oil before World War II ." In *Mediterranean Response to Globalization before 1950*, by Ramon Ramon-Muñoz, edited by Şevket and Jeffrey G. Williamson Pamuk, 159-198. London: Routledge, 2000. p.198.

produces a standard quality, cheap wine for the mass consumption in the global market while France produces for the higher end clientele.

The Algerian vineyards were established by French investment after the filoxera devastation. Total area of the vineyards is 400,000 hectares and there are wine factories using the latest technology to produce standard table wine in huge amounts such as 10-20 million liters per factory<sup>145</sup>. The factories are built nearby the vineyards and trucks on modern roads take the product to the ports. As a result, 1938 wine production of Algeria is 2,239,000,000 liters, which is more than 200 times the production in Turkey the same year.

This mass production of wine with a standardized quality can be assumed to have created a big comparative disadvantage to Turkish wines in the export market.

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<sup>145</sup> İsmail Safa K nay, *Őarap ılık*. İstanbul: Tekel Genel M d rl ė , 1946.p.11.

## CHAPTER 5: STATE MONOPOLY

In 22 March 1926, the assembly enacted the law of state monopoly on spirits. With this law, all sorts of alcoholic drinks were to be produced imported and sold under state monopoly. With the 3<sup>rd</sup> clause of the law, a special arrangement was put in place for wine so that production and exportation of wine would be free, while domestic trade of it would be managed by the Monopoly. Also, the Monopoly administration was entrusted with the task of producing wine and supporting the development of winemaking in the county. It also set objectives of establishing factories with a total capacity of 3 million kilograms in 2 years time. In 5 years it was projected to produce enough amounts to meet the demand of the country alone.<sup>146</sup>

The Monopoly Administration assumed responsibility of a historically disorganized alcohol industry with mostly small production capacities. The limitations left from the prohibition were fresh and state intervention was planned to develop the weak industry. With the authority of giving production license the monopoly administration set a one month deadline for the companies to provide a list of their inventories and capacity. Opening new factories was also left to the permission of the administration. According to the law, the companies producing alcohol should accept selling their products to the administration with the prices dedicated by a committee comprised of representatives from the Ministry of Finance, Monopoly and related company. If the company would not comply, then it is forced to dismantle the machinery and equipment and transport these to a foreign country in 3 months. The mark up to be paid to the company on top of the production costs stated by law was from five to ten percent.

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<sup>146</sup> (Doğruel and Doğruel 2000) p.144.

We had discussed a pattern discussed in Chapter 4, where the state would nationalize a certain sector or importation of a good and then pass the monopoly rights to a local or foreign company or partnership which would be able to make a high amount of profit. Following the establishment of monopoly in alcohol production and sales; the administrative rights of the monopoly were transferred to a newly founded private consortium; *İspirto ve Meşrubat-i Küüliye İnhisarı İşletme Anonim Şirketi*, formed by *İş Bank* and *Nacella Organizacya*, a Polish company. The consortium followed the taxation system of *Düyun-u Umumiye*. However its products were highly disliked by the consumers and illegally produced alcoholic drinks flooded the market in such an extent that the shopkeepers started announcing their sales of contraband rakı<sup>147</sup>. As a consequence, the consortium could not fulfill its commitments and pay the installments to the state and went bankrupt<sup>148</sup>. In May 28th 1927 the monopoly administration repealed the contract and regained full control of the alcohol industry and trade.<sup>149</sup>

### **Rakı vs. wine production**

The reasons of the Monopoly law in granting more freedom to wine producers then rakı producers can be explained with health concerns. But first we have to underline the fact that the Monopoly management did not become the sole producer of rakı instantly after the law on alcohol monopoly was issued. Until 1944, when Tekel established full monopoly on production of rakı, there were private rakı producers who were required to buy the basic ingredient *suma* (alcohol produced by distillation of fermented grapes or other agricultural ingredients such as figs, or

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<sup>147</sup> (Doğruel and Doğruel 2000) p.146. Quoting from Cumhuriyet, 1 April 1927 p.2.

<sup>148</sup> (İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü 1938) p.15.

<sup>149</sup> (Doğruel and Doğruel 2000) p.145.

beets) from the Monopoly administration<sup>150</sup>. Through 1938 – 1944 years, there were 28 to 44 private rakı brands producing from 2.9 to 3.9 million liters of rakı<sup>151</sup>.

There are two points both related to health concerns. First, distillation is a delicate process which may produce alcohol with harmful contents if performed by inexperienced people in inadequate conditions. Second, the popular belief which was also supported by health experts internationally was that alcoholic beverages with lower alcohol content are not as harmful as strong drinks such as rakı. Wine was exceptionally praised for being nutritious and healthy if consumed with moderation<sup>152</sup>. Based on health concerns, the Monopoly Administration made attempts in order to increase consumption of wine and beer instead of rakı; by discounting prices of the former, giving advertisements to newspapers or even lowering the alcohol content in rakı<sup>153</sup>.

### **Challenges and Potentials Faced by the Monopoly**

In early 1930's, Turkey had one of the widest total areas of vineyards in the world; it was ranked as the third largest vineyard possessing country. Despite being so, 23.5% of this area was infected with Filoxera, and a vast portion of it was not cared for due to the untrained peasants who had traditionally been cultivating other crops. The vineyards had been cultivated for grape varieties that would be used for

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<sup>150</sup> İltter, Müfit. *Rakının Tarihi*. İstanbul: n.p., 1984 p.10.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* p.10.

<sup>152</sup> In (İnhisarlar İdaresi 1944, vol 117) the article on pages 68-71 details the benefits of wine for health and nutrition, citing eight medical professors most of them from French Medical Universities.

Also quoted in (Doğruel and Doğruel 2000) p. 186. Minister of Customs and Monopoly Mr. Raif Karadeniz in his speech during the sessions concerning the 4250 numbered bill on monopoly in 1942 says “if produced in healthy conditions, the lower alcohol drinks wine and beer are less harmful than the higher alcohol containing rakı.”

<sup>153</sup> Among these attempts an interesting one to note is the experiment made to produce rakı with only 20 degrees alcohol in 1940's at the Paşabahçe factory. However the experiment failed as the essence of anise was not soluble in this low alcohol liquid. Quoted in (Doğruel and Doğruel 2000)p.190.

purposes other than winemaking; which made high quality wine production very difficult.

The trained workforce who had been traditionally involved in wine production had left the country and on the demand side, the consumer base for wine had diminished considerably after the wars and following population exchange. The industry was composed of small workshops who possessed little knowledge and capital to move forward.

### **Evaluation of the efforts of Monopoly Administration**

In 1927 budget, one million Turkish Liras was dedicated as the allowance for the monopoly administration's alcoholic production division. This allowance was used for the improvement of both grape agriculture and winemaking.<sup>154</sup>

For the grape farmers; the administration made advance payment for the harvest. Distribution of important material and machinery for grape farming such as pulverizing machines, sulphur to those who sold their grapes to the monopoly was also a form of support. In the grape market, the monopoly supported the farmer by announcing its purchase rate in advance in order to protect the farmers from price wars. Credits with five years term were also given to those who would like to set up a new vineyard. The credit payments were to be collected by holding one third of the payment for the harvest of the farmer.<sup>155</sup>

To fight against the Filoxera insect, two model vineyards have been established. The American rootstocks have been grafted with local grape vines and experiments have been carried out to protect the local grape varieties from Filoxera while growing them on the same land. 23 foreign grape varieties have also been tried

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<sup>154</sup> (İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü 1938)

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. p. 19-20



in the model vineyard; those which gave good harvest and produced characteristic specifications of the original grape variety have been introduced to farmers.

The wine industry benefited from the establishment of a laboratory under the management of a French expert in Istanbul. This laboratory inspected the alcoholic products as well as producing information and tests for winemakers. Another form of support was the distribution of automatic press machines to factories producing more than thirty thousand liters of wine. For the exporters of wine, additional to tax exemption a contribution of 2 *kuruş* payment per kg was made.

As another form of policy in support of wine production, the monopoly tax for wine was reduced by half, transport permit and transaction tax from wine vendors were lifted. Wine consumption was also facilitated with the permission granted for sale of wine in open containers, and permission of wine sales in the areas that were not permitted for other spirits.

In 1931, Tekirdağ Wine Factory was established based on the report of the French wine expert M. Emile Bouffart. Tekirdağ wine factory was the first industrial wine factory in Turkey, with a capacity of 1 million liters production and 1,5 million liters storage in its cuvee. Apart from being a client for the grape farmers, it also produced the yeast for private winemakers<sup>156</sup>. In 1937, the production capacity had grown to 1,5 million liters with 1,1 million liters of this going to brandy production and 400 thousand liters was consumed as wine. In 1930's the vineyard of the factory was being used as a model vineyard to cultivate foreign grape varieties. Later, in 1960-70's this factory would be a base for smaller wine factories built in Şarköy, Uçmakdere, Hoşköy and Kırçasalih; all small towns in Tekirdağ and Edirne cities<sup>157</sup>.

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<sup>156</sup> (Doğruel ve Doğruel 2000) p. 250.

<sup>157</sup> (İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü 1938) p.23.

Tekirdağ factory was followed by another one established in Izmir in 1935, which started with a capacity of 800,000 liters and increased to 1.5 million liters in 1938.

Recording and evaluation of local grape variety was another priority of the Monopoly. A German expert, Prof. Dr. W. Gleisberg who worked as the director of Ankara Higher Agriculture Institute examined the local grape variety and determined the most appropriate kinds for wine making in each wine region. His assistant Nail Oraman worked on the same topics and set the foundation stones of education on viticulture in Turkey. Model vineyards were established in Thrace and Aegean to educate the grape farmers and cultivate high quality rootstocks of local grape types.

Table 14 Grape Production figures of the Aegean Economic Region from 1904–1938 (in tons)

<b>Years</b>	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
<b>Amounts</b>	36000	54700	27600	43200	57000	54600	44500	46200	54600	69000	60760	50400
<b>Years</b>	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
<b>Amounts</b>	44800	33600	28000	25200	29780	33900	32200	33600	35000	30000	39500	48000
<b>Years</b>	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	
<b>Amounts</b>	45000	51000	35000	30000	65000	55000	45000	80000	75000	42000	80000	

Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *İstatistik Yıllığı*. Official Statistics, Vol.10 Publication no.142, İstanbul: Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938-39. p 251

Table15 Vineyard areas and grape production in Turkey from 1933 & 1937-1940

<b>Years</b>	1933	1937	1938	1939	1940
<b>Area in Hectares</b>	406,936	419,764	405,573	420,524	397,256
<b>Production in tons</b>	775,499	740,171	977,371	1,195,372	941,961

Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *İstatistik Yıllığı 1941/42*. Official Report, Ankara: Başvekalet Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943, Publication: 197 Vol: 13. p. 176

Gleisberg, in his book “Türkiye’de Bağ-Bahçe ve Süs nebatları Ziraatı” published by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1938 mentions that only 1,5% of grape production is being used in winemaking.

Table 16 Distribution of grape harvest in Turkey in 1938

Type of use	Ratio to Total Production
Consumed or exported as dried grapes	51%
Grape molasses or similar homemade food	31%
Fresh consumption or trade	16,5%
Winemaking	1,5%

(Gleisberg, Türkiye Bağ-Bahçe ve Süs Nebatları Ziraatı Hakkında Rapor 1938)

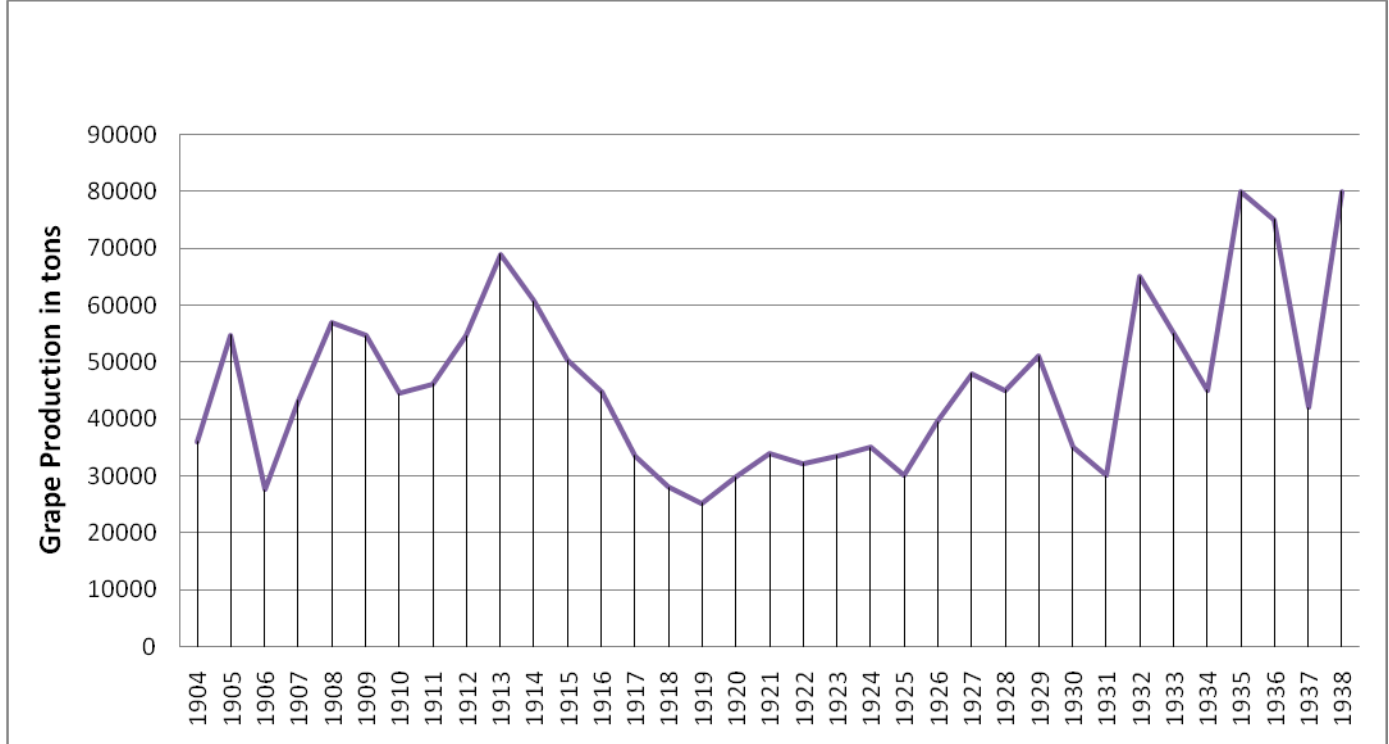
There were vineyards in most parts of Turkey, with the Aegean region leading in production of Sultanas (a seedless grape type) and dried grapes and Marmara region leading in production of grapes for winemaking, followed by Central Anatolia region, especially Ankara. The Black Sea and Eastern Anatolian regions were the lowest in grape agriculture.

To point out the extent and importance of grape production for Turkey, Dr. Nail Oraman mentions in his speech to a CHP audience about grape production that the average of yearly import of machinery through 1932-35 costs 9,2 million Turkish Liras; the average yearly Sultana grape export in the same period amounts to 8,3 million Turkish Liras.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Nail Oraman, *Bağcılık Raporu*. İstanbul: Türkiye Bağcılığı.III. Milletlerarası Üzüm, Üzümsuyu ve Şarap Kongresi, 1947.

Chart 2: Grape Production in the Aegean Economic Region 1903-1938



Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *İstatistik Yıllığı*. Official Statistics, Vol.10 Publication no.142, İstanbul: Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938-39.

Aegean Economic Region is the combination of İzmir, Muğla, Denizli cities, Balıkesir town & Ayvalık, Edremit, Burhaniye, Sındırgı boroughs, Kütahya town, and Gediz, Simav, Uşak boroughs, Isparta town and Eğirdir, Uluborlu boroughs and Burdur town.

As the Ottoman Empire lost many provinces which produced grapes and wine through the Balkan Wars and the First World War and the new republic was covering only a small part of the Empire geography in the beginning of 20th century it is difficult to make meaningful comparison between the countrywide production figures between the two eras. On the other hand, the wine production statistics are very few and are not based on regions. The Chart 1 shows the grape production in the Aegean Economic region which stayed in the Turkish borders and was also an area that experienced invasion, independence war and the later population exchange

which are counted among the factors which limited grape and wine production in the country by the speakers who prepared reports about wine and grape production to the Industry Congress of 1930 and the Agriculture Congress of 1938.

As seen from Chart 1, there is truly a decrease in grape harvest through the Greek-Turkish war 1919-22 and the following years of population exchange 1923-25. The law on prohibition of alcohol was also enforced within this period, between 1920-24. The average product of the seven year period 1912-18 years is 48,737 tons while the average product level of the following 7 year period, 1919-25 is down by 36% at 31,382 tons. The grape production only started picking up by 1927 but did not see a stable growth until the 1932-38 period where we witness a robust increase of 30% (63,142 tons) on top of the 1912-18 average.

In 1927, “Teşvik-i Sanayi” law aimed at promoting domestic industry was enacted. Based on criteria, this law provided free land, raw material, tax exempt at different levels to the applying companies. The statistics show that in 1932 there were 11 and in 1933 there were 14 companies who had applied for the benefits of this law<sup>159</sup>.

As of 1938, up to 23,5% of the vineyards are affected by Filoxera. There had been limited attempts to cultivate the local grape types on American rootstocks which are resistant to Filoxera since the Düyun-u Umumiye times but as the map<sup>160</sup> suggests, by 1938 still a majority of the areas were under the threat of this insect.

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<sup>159</sup> Müdürlüğü, Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel. *Başbakanlık İstatistik Gen. Müd. Sanayi İstatistikleri, Teşviki Sanayi Kanunundan İstifade Eden Müesseselerin 1936-41 Yılları Faaliyetleri*. Official Statistics, Ankara: Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü, 1945.

<sup>160</sup> Appendix, map of filoxera in Turkey page 112.

In 1938, the first 5 years planning was made for developing grape farming. Deadlines were set for several tasks including establishment of model vineyards, fighting against filoxera, educating grape farmers.

Due to the fact that only a small percentage of grape production was being used for wine production, we can't draw a high correlation between grape and wine production. However there are parallel turning points in the wine production graph with grape production. On Graphic 2, a bad harvest (1934) is followed by low production of wine (1935) on Table 18, while a good harvest (1935) is followed by a higher production in wine.

The positive effects of the Tekirdağ (1931) and Izmir (1936) wine factories can also be seen on the following years' production. The low level of grape production on 1931 is compensated for by the new entry of Tekirdağ factory in production, buying grapes at a higher price than market average and increasing share of grape consumption in winemaking, which probably offset the effects of the low harvest on wine production.

Table 17. Wine and other Alcoholic Drinks Production in 1911<sup>161</sup>

Year 1911	Wine	Rakı	Beer	Brandy	Rum and Suma
Production in kg	23.025.144	3.342.018	11.631.313	59.645	153.411

The table above shows the estimated production levels of alcoholic drinks in the present day geography of Turkey in 1911. A comparison of the 1911 wine production amount with the following table showing 1928-1936 statistics reveals a huge loss of production. The rate of decline from 1922 to the average of 5 years 1932-36 is 75%.

<sup>161</sup> (TC Başvekaleti İstatistik Umum Müd.Publication 1932) p.64

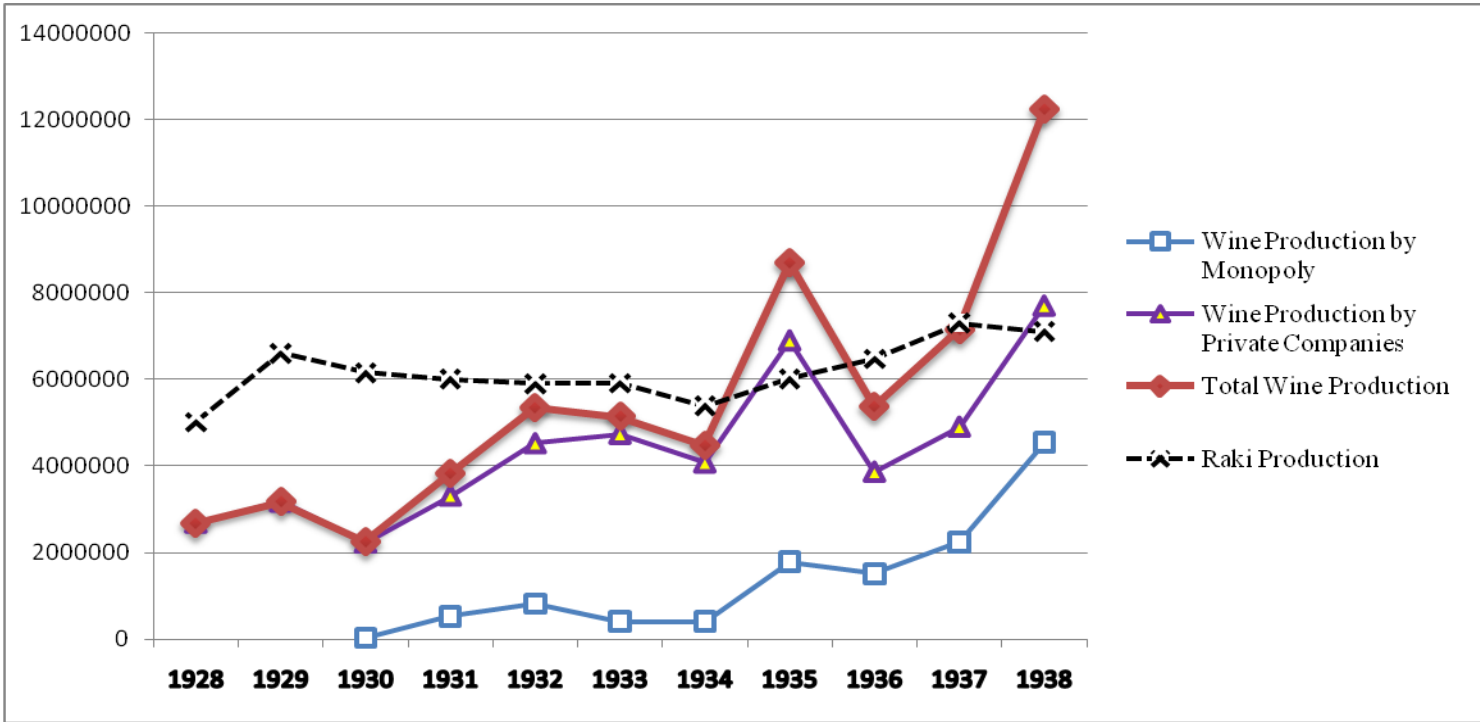
A comparison of Rakı production in 1911 to the 5 years average (1932-36) shows an increase of 56%. We may assume that rakı and mastika production in Chios Island was not accounted for in the 1911 statistics, showing the total production level low. Chios was an important production center for mastika, a popular alcoholic drink similar to rakı, but produced with addition of mastic as well as anise during distillation process. The domestic production evidently increased in the years following the annexation of Chios (1912) to Greece. It's worth noting however that the quick recovery of rakı production was not valid in the case of wine production.

Table 18 Wine Production Statistics through 1928 - 1936

<b>Year</b>	<b>Production in Liters</b>
<b>1928</b>	<b>2.682.021</b>
<b>1929</b>	<b>3.172.573</b>
<b>1930</b>	<b>2.220.351</b>
<b>1931</b>	<b>3.832.303</b>
<b>1932</b>	<b>5,344,550</b>
<b>1933</b>	<b>5,144,756</b>
<b>1934</b>	<b>4,482,485</b>
<b>1935</b>	<b>8,692,434</b>
<b>1936</b>	<b>5,344,480</b>

(İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü 1938)

**Graphic 2 Wine Production from 1928 to 1938**



Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *İstatistik Yıllığı*. Official Statistics, Vol.10 Publication no.142, İstanbul: Başbakanlık İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938-39.

Graphic 2 provides us the opportunity to visualize the effects of Monopoly Administration's intervention in wine industry as well as the private sector's parallel expansion. In a saturated commodity market, government intervention is bound to create unfair competition and drive some of the private producers out of the market, due to the unavailability of expansion in demand for the new entry. However in this case, as the domestic supply for wine had been hardly meeting the demand and all production had been sold since the end of prohibition years; the consumers responded to the additional supply of wine quickly and made further expansion in the market possible. To assess the share of state wine factories in the total growth, we can compare the increase in the product of the first and last (two consecutive years' averages are used) periods of private sector output with the total output. The private sector has increased its output 215% while total output has increased at 331%.



Another interesting point is the relation of *rakı* sales to wine sales. The graphic reveals that *rakı* production has not seen dramatic changes through this period. It has not increased in the pace of wine but its consumption did not fall either. It looks like there's a solid consumer group of *rakı* that has been faithful to their drinking habits. Although there is a sharp decrease in consumption of cognac (which I did not include in the graph to keep it less complicated), the effect is not anywhere to explain the extent of increase in the wine consumption. In this respect, we can assume that the policy of the government to convince people to drink lower alcohol containing drinks, especially wine instead of the strong spirits has worked to some extent. Yunus Nadi, the editor of Cumhuriyet newspaper, like other authors of the period used his editorial article<sup>162</sup> for promoting wine, as a healthy, nutritious drink which also epitomizes the western culture to whose level of "civilization" the government is committed to ascend together with its people. Despite pressure from the public and organizations like Green Crescent, the government continued its policy of promoting wine consumption, by giving advertisements in the newspapers.

We should also look into the export performance of the wine sector in this period. In different books<sup>163</sup>, I've come across the mention of very high export levels for wine during the early years of 20<sup>th</sup> century from the Ottoman Empire. This is a time when Filoxera had destroyed a wide area in Europe and the still considerably wide and remote Ottoman land was not affected by Filoxera. Ottoman winemakers produced and exported annually 7 to 24 million liters of wine. It should be noted however that Macedonia, Western Thrace, Greek Islands which are wine regions were in Ottoman domain in those years.

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<sup>162</sup> Yunus Nadi, "Başyazı." *Cumhuriyet*. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 07 28, 1933.

<sup>163</sup> (İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü 1938) (Zafir 1930, reprinted in 2008)

Table 19 Wine Export & Import Statistics through 1925 - 1937

Years	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Exports in kg	6618	838	645	-	3489	71976	<b>99038</b>
Imports in kg	<b>201130</b>	179988	115406	84368	148798	7698	4296
Balance	-194512	-179150	-114761	-84368	-145309	64278	94742
Years	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937		
Exports in kg	46817	61371	29200	15597	25804		
Imports in kg	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		

Table prepared using data from (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Publication: 197 Vol. 13 ) and (TC Başvekaleti İstatistik Umum Müd.Publication 1932), 1932 figures could not be obtained.

The table above shows that the foreign trade of wine was not at significant levels compared to domestic consumption, as the consumption levels are in millions of kg while the highest amount on the table is only 201130 kg. It is worthwhile however to point out that the negative balance which was at its peak in 1925, just following the lift of alcohol ban, and gradually decreased until hitting the lowest amounts in the depression years. The influence of protectionist foreign trade policy combined with decrease in purchasing power is evident after beginning with 1930.

The leading import source of wine was France, followed by Italy and Russia. The export countries do not exhibit a pattern and changes almost every year.

The export level of Turkish wines during the 1920 and 1930's has been very low, as can be seen on the table. Only Monopoly Administration has worked on securing export contracts in this period, and the amounts in the table below are solely produced by this institution. It's worth mentioning for comparison that the wine exports of Greece and Hungary in 1938 were 490 million and 360 million hectoliters

respectively. The export numbers for Turkish wine would go up to millions only in the 1950's<sup>164</sup>

Table 20 The vineyard capacity and wine production of different countries

Country	Year	Vineyard (Hectare)	Wine Production (Hectoliter)
Greece	1927	127,000	217,000
	1935	220,000	-
Bulgaria	1926	60,800	1,368,000
	1935	90,716	-
Turkey	1933	406,936	5,144
	1938	405,573	12,251
France	1926	1,454,272	60,000,000
Spain	1928	1,416,981	22,083,760
Algeria	1927	206,000	8,031,000

Table produced using sources: 1. Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi. *Şarapçılığa Ait Rapor*. Ankara: Ziraat Vekaleti, 1938. And 1. Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi. *Türkiye'de Bağcılığın Ehemmiyeti*. Ankara: Ziraat Vekaleti, 1938.

The table shows that the compared to its neighboring countries, Turkey produced much lower amounts of wine compared to its vineyard capacity. Moreover Greece and Bulgaria have increased their vine farming capacity while Turkey saw a minor decrease.

The report of 1938 enlists the reasons for the low export figures as follows: The production is low, only enough for satisfying the domestic demand. Deficiency in quality due to low number of skilled personnel and very limited storage capacity for ageing the wine. Price competition, which is difficult for Turkish winemakers due to limited technology, organization and transportation opportunities. Profitability in long term is also creating difficulty for the typically small sized wine companies who have small capital and need quick turnover of investment in order to survive.

In 1944, the Monopoly Administration issued another report about wine making in the country. In this report, the dramatic decline from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century production figures is explained by the overproduction in those years by the increased

<sup>164</sup> (Rıza 1930, reprinted in 2008)

demand to substitute for the devastation of vineyards and wine making in Europe. In the following years the efforts of French wine industry for cultivating new vineyards in France and Algeria has paid off and the demand for Ottoman wine dwindled. Additional factors are counted as long years at war, population movements and low quality wines<sup>165</sup>.

We understand from the tone of the report that the Filoxera problem in Thrace region has not been resolved since it has been addressed at the First Agriculture Congress in 1938. The report mentions the destruction and mentions the actions taken but does not evaluate the outcome. According to the Annual Statistics, vol. 17-19, in 1939 the state nurseries distributed 3,116,050 rootstocks. The distribution maintained a similar level in the following years. The estimates reveal that this amount of rootstocks will be used for the cultivation of up to 6,000 decares of vineyards; considering that the total area of vineyards in Turkey at that time was up o 3,450,000 decares; despite the fact that not all of this area was under filoxera threat, it is evident that this amount hardly provides sufficient replacement for filoxera infected or old, inefficient vines<sup>166</sup>.

According to the report; cities heavily affected by Filoxera are:

Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, İstanbul, Bursa, Balıkesir, Bilecik, Manisa, İzmir, Aydın, Denizli, Afyonkarahisar and Isparta

Cities partly affected by Filoxera are:

Kütahya, Kocaeli, Bolu, Burdur, Muğla, Eskisehir, Çanakkale, Konya, Ankara, Hatay.

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<sup>165</sup> İnhisarlar İdaresi. *İstihbarat Bülteni*. Ankara: İnhisarlar İdaresi , 1944, vol 117.p.5

<sup>166</sup> (Tekeli and Selim 2010) p. 325

This list reveals that leaving aside recovering from filoxera, there are new additions to the filoxera affected cities list such as Konya<sup>167</sup>. Konya was not depicted on the Filoxera map issued in the 1938 Agricultural congress report<sup>168</sup>.

It became obligatory by law, to use only American rootstocks distributed by the nurseries run by the Ministry of Agriculture. But putting this law into effect was not quite possible considering the huge and scattered vineyard areas around the country. Furthermore there were other motivations for the grape grower to use domestic rootstocks:

- 1- The table grape variety can be sold at a good value in market. The state nurseries were testing only the grafting of wine grape varieties on American rootstocks.
- 2- Difficulties of obtaining American rootstocks. As explained above, the amount of rootstocks cultivated is not adequate.
- 3- The use of local rootstocks was prohibited but no punishment was stipulated for violations<sup>169</sup>.

The report admits that, despite the efforts of the Tekirdağ nursery, which provided millions of rootstocks, the devastation of filoxera in Thrace region could not be avoided.

When we compare the 1946 report with the reports of 1936 and 1938; among few novelties is the section about the experimentation with cultivation of foreign grape types in Tekirdağ vineyards of the Monopoly Administration since 1935<sup>170</sup>.

The earlier studies were focused on classification and standardization of the local

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<sup>167</sup> (İnhisarlar İdaresi 1944, vol 117) p.55

<sup>168</sup> See appendix D, page 112

<sup>169</sup> (İnhisarlar İdaresi 1944, vol 117) p.57

<sup>170</sup> Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü. *İstihbarat Bülteni*, vol. 118. Ankara: Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü, 1946.

grape varieties. This action has been taken in part due to the troublesome situation of the vineyards of local grape varieties in Thrace. For example; Semillon, a French white grape variety was introduced as a substitute to the local variety Yapincak.

The other foreign grape types cultivated in the experimental vineyards between 1937 – 1943 are:

Red: Pinot Noir, Gamay, Syrah, Cinsault, Carignan, Cabernet Sauvignon, Portugais.

White: Semillon, St. Emillion, Clairette, Terret Gris, Muscat of Frontignan, Colombar, Folle Blanche, Pinot Chardonnay, Meslier, Riesling, Traminer, Slyvaner, Furmint.

Some of the foreign grape types experimented in those years such as Gamay, Cinsault, Cabernet Sauvignon, and Semillon are still cultivated in the region.

The report goes on with yearly tests and observations on the compatibility of each grape type on different *terroirs* of Thrace. In this respect, it gives much more detailed information than the broad classifications of the earlier reports. We understand that the observations on local grape types in the earlier reports have been tested in different parts of the country in the meantime. The employment of French experts, complaints from public on the quality of wines and establishment of a wine chemistry laboratory in Istanbul appears to have motivated the officers to work in a scientific manner. The opening of 16 experimental wineries in different towns of Anatolia until 1944 has also contributed to the experimentation of grape varieties.

In the initial years of wine production, the government had bought oak barrels from France, to be used in cuvés in Tekirdağ factory. Now, with the increased production facilities, a barrel workshop has been opened in Istanbul and courses are provided for eager people who want to learn the trade.

## Liquor Factory

The first natural liquor factory in the Turkish Republic was built in 1930 in Mecidiyeköy, İstanbul by the French architect Rob Mallet-Stevens who was commissioned by the Monopoly administration<sup>171</sup>. The earlier production was made by smaller workshops, using artificial essences and imported alcohol. The administration of the factory was also French until 1941, and then the Turkish chief assistant took the post. Due to a high variety of liquors but limited production volume, the process involved less machinery and most of it including bottling was handmade. Among the varieties were strawberry, raspberry, apricot, sour cherry, orange blossom, tangerine, rose, mint, bitter orange, banana and cocoa liquors, and also brandy, vermouth and cinchona wine. In 1931-1932 the total production was 56,600 liters liquor, 130,600 liters brandy and 6,800 liters beverages containing wine. Before the WWII, the production was exported to Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Finland.

## **Foundations of the new private Wine Industry**

Among many winemakers with a history going earlier from 1950's, I wanted to choose a sample set which includes the wineries with the largest volume, oldest foundation history and representing different wine regions of the country.

I want to include the histories of the most well known and influential of the private winemakers; Kavaklıdere and Doluca, as these companies were established during the period under question, and the circumstances of their foundation are

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<sup>171</sup> (Doğruel and Doğruel 2000) p.314.

descriptive for the general situation concerning the foundation of the private wine industry in Turkey<sup>172</sup>.

### **Kavaklıdere**

The story of Kavaklıdere brand begins with the wedding of Tunalı Hilmi, who is an ex CUP member, colonel and later a parliament member in the Great National Assembly, with a Swiss lady. The couple had a son and a daughter who were raised up with a mixture of Swiss and Turkish culture. Tunalı Hilmi was one of the parliament members who opposed the prohibition law during the meetings in the assembly in 1920<sup>173</sup>. The daughter, Sevda, married to Mehmet Cenap, a tradesman from Plovdiv and the couple settled in Ankara, taking the surname And. They borrowed money from a Swiss banker friend and started buying land in what would be today the heart of Ankara, Kavaklıdere. The land they bought and the surrounding area already contained vineyards<sup>174</sup>.

The owners of Kavaklıdere they had no education or anyone familiar with winemaking. Hence, in 1929 the first wines of Kavaklıdere were made by a Hungarian master builder; Balaj Usta who was working at the construction of Ziraat Bank and made wine for his own consumption, using the techniques he had seen back in his village<sup>175</sup>.

In the meantime, the investment of the couple by buying land from the near future center of the capital paid off well and they used the funds collected from the sale of land to Is Bank and other official buildings in order to buy machinery.

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<sup>172</sup> In the appendix F, page 114, I have included 8 other companies with brief information on their history.

<sup>173</sup> (Karahanoğulları 2008)

<sup>174</sup> Kavaklıdere Wines. *Kavaklıdere Wines History*. <http://www.kavaklıdere.com/> (accessed 09 12, 2010).

<sup>175</sup> Toygar, Kamil, and Nimet Berkok Toygar. *Ankara'da Bağcılık ve Bağ Kültürü*. Ankara: Birlik Matbaacılık, 2005. p. 34



The establishment of Kavaklıdere can be regarded as an example of the industrial establishments of its era; Keyder argues that among the owners of companies established between 1931 and 1940, 74,2% were bureaucrats and the reason behind this high percentage was the increased ratio of the share of bureaucracy in national income and the growing land speculation in the fast growing capital, Ankara<sup>176</sup>.

The new machinery affected the wine quality considerably. The list of wines served in a presidential reception in 3 October 1934 show that 2 Kavaklıdere wines were the only domestic produce, and the other 2 were French wines<sup>177</sup>.

The brand name Kavaklıdere comes from the neighborhood they built their winery, and later their villas. As Kavaklıdere became a trade and tourism center, the company and family members all moved away. Now Sheraton Hotel and Convention Center, Karum Market and Hilton-SA hotel can be seen on this land.

Kavaklıdere Wines continue production with a capacity of 19,5 million liters annually in its new buildings near the Esenboğa airport; where it moved in 1987.

### **Doluca**

Ali Paşazade Ahmet Effendi, father of Doluca's founder Nihat A. Kutman came to Mürefte from Macedonia in 1896<sup>178</sup>. Soon, he bought a winery and started making wine. After the population exchange he bought other wineries left from local Greeks and expanded his winery. His son Nihat received wine education at the Glashenheim Enology Institute in Germany for 3 years. When he came back to Turkey in 1926 he opened a winery and also the Vinikol Wine House in Galata for bottling

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<sup>176</sup> (Keyder, Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar 1989) p.136

<sup>177</sup> (Doğruel ve Doğruel 2000) p.193

<sup>178</sup> Kutman Wines. *Kutman Wines - Hakkımızda*. <http://kutmanwines.com> (accessed 09 10, 2010).

and distribution. His brother Feyzi Kutman also opened his winery after working as a prosecutor.

Nihat's small scale winery used Yapincak and Karalahna, local grape varieties. The wine was filled in barrels and transported to Istanbul, to be bottled at Vinikol. As Mürefte lacked proper road connection to Istanbul, until 1950's wine was transported using large barrels of 500 liters and loaded on ships which unloaded their cargo at the old wine pier in Galata, which was used by the Ottoman Hamr Administration.

In 1930's Nihat realized that the local grape quality was not good enough for the quality of wine he sought and he went to France and Germany in 1935, in order to make research on grape types he could cultivate back in Mürefte. He brought back Cinsault, Semillon, Gamay and Riesling rootstocks and made trial vineyards.

By the beginning of 1940's the trials with the foreign grape types were and he started producing wine using these as well as the local grape varieties. During this time the winery assumed Doluca trademark. Although the new line of wines received a lot of praise, the winery was still using traditional methods and did not have an industrial capacity. The modern wine factory using modern methods and electric machines would have to wait until 1963.

Out of the total of nine privately owned wineries (2 enlisted here and the rest in the appendix pages 120-124, keeping aside the Taskobirlik cooperative), 3 of the wineries were bought from Greek owners and 2 had acquired Greek winery names. All of these wineries were in Mürefte or Bozcaada, in Mürefte where industrial wine production was already in place. Also, in Mürefte, the population exchange was

arranged peacefully and in a cooperatively orderly manner, taking 3 months<sup>179</sup> and Bozcaada was exempt from population exchange. In these two locations, the local Muslim population lived with the Greeks in harmony, sharing a similar culture and Muslims in many cases worked in wineries or in some cases owned wineries even in the Ottoman times. In Izmir and Tokat where the Christian's departure was fast and troublesome, we don't observe a takeover, or at least mention of it. Therefore, we can suggest that in Mürefte and Bozcaada, wine culture and industry did not experience the extent of discontinuity experienced in other parts of the country. In fact, in the Wine Congress held in Ankara in 1946, one of the wine commission members is a Greek from Bozcaada, Nikola Kaini<sup>180</sup>.

The geographical backgrounds of the founders of wineries is also interesting, 4 out of 9 of the founders are originally from Greece, Bulgaria or Macedonia; one of them a mübadil (who came with the population exchange). All of them have opened wineries shortly after having settled and this gives the impression that they have been involved with or at least culturally inclined to running wine business. This is another observation to underline the cultural element in winemaking business.

In the two distinct examples, Kavaklıdere in Ankara and Diren in Tokat; we observe a different pattern. Firstly, although there is a history of winemaking, these are not traditional areas for wine industry. Both founders have built their own wineries and used the local grape types. Founders of Kavaklıdere are from a well to do family with partly European background and good connections; and their endeavor in the center of the capital might be regarded as an example of the new bourgeoisie.

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<sup>179</sup> (Özturgut 1985) p.53

<sup>180</sup> (Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü 1946) p.13

In the 1925-1930 period; the foundations of the largest Turkish wine brands which are still present and dominant in wine market were laid. Kavaklıdere, Doluca, Sevilen and Tekel (now Kayra and Mey) were all established in this period. But these companies developed into modern, industrial entities in the following decades.

The 1930's saw government intervention aimed at securing the conditions of a developing wine industry. In this respect private sector entrepreneurship was supported in several ways as we already discussed in the chapter on State Monopoly.

As of 1938, the production volume of private companies had increased up to 7,7 million liters, which is approximately three times the 1928 production of 2,6 million liters<sup>181</sup>. This is much above from the 1929-39 GNP increase of 42% pp, and considering the low export amounts; we can assume that the wine consumption has also increased considerably.

### **Conflicting interests and Monopoly Policies**

The purchase of wine grapes by the Monopoly administration increased from 679 tons in 1931 to 6000 tons in 1943; private wine sector has also increased its grape purchase from 5000 tons to 13000 tons. The monopoly's policy is to set a price for grape before the private companies to protect the grape grower from speculation. With the end of depression years and as a result of this monopoly policy, the wine grape prices have increased in the late 1930 and early 40's<sup>182</sup>.

This causes resentment among some of the private winemakers and the Winemakers Congress which was held in Ankara on March 1946 presented a venue for voicing their protests. The opening speech by the Minister of Customs and

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<sup>181</sup> Cumhuriyet Newspaper. *Wine Production in 1938*. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 02 15, 1940.

<sup>182</sup> Genel Müdürlüğü. *İstihbarat Bülteni*, vol. 118. Ankara: Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü, 1946. p.32

Monopoly, Mr. Tahsin Coşkan also reveals the fact the filoxera problem in Thrace still exists as of 1946 and has to be dealt with.

Following the hearing of the report on wine industry; Mr. Nihat Kutman, the founder of Doluca wines and a member of the Commission of Winemakers spoke on behalf of the winemakers of Mürefte; the leading wine making region in Thrace. The wine makers of Mürefte and nearby Şarköy are in dire need of financial assistance from the monopoly administration. He complains about the increased prices of grapes in Thrace region due to the higher prices offered by state monopoly. Also, the vineyards with filoxera have recently been uprooted and the new rootstocks will take 3-4 years to give grape. His argument is supported by Mr. Feyzi Kutman, the founder of Kutman wine and by Arif Akman, a wine expert, in requesting a subsidy or tax discount exclusively for winemakers in Thrace.

We learn from the debate between Mr. Ekrem Tonger and Mr. Kutman that until the end of 1930's Mürefte, followed by Şarköy were the unrivaled suppliers of Istanbul, the largest consumption center in Turkey. But by the end of 1930's, two things have altered this position and Izmir winemakers have become the main supplier of Istanbul<sup>183</sup>.

First, the WWII started and export of Sultana grapes was hindered due to transportation difficulties. The government allowed using dried grapes for winemaking at this time, when inferior quality Sultanas fell to the market with a comparatively lowered price<sup>184</sup>. Consequently the volume of wine production in Izmir has increased from 500 tons in 1936-37 years to 5000 tons in early 1940's<sup>185</sup>.

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<sup>183</sup> (Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü 1946) p.33-37

<sup>184</sup> (Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü 1946)p.32

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. p.33

The vineyards in Mürefte and Şarköy on the other hand have gradually been affected by filoxera since 1937 and part of this already reduced harvest is collected by the monopoly with a considerably higher price compared with Izmir Sultanas (10 *kuruş* against 6-7 *kuruş*). Improvement of transport lines between Izmir and Istanbul has also facilitated this trade.

We understand from the speeches of winemakers from Izmir and Ankara region that in fact the vacuum caused by the lowered wine production of Mürefte region, and decline in grape prices have persuaded entrepreneurs to invest in winemaking in the early years of 1940's, to cover the unfulfilled demand from Istanbul. This motivation was also strengthened with the improvement of transport lines between Izmir and Istanbul. In the overall, we can observe from the above foundation histories that most companies in Izmir, Cappadocia and Tokat are established in these years.

## CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

The 1920-1940 period followed two decades of ongoing wars, loss of land, population and economic hardships devastating the vineyards and wine industry in Turkey. The first three years of this period was also marked by the war of independence, prohibition and proclamation of republic. Things did not stabilize for wine industry until the second half of the 1920's, after the population exchange. By 1930, the country felt the shock waves of the Great Depression, and chose a different economic path to follow in the following decade.

The wars, prohibition, forced emigration of Christians and especially the exodus of Greeks by the population exchange hit the wine industry so deeply and the loss in production in the second decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century compared to the first decade is so big that we may record the early 1920's as the end of the traditional wine industry in Turkey.

The dramatic changes in the ethnic and religious mix of the population which altered the 4 to 1 Muslim/Christian ratio of 1913 to 20 to 1 in 1923 did not only lead to a lack of skilled craftsman who knew grape growing or winemaking; it also caused loss of capital and entrepreneurship for investing in wine business. On the demand side the outcome was no better. The Orthodox Christians were the traditional consumers of wine in the country, and among them was the larger part of the growing Ottoman bourgeoisie, who were the clientele of premium wineries.

After the population exchange, keeping aside Mürefte and Bozcaada where there was more continuity with the traditional wine industry and culture; the wine industry had to make a new start as there was little left in material and social capital from this tradition. The discontinuity in that sense has made the developments in

wine industry in the following years slow. The loss of a population who consumed wine on daily basis also required extra marketing efforts necessary.

By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century rakı had gradually won the competition against wine in popularity among the Muslim drinkers. Among the different types of drinks in the family of -distilled grape alcohol flavored with anise- spirits, rakı had evolved to become the spirit of choice for the Muslim drinker. As a result, our research shows that rakı production was not hit as hard as wine despite the fact that governments of the young republic were generally in support of wine production. But also before that, even during the prohibition days, wine and beer were proposed to be kept exempt from the prohibition as these are lower alcohol drinks.

The prohibition years forced winemakers to shut down or continue production in undercover conditions. In fact, the greater part of wine producing areas were out of the control of the government until late 1922, and the main source of consumption, Istanbul entered under control even later. Thanks to the limited enforcement capacity of the government and the apparent lack of will of many of the law enforcement officers to prosecute offenders, the production did not stop. The prohibition however left its legacy; the anti alcohol organization Yeşil Hilal used the prohibition ideal in its literature in the following years. This legacy also can be speculated to have disheartened potential investors and grape farmers. We should note that the grape farmers in Turkey always had a tendency to grow grape varieties that could be used both for winemaking and fresh consumption, to keep both alternatives of marketing available. This however, limits the quality and variety of wines as there are globally accepted grape types and also local varieties that can only be used in wine production.



Following the end of prohibition, the government announced its support of wine industry. This support acquired an officially organized character first with the establishment of monopoly administration. Then started to turn into a financial support by the end of 1920's when the economic policy was reshaped and the state undertook the responsibility of industrialization and agricultural growth. In the 30's the monopoly administration opened wine factories, nurseries for rootstocks and together with the ministry of Agriculture brought foreign experts to prepare the grape inventory of the country and give training, opened up laboratories for private and public sector wine tests and later established experimental wineries in the early 40's. The support also covered tax reductions to winemakers, facilitations in wine sales, purchase of grapes from producers with good terms and distribution of machinery and chemicals.

These contributions; coupled with the lower grape prices due to decline in grape export in war years, improvements in transportation, increase of population and purchasing power encouraged the private sector to invest in vineyards and wine production in late 30's and early 40's. The state owned factories also proved useful for the production of yeast and setting up examples for the private entrepreneurs. It's worth mentioning that based on the production figures for the mentioned period; we observe that the state enterprises have not created an unfavorable competition for the private winemakers.

On the cultural side; the general approach of the new republic to modernize and in a way westernize the country provided suitable ground for wine consumption. The newly flourishing bourgeoisie and bureaucrats more easily adopted the European modes of daily life and many accepted wine as a commodity of daily beverage to accompany dining or when they go out for parties. Even Mustafa Kemal, a

passionate rakı drinker would consume wine when he attended the parties which symbolized and promoted western life style. The cookbooks of the time as well as the education at the schools for girls would change to include French meals which would go with wine suggestions. The anti alcohol movement in this time frame has also founded its struggle on modern values like health and production. The debates among the pro and anti alcohol supporters on the newspaper columns, the advertisements and editorials promoting wine consumption are also worth noting.

In the competition between rakı and wine, the monopoly promoted wine by keeping prices low; like many western countries that supported lower alcohol containing drinks against consumption of strong spirits. But the consumption of rakı did not decrease as desired.

The wine production in 1925-40 period has seen a steady increase; however the variety was table wine and production of fine wines was a secondary concern. The grape variety was not treated to achieve higher quality wines and new vineyards were not set up exclusively for grape wine cultivation, instead the available vineyards with available grape varieties were used. The wine was produced in a clean and scientific environment and it was cheap, but there were always complaints about the wine quality, corks and the quality of grapes used in the process as the palate of the consumers developed.

Despite the reports in 1930 and 1938 congresses, the prospect of producing surplus amounts of quality wine for export purposes has not been successful. Both the production capacity and price / quality ratio of the wines produced have not reached the level necessary for a sizeable export amount.

To evaluate the government efforts for increasing production and exports in this period, a comparison with the developments of the neighboring Bulgaria and the

newcomer of Mediterranean wine production Algeria is useful. Bulgaria faced the filoxera problem at an earlier stage, and although it was not a traditional wine exporter it was successful in preparing vineyards and modern production facilities which resulted in quite high export figures in 30's. The monopoly administration sent local experts to inspect the vineyards and wine factories in Bulgaria in 1935. Algeria on the other hand was not hit by filoxera and was home to French wine industry investments. With successful planning, modern machinery and convenient transportation Algerian wine exports hit millions of tons in a few decades and found its place in global wine scene.

I would like to summarize the reasons of the slow growth of Turkish wine industry as follows:

The demographic changes that took place through the first three decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century inevitably affected the wine sector in an absolutely negative way. The discontinuity in this respect urged for the creation of a new wine industry. With the establishment of monopoly administration and consequent rise of interventionism in the economy, the state made new regulations favoring wine production and invested in and provided support for the wine market. However, the investments and support were limited with the economic capacity and organizational abilities of the newly established republic. These efforts amounted to creating fertile ground for the growth of a new wine sector in the following decades. But, structural difficulties like lack of capital, low profit margins in the sector and limited demand in domestic market have prevented Turkey's production and export levels to match with Mediterranean or New World wine countries.

In the end of the 30's we see that Turkey is still one of the top producers of grape while the share of wine grapes in this production is still less than 2%. At the

peak of wine production in 1943 the percentage would go up to 2.38% but fall again in the following years.

In conclusion we can describe the 1920 – 1940 years as a period of interruption and rebuilding; characterized with the vanishing of the private Ottoman wine industry and the founding of a smaller scale wine industry with the support and intervention of the state.

## **Appendix A**

### **Facts on Winemaking**

#### **Vineyards**

Many of the wine grape types including the most well known varieties (Cabernet Sauvignon, Merlot, Boğazkere etc.) are not good for fresh consumption. Some have a thick skin and some have high tannin, making them unworthy of fresh consumption.

Caring of vineyards for wine grapes and table grapes is quite different. Among many, there are two major points to note:

- 1- As the wine grapes are not watered especially during the last stages of ripening, in order to keep the sugar levels high.
  
- 2- In order to achieve the characteristic aroma of the grape and a strong and lasting taste, cluster thinning –cutting a percentage of grape clusters approx 1 month before ripening- is applied. This process is also important to maintain the characteristics of a certain grape variety in the long run.

Both points above underline the requirements for good quality wine which urge a tradeoff between high yield and high quality.

These facts bring serious decision making options for the grape farmer. First, as current in the Turkish case in 1920-30's, if the farmer does not feel secure about finding a winemaker to sell his product, he is inclined to cultivate a grape variety that can be sold as table wine as well. This fact is taken into consideration by the monopoly as well and grapes of dual use were selected for winemaking.

When he considers selling his grapes for fresh consumption, he will consider maximizing profit by keeping the yield high. This will be possible by watering and keeping all grapes on the vines until harvest.

The probable outcome of this kind of vineyard and winemaker relationship is a standard or low quality wine.

An important virtue of the grape farmer or the winemaker has to be the precision on harvest date. As they lacked the modern equipment, in the older times a certain person who has gained the expert title through years would decide on this by

tasting, and the whole village or area would start harvest. In some areas, it was a crime to start the harvest earlier. The Orthodox Christian tradition also bans harvest before the St. Mary feast on August 15<sup>th</sup>.

Therefore; grape growing, like wine making, has to be considered as a profession which requires continuity in transfer of experience and culture, or serious training to compensate for these.

### **Winemakers**

First, unlike beer and all distilled drinks, winemaking is restricted to a limited period dictated by nature and the winemaker has one chance a year for each harvested grape variety, in a period of 1-2 months.

With the exception of a very few wines that are made using partly dried grapes, a very high percentage of wine is made from fresh grapes. For a quality wine, the harvest has to be made before it gets warm and brought to the winery. Grapes should be pressed before they get to 20° C, because otherwise the fermentation process will increase the temperature too much causing loss of taste and aroma.

Therefore, there is a constraint with transportation of grapes to wineries. The grape wine vineyards have to be near the wineries, this is also stipulated in the regulations issued by the monopoly administration for winery permits.

The purchasing of grapes is the first part. The wineries in the time period of our research are usually founded by people with limited capital. Therefore they have a problem of cash flow and they have to buy from the grape growers on credit basis, promising to pay as soon as they sell their wine. This creates a situation where the grape grower feels unsecure and has to wait for at least 4-5 months to get his payment. The wine maker on the other hand has to sell his wine and turn to cash as soon as possible. Therefore he may start selling his wine before it is ready, causing problems in quality. In the difficult and uncontrollable circumstances of those times, a very inferior quality wine unfit for sales is a possible outcome and presents a risk for the whole business.

For a higher chance of good fermentation, industrial yeast has to be used. Otherwise, the natural fermentation may or may not yield good results. Industrially produced yeast was hard to find in the early years of the republic. In 1946, speaking to the Monopoly bulletin, the winemaker expert at monopoly's Tekirdağ wine

factory describes how they had to prepare their own yeast a few days earlier because at that time they did not have packaged yeast at the factory.

The grape is pressed, added yeast and sulphur, and left for fermentation. During this process, tests have to be made to understand if the sugar content has been transformed in to alcohol.

After the fermentation, wine has to wait for stabilization and sedimentation. Then, it is either put in oak barrels for aging or transportation. Due to transportation difficulties of bottled wine, and also marketing difficulties of small wineries, many of the private companies would transport their wines in barrels to meyhanes or local retailers.

## **Appendix B**

### **Men-i Müskirat Kanunu**

14 Eylül 1336 ve 1 Muharrem 1339

Kanun no 22

Madde 1. Memaliki Osmaniye’de her nev’i müskirat, imal, idhal, fûruht ve isti`mali memnudur.

Madde 2. Müskirat imal, idhal ve nakıl ve fûruht edenlerden müskiratın beher kıyyesi için elli lira cezayı nakti ahiz ve elde edilen müskirat imha olunur.

Madde 3. Alenen müskirat isti`mal edenler veya hafıyyen isti`mal edip de sarhoşluğu görülenler ya haddi şerî ilr tedip olunur veya elli liradaniki yüz liraya kadar cezyı nakti ve yahut üç aydan bir seneye kadar hapis cezasıyla tecziye olunurlar. Sıfat-ı resmiyye erbabından olanlar dahi memuriyetten tard edilir ve bu husustaki hükümler kabil-i itiraz ve istinaf ve temyiz değildir.

Madde 4. Bu kanunun tasdik ve neşri ile beraber içki imaline mahsus bilcümle alat ve edevat müsadere edilir, mevcut içkiler derhal temhir edilir ve iki ay zarfında memalik-i ecnebiyyeye ihracına müsaade olunur. İki ay hitamında mevcut müskirat imha olunur.`

Madde 5. Tababette kullanılacak her nevi ispirotolu mevât ihtiyâç nisbetinde Sıhhiye Vekaletince eczanelere tevzi ve sarfiyatı kontrola tabi tutulur.

Madde 6. Tababette istimal olunacak ispirotolu mevaddın sureti istimal ve sarfi hakkında Sıhhiye Vekaletince bir talimatname kaleme alınacaktır.

Madde 7. Bu kanun taraihi neşrinden itibaren mer’idir.

Madder 8. Bu kanunun icrayı ahkamını Dahiliye, Adliye ve Sıhhiye Vekilleri memurdur.



## Appendix C

Devlet Arşivleri . (1927,09,3), Emval-i Metruke, Belge no 30.10.171.187.13.



زراعت و االت جلیله سنه

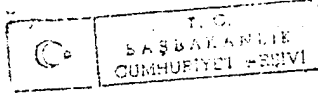
13

خلاصه : مرقتہ ناحیہ سی شراب اصالتخانہ لری  
حقتده راپور .

نومور  
۲۸

۳۵ تموز ۱۹۲۷ تاریخ و ۴۳۰/۱۱۹ نومردلی امرنامه و کالتپنا شیلری مرجعینہ الیک رسا نئله مرقتہ یه عزیزتله  
تدقیقات لازمه بالاجرا ۳ آغستوس ۱۹۲۷ ده استانبولده عودت ایدلشدور .  
سوک تشکیلات ملکیه به توفیقاً مرقتہ ، کچن سنه تا سئما سئندن ناحیه حالته ارجح اولونشدور . مقصدله سیاحتی  
ماتلامق ایپون زراعت مقنشی اولفتلتم حصیله مرقتہ نك وضعیت زراعی و اقتصادی سنی تدقیق ایدر مقنن ویره نك  
حالا ناحیه نك باغبیلیق شرا بیلیمق تئمله نظرئندن وضعیت اقتصادی سنی احراقیله آکلا یه بیلیم مقصدیله ناحیه نك  
بلدیہ سی ، تجارت اولنه سی ، ناحیه منیریتی ، شراب تاملری ، باغبیلیق و عاقدار لری ایله آیری آیری تاس  
ایدیله نك ناحیه نك تابع اولدیغی قضا یه شیدیلوب قانقلمه ده مداوله ائمار ایدلشدور . مرکز قضا ده لازم کلن  
تدقیقات ائمال ایدلگدن سوئرا تکرار مرقتہ یه عودتله اورا ده یکنیدن بعض تدقیقات اجرا و استانبولده عودت  
ایدرکن تکمیلداتمه چقبوب والی بی زیارتله برقره ده والینک مرقتہ حقتده کی قنطه نغار و منالعه سنی اؤنشل اولنم  
مرقتہ حقتده کی تئبیه تدقیقات و منالعات بروجه زیر عرف اولونور :

- ۱ — مرقتہ وضعیت جغرافی و اقتصادی قنطه نظرئندن مهم ، متعدد و بیوتک کویلردن تشکیل بر ناحیه در .  
۳۳۲ سنه سنده حادث اولان بیوتک زلزله دن مقدم نفس قصبه ۱۵۰۰ نانه ایکن حالاً سکساننی برلی و ۲۳۰  
سی مبادلی اولنق اوزره ۳۰۰ نانه دن عبارت شراب لرا ایپور سنده بر قصبه بقدر مرقتہ یه تابع ، **هورا**  
بلا قنطه **کچی** ۲۰۰۰ نانه بی سئیلارز متعدد بیوتک کویلری اولدیغی حالده حالاً کویلرئنده بر قسم مهمی  
حالیله حاله قلمش کیی در .
- ۲ — مرقتہ ناحیه سی ۳۳۲ سنه سنده حادث اولان زلزله بی متعاقب کاهور ایدن بالقان حربنده بلنارلر و بالاحره  
ده یز قشیلار اولنندن اشغال اولوننن ، دشما نلرک ریجتلری ائنا سنده عراشغال ایدیلن ملکئلرمز ده اولدیغی  
نئین کاهلر دینه چک درجه ده تحریب ایدلشدور . ناحیه نك حالاً نوس عمومی سی ۷۰۰۰ را ده سنده اولوب  
یوزده سکساننی مبادلدر .
- ۳ — مرقتہ نك شامت و فلاکت سنه نرئندن اول ۴۰۰۰۰ دونم باغی ایله ۱۰۷ شراب و راتی اصلا نئانه سی  
وارمن قصبه ده کیلرک قسم اعظمی خارج اولنق اوزره کویلر ده کی اصلا نئانه لر دشما قنطه تحریب  
ایدلشدور . مرقتہ باغئرئندن الله ایدیلن اوزوم مقداری یکرمی ملیون اوفه بی **وزارتدیکی** و بوندن



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- شماره ۱۳/۱۳ ملین تبه شراب، راقی، سیرک، استعمال ایندلیگی و بر ملیون اوقیه تین بیکلک اوزونک ده استانیول و سائرده به سون ایندلیگی آکلا شیلدیگی حالده عیالاً قابل استفاده اون بریک دویم یغی نالدر و بوتنده کین سنه بتوز بیک کیلو شراب اصالی ایدینه رک لیساً بتونه سون ایدلمشدر.
- ۴ — نفس تمبه ده ایدری به یقین اینلر بر حالده مستطک جسامتده و پیری سنوی ۱۰۰/۶۰ بیک و دهها نسله تبه اوزوم اینله به ییله بیک شراب و راقی اصالی لاتخانه لری موجود در . ناسیه تک، مناعه ارسیه سی دولایسیله تمبه ایله کریلر بر سنده آزابه اینله به مگده بتون منافات مکن اولان بر لورده قایظوله بمرأ اوله میان بر لورده حیوان سیرتورنده یا پیئقده در . وضعیت ارسیه تک بو مشالری ناسیه تک مرکزی وضعیتده بولان بیوک کویئورنده تمبه ده کیلر قدر محدود و بیوک اصالی لاتخانه لری یا بلمستی ایجاب ایدیرمش و بو سورته تمبه ده کیلرک درت مندن نسله اصالی لاتخانه لری ما نیله کریلده تا سیم ایدلمشدر .
- ۵ — مرفته ولتانیك تنفلاتنده اولدیگی وضعیت ائسیه بفرانیا سیده ساتر اوزوم پیشدیرمگه بک مساعد بولندیگی ایچون بورا اوزوملرندن الده ایدیلن شرابلر زمان اولمشکه فرانسه به قدر سون ایدینه رک یوکسک فیاطرله ساتیلیرمش .
- ۶ — استلاحی متعاقب مرفته ده موجود اولان بالعموم شراب و راقی اصالی لاتخانه لری اوزمان شکل ایتمش اولان متعاقبین عسریه شرفته دور ایدلمش شرفته موجود اصالی لاتخانه لری ایشله تک یرده متروک شراب لری ساتمدن سوکرا اصالی لاتخانه لریده ۱۰/۴ دهها نسله وارنده کی فوجو و قابیری استانیولده ما نیله کیلو حسابیه ساتمه باشلامش مرفته حاکمک سراجعتی اوزرینه حکومتدن بریلن ادرله ساتیش دور دورولس ایسه ده سون ایدیلن لری به غیریله ما سندر . اصالی لاتخانه لریده موجود اولان جسم قابیری بلب ایتمک بیوک پاره یره مترتف اولمله برابر اوتباری ملکت شارچندن المقده امانت لری در . بنا علیه موجود لری کله لری لازمدر .
- ۷ — مرفته و قرا سنده ۱۰۷ اصالی لاتخانه تک مقدما موجود اولدیفته نقرأ بتون اصالی لاتخانه لری مویط لری اون ملیون قیه دن نسله شراب سطلورنده اصالی و ناسیه به بلقا بی بلک کافی ایتمش بر سنک ما تیلسی و قسم ائتمک ده شدی به قدر متروک اولسی دولایسیله با تمسزلق یوزدن بر قسم همی ~~مکتوب~~ و شراب اولمشدر .
- موجود اصالی لاتخانه لره بو سنه به قدر و قرقسزلق دولایسیله مرفته ما دللرندن طالب فخر ایتدیگی ایچون کوسترین سلی لوزوم اوزرینه داخلیه نکالت بیلله سنیه جهت مالیه به دور ایدلمش و مالیه به ده اول امرده مرکز تمبه دن با شامق اوزره مزایده به وشع اولوشمدر . مرکز ناسیه ده درت الی ۸ آقستور تاریخلریده اصاله لری یا بلق اوزره ۱۷ اصالی لاتخانه مزایده به بیقارلمش و بولورده یغی لیری مرفندن پی آلتنه ائلمشدر اصالی لاتخانه لری مزایده به وضعی اوزرینه ~~سلی~~ مرتبلی مرفته دن بشقه اولان بعضی ما دللر تکبیر دانشی ولایتته

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مراجعة تملطرنده براتقنلری امانه مقابل اصلا لاشانه لردن بر تسمك كندیلیرنه تفریقسی ، حلب المیلیرنه مینی مزایده ده بولتان اصلا لاشانه لردن بری دیریلن امر اوزرینه مزایده فن ری ایدلنلدر . مزایده فن ری ایدیلن اصلا لاشانه بمرتته زنگینلردن طلی پاشا زاده احمد انندی نامنده بریسی طرفندن پی آلتنه آلتنلدر . احمد انندی قصبه نك منتقد بر - فردی اولدیغی و عیثه اصلا لاشانه لره ده سائر سبادلردن طالب بیتمسی و بو و رعیتك تعدادیتمنس ملاحظه و مسالعه منه مینی ، قصبه نك بلدییه رئیس تجارت ازمه سی رئیس احمد انندی <sup>ورقی</sup> طرفلردن وكالت بلیله لرینه و مقامات علیه سائره به تلفرا نلره عینی شكايت ايله منلدر . فن اصالحال موجود اصلا لاشانه لرك مرتته لیلردن غیرینك اننه كچیسى اورا نك باشقیقنى كورلعه تیر زیرا مرتته ده فن شراب و راشی عالملى هم باشقی و هم ده عالمدرلر . بنأ علیه صورت عمومی ده اصلا لاشانه لری مرتته ناحیه ستده موجود مبادللره و بحوالده ساكنه املیه سه بریرلسن ملكت حمايته دنا مرا تندر . مبادللر غوا بییقنى ییندكلى ایچون مرتته نك سكنه املیه سی اصلا لاشانه لردن مسروم ایدیلیرسه مرتته شراب بیلقى بو یوز دنده بیوك بر تمبلنه به معروض تالییر . بالكر بو با بده ماده آیه نك نشر دتته ایلمسی كادیر .

۱ - ۶ - ۸ آشتورس تاریخلردنه امانه لری امراتلته چق اولان ۱۷ اصلا لاشانه به پی سوره نلر تدریق ایدلنكده طلی پاشا زاده احمد انندی ازمه دانا دی تاین برا دری و دیگر آتیرا لری نك بیثه اصلا لاشانه لره سچك سوروكلى كورولكده در . احمد انندی اورا نك یئنه سرما به داری اولدیغی ججهله موجود اصلا لاشانه لرك بر قسم سچقنى به عالمه الله ایتمسی سچولدر بو رعیتك تحقق ایتدیگى تقدیرده احمد انندی و اقربا سی - طرفلردن <sup>سچقنى</sup> مشك بر اتمسار و سچق میدانه تلیر مرتته اوزرملری شوابق اولدیغی ایچون ملاحظه سندنه صورت ایدلنلدر . اصلا لاشانه لره سچورده زمره و یا عالمه الله كچه چك اولورسه اوزوم نیا تلرینى - <sup>ایتمسار</sup> لیستك دكلى كچس لداره ایدرلر . بو با تلغ باشقیلرك و دولایسیله ملكتك علمنه بر حالدر . بنأ علیه صورت مسئله ده اصلا لاشانه لرك سچورده اتمسارك الله حو پلانسه سی موافق دكندر . تسبه ده بولتان اصلا لاشانه لرك متعدد اتمسارك اننه كچیسى ملكت حمايته بحوالده دنا موافقدر .

۶ - اصلا لاشانه لره تقدیر ایدیلن سچقنى ، اصلا لاشانه لردنه موجود اولان فوجولرك بدلى قیمتندن بیله چون دوندر . اصلا لاشانه لرك حال فعالیته كچیسى تقفه نلردن مباناً و بریرلسی جانز اوله بیلورسه ده بدی و ائنده و یا برزمره نك اننه كچیسى یوزندن بر فائده ملحوت اوله دقدن بیثه <sup>مورد</sup> در . مزایده به چیتار یان اصلا لاشانه لرك بیك لیرادن دون تیملری بولتا نلرك احاله لری سچولرنده یا بیلا چقدر . بیك لیرادن یوقاری اولانلر استینان ایدیله چكدر . بنأ علیه حالاً مزایده ده بولنلنلرك بر قسم مهمته بیك لیرادن دون برنیات قوندیغی ایچون تقدیر تیملرینه كوره طالمیلوی طرفلردن پی آلتنه آلتنلدر .

030	10	171	187	13
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## Appendix D

Filoxera effected zones in Turkey - 1932



Map from 1. Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi. *Türkiye'de Bağcılığın Ehemmiyeti*. Ankara: Ziraat Vekaleti, 1938.

## Appendix E

Baküs Rakı advertisement from 1930's

Rakdan anlıyan: Rakı içmesini bilen

# BAKÜS

içer

Anlamayan propagandaya kapılır, getirilen rakıyı iyi diye içer.  
Halbuki o rakıyı dikkatle içse

## BAKÜS

kadar iyi olmadığını kolaylıkla anlar

## BAKÜS

en nefis, en kıbar ve en az zararlı bir rakıdır. Çünkü fiçılarda dinlendirilmeden şişlere konulmaz. Beyoğlundaki birahaneler ve ekseri bakkallar musirren talep etmedikçe size Baküs vermezler. Rumlar Rumları, Ermeniler Ermenileri zengin etmiye çalışırlar. Biz Türkler de bilmiyerek kör körüne arkalarından koşarız.

Teessüf, teesüf, milyonlarca teesüf!

CEMAL BAKÜS

From Doğruel, Suut, ve Fatma Doğruel. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Tekel*. İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı, 2000.

## Appendix F

Brief histories of some private winemakers:

### **Dimitrakopulo**

Another well known company of the times was Dimitrakopulo, which still exists. As the name suggests the company was established by a Greek family living Istanbul towards the end of the 19th century, to produce rakı. Their rakı was quite popular and Ataturk is also known to drink it. In 1928, with the establishment of monopoly they started making wine instead of rakı. In 1950, before moving to Greece, the family sold the brand to Arals; a Turkish family making wine since 1933<sup>186</sup>. Later, the winery moved to Mürefte, where it is still functioning.

### **Çamlıbağ**

Çamlıbağ (ex Yunatçı) winery was established in Bozcaada. The founder, Haşim Yunatçı bought the winery from the Greek Payi Dimo in 1925. He thus became the first Muslim winemaker of the island. It is suggested by company website that it was difficult for him to find a bride for his son due to his choice of profession<sup>187</sup>. Haşim was also the first to bottle the wine in Bozcaada, which was traditionally sold in barrels for convenience of transportation.

It's worth noting that Bozcaada and Gökçeada, together with Istanbul were the only locations exempt from population exchange. There has been a Greek community in Bozcaada, although in continuously lower numbers especially after 1970's.

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<sup>186</sup> Dimitrakopulo, Gülay Albayrak - Winemaker of, interview by Yavuz Saç. *History of Dimitrakopulo* (5 26, 2010).

<sup>187</sup> (Çamlıbağ 2010)

### **Bağcı**

Mehmet Bağcı, who had worked with local Greeks in winemaking, established his company in 1932 in Mürefte. Like most other producers of the time, Bağcı also sold its wine in wooden barrels, which were carried by ships to Istanbul. Then, wine would be bottled by another brand and sold. Bağcı sold wine to Mutuk wine company, whose advertisements I've come across on the front pages of Cumhuriyet newspapers of 1940<sup>188</sup>.

### **Ataol**

Ataol Winery was established in Bozcaada in 1927 by Osman Ataol as a small winery using traditional methods. Their wine was transported in barrels for the taverns in Istanbul.

Similar to Dimitrakopulo case, in 1972 the owner of Kostaraga- Agama wines, Mihail Christodoulou sold the trademark to Ataol family<sup>189</sup>.

### **Diren**

Diren is founded in Tokat, a city famous for its vineyards and wine since centuries. We read from the 17<sup>th</sup> century merchant traveler Tavernier that the Armenian community makes a splendid wine<sup>190</sup>. The traditional wine making was enhanced with the arrival of Jesuit School in 1881<sup>191</sup>. The Jesuit monks have established terraced vineyards –which still exists- and cultivated Narince, a delicate local grape variety used for white wine. With the departure of Jesuit school and Armenian population, the harvest was started to be used as table grape or molasses.

It was in early 1940's that Mustafa Vasfi Diren started to be interested in wine business and by 1953 he made the first production. Traditional methods in were

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<sup>188</sup> (Cumhuriyet 1940)

<sup>189</sup> (Ataol Şarapçılık n.d.)

<sup>190</sup> (Tavernier 2006) p. 53

<sup>191</sup> (Diren Şarapları n.d.)

maintained until 1964, after collaboration with the state universities to acquire scientific methods and trips to Germany by Mustafa Diren to bring machinery.

### **Yazgan**

It was established in in Izmir in 1943, by Salonika born Hüseyin Yazgan; who was the son of a family which moved to Izmir during the population exchange. The instruments in the winery were 8-10 barrels, a hand press and pump. The first year's production volume was 23.000 liters.

The company moved to another building in 1945 and increased its capacity to exceed 100 tons in 1946. 8 years later they moved to a factory and increased the capacity to 4500 tons annually<sup>192</sup>.

### **Sevilen**

İsa Güner, an immigrant from Bulgaria, founded Sevilen in Izmir in 1942. He went to France for observations about wine. On his return unlike most other winemakers of his time; he did not buy vineyards or harvested grapes. Instead he established his own vineyard in a 4 hectare land near Izmir. By 1958, the land of the vineyards develops to 50 hectares<sup>193</sup>.

### **Taskobirlik Cooperative**

The cooperative winery has its roots in 1942. The State Agriculture Administration Organization -after a visit by the president in Nevsehir area-, ordered the establishment of a winery attached to the Ataturk Forest Farm. Finding a profitable and convenient way to sell their wines the grape farmers of the region organized into Sales Cooperatives in Nevsehir, Urgup and Avanos. The combination of these 3 cooperatives set the foundation of Taskobirlik<sup>194</sup>.

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<sup>192</sup> (Yazgan Wine n.d.)

<sup>193</sup> (Sevilen Group n.d.)

<sup>194</sup> (Taskobirlik n.d.)



## Appendix G

Table 1. Top countries ranked by vineyard area, 2006

Country	Vineyard area '000 ha	% of world	Change from 2005
Spain	1174.0	15.0	-0.5
France	887.5	11.4	-0.8
Italy	843.4	10.8	0.2
<b>Turkey</b>	552.4	7.1	-0.4
China	446.1	5.7	1.7
USA	398.7	5.1	-0.1
Iran	330.0	4.2	-0.1
Portugal	249.0	3.2	0.4
Argentina	223.0	2.9	2.0
Romania	213.0	2.7	-1.8
WORLD	7,812.0		-0.1

Source: OIV (Organisation Internationale de la Vigne et du Vin)- Situation of the world viticultural sector in 2006

Table 2. Top countries ranked by total grape production, 2006

Country	Grape production million tonnes	% of world	Change from 2005
Italy	8,328	12.5	-2.6
France	6,777	10.2	5.5
Spain	6,405	9.6	5.5
China	6,271	9.4	8.2
USA	5,757	8.6	-18.8
<b>Turkey</b>	3,445	5.2	4.3
Iran	2,963	4.4	0.0
Argentina	2,881	4.3	1.8
Chile	2,422	3.6	4.4
Australia	1,981	3.0	-2.2
WORLD	66,765		0.1

Source: OIV (Organisation Internationale de la Vigne et du Vin) - Situation of the world viticultural sector in 2006

Table 3. Top producers of wine in the world, 2006

<b>Country</b>	<b>Wine production (ML)<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>% of world</b>	<b>Change from 2005</b>
France	5,212	18.4	0.0
Italy	5,203	18.4	2.9
Spain	3,813	13.5	0.9
USA	1,944	6.9	-15.1
Argentina	1,539	5.4	1.1
Australia	1,426	5.0	0.3
China <sup>1</sup>	1,200	4.2	0.0
South Africa	940	3.3	11.8
Germany	892	3.2	-2.6
Chile	845	3.0	7.1
Portugal	727	2.6	0.0
<b>WORLD</b>	<b>28,278</b>		<b>1.0</b>

<sup>1</sup>OIV estimate. Source: OIV - Situation of the world viticultural sector in 2006

Table 4. Top exporters of wine in the world, 2006

<b>Country</b>	<b>Wine exports (ML)</b>	<b>% of world</b>	<b>Change from 2005</b>
Italy	1,839	21.9	17.0
France	1,472	17.6	6.4
Spain	1,434	17.1	-0.7
Australia	760	9.1	8.3
Chile	474	5.7	12.6
USA	376	4.5	8.7
Germany	320	3.8	7.6
Argentina	293	3.5	36.6
Portugal	290	3.5	10.4
South Africa	272	3.2	-3.4
<b>WORLD</b>	<b>8,379</b>		<b>6.3</b>

Source: OIV - Situation of the world viticultural sector in 2006

Table 5. Top wine consuming nations, 2006

Country	Wine consumption ML	% of world	Change from 2005
France	3,300	13.6	-1.6
Italy	2,733	11.3	1.2
USA	2,590	10.7	3.1
Germany	2,021	8.3	1.8
Spain	1,351	5.6	-1.3
China	1,328	5.5	5.0
United Kingdom	1,262	5.2	-3.6
Argentina	1,110	4.6	1.2
Russia	1,060	4.4	1.0
Romania	555	2.3	133.1
Portugal	479	2.0	-2.2
WORLD	24,242		

Source: OIV - Situation of the world viticultural sector in 2006

Table 6. Top wine consuming nations per capita, 2006					
Country	2003	2004	2005	2006	% change from 2003
France	56.6	54.8	55.0	53.8	-4.9
Luxembourg	55.8	57.3	54.6	NA	
Italy	50.4	48.4	46.1	46.5	-7.7
Portugal	51.1	46.9	46.5	45.3	-11.4
Switzerland	40.3	39.7	38.7	37.6	-6.7
Denmark	33.8	31.6	31.9	31.7	-6.2
Spain	32.8	32.5	31.5	30.8	-6.1
Austria	29.0	29.1	28.9	29.4	1.4
Greece	27.8	29.8	32.3	28.8	3.6
Croatia	38.7	36.3	28.7	28.4	-26.6
Argentina	32.5	29.0	28.3	28.4	-12.6
Belgium	25.2	26.4	26.8	NA	
Slovenia	33.0	25.4	32.0	26.9	-18.5
Uruguay	22.7	25.5	26.1	25.9	14.1
Germany	23.9	24.0	24.0	24.5	2.5
Australia	21.1	21.7	22.3	22.3	5.7
The Netherlands	22.0	20.5	21.3	21.4	-2.7

Source: OIV - Situation of the world viticultural sector in 2006

All tables from <http://www.winebiz.com.au/statistics/world.asp>

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