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THE OPIUM HISTORY OF EASTERN THRACE (1927-1933): INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DYNAMICS

DOĞU TRAKYA'NIN AFYON TARİHİ (1927-1933): İÇ VE DIŞ DİNAMİKLER

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Abstract

Opium poppy that is one of the native crops of Anatolia has been known for centuries in the Mediterranean geography. Opium that was one of the important commodities in the 19th century is a juice of opium poppy. Opium poppy is a multi-dimensional crop. In this context, it is in the group of oil crop, forage crop, cash crop, and medicinal and aromatic plants. Since it is medicinal and aromatic plants, it is demanded by pharmaceutical industry. However, opium is considered as one of the reasons of drug addiction at the same time. From this aspect, opium poppy is both remedy and poison for humanity. In other words, it contains two contradictions within itself such as both therapeutical drug and narcotic drug at the same time. This study analyses the social, political, and economic dynamics of opium in Eastern Thrace within the context of the opium policy of Turkey and opium issue at an international level in the 20th century. In fact, in pursuit of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, the loss of Dedeağaç Port and the Western Thrace hinterlands of Edirne directed the region to İstanbul market. As it is in the example of opium, this situation caused the economic competition of Eastern Thrace with Anatolian provinces. This study analyses the production of poppy seed and opium juice in Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, İstanbul (European side) and Çanakkale (European side) between 1927 and 1933. The opium juice produced in Eastern Thrace supplied the demands of raw material of the pharmaceutical industries in İstanbul. However, the data that take part in literature as to opium poppy farming in Thrace is very limited and dispersed. This study observes the local press of the region, the reports of Turkish Statistical Institute, the Official Gazette, proceedings of the parliaments, and the public records of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey as primary sources and the secondary literature. Thus, the reasons for the encouragement of opium cultivation in Eastern Thrace, opium poppy farming, the production of opium, and marketing mechanisms in the period concerned. In this context, it provides a new perspective considering the geographical position of Thrace.

Keywords: *Opium Trade, Opium Poppy Farming, Eastern Thrace, Pharmaceutical Industry, Added Value Production*

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Öz

Anadolu'nun yerli ürünlerinden biri olan haşhaş Akdeniz coğrafyasında yüzyıllardır bilinmektedir. 19. yüzyılda önemli bir ticari meta olan afyon haşhaşın özsuyudur. Haşhaş çok yönlü bir bitkidir. Bu bağlamda haşhaş yağ bitkisi, yem bitkisi, endüstri bitkisi ve tıbbi aromatik bitkiler gurubunda değerlendirilmektedir. Afyon tıbbi aromatik bitki olduğundan eczacılık endüstrisi tarafından talep edilmektedir. Ancak afyon aynı zamanda uyuşturucu bağımlılığının da bir nedeni olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bir diğer ifade ile afyon hem tedavi edici ilaç hem de uyuşturucu gibi iki zıt özelliği aynı anda barındırmaktadır. Bu yönüyle de afyon, insanlık için hem bir deva hem de bir zehirdir. Bu çalışma 20. yüzyılda Türkiye'nin afyon siyaseti ve uluslararası alanda afyon konusu bağlamında Doğu Trakya'daki afyonun toplumsal, iktisadi ve siyasi dinamiklerini incelemektedir. Nitekim Balkan Savaşlarının ardından Edirne'nin Dedeağaç Limanı ve Batı Trakya hinterlandını kaybetmiş olması bölgeyi İstanbul piyasasına yönlendirmiştir. Bu durum afyon örneğinde olduğu gibi Doğu Trakya'nın Anadolu vilayetleri ile iktisadi bir yarışa neden olmuştur. Bu çalışma 1927 ve 1933 tarihleri arasında Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, İstanbul (Avrupa tarafı) ve Çanakkale (Avrupa tarafı) illerindeki haşhaş tohumu ve afyon sakızı üretimini incelemektedir. Doğu Trakya'da üretilen afyon sakızı İstanbul'da kurulan ilaç fabrikalarının hammadde talebini karşılamıştır. Ancak, Doğu Trakya'da haşhaş yetiştiriciliğine dair literatürde yer alan veriler çok sınırlı ve dağınıktır. Bu çalışma birincil kaynak olarak bölgenin yerel basını, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu raporları, resmî gazete, Parlamento tutanakları ve Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri ve de ikinci literatürü incelemektedir. Böylece, Trakya'da haşhaş tarımının teşvik edilme nedenleri, haşhaş yetiştiriciliği, afyon üretimi ve pazarlama mekanizmaları ele alınmaktadır. Bu bağlamda literatüre Doğu Trakya'nın coğrafi konumundan kaynaklı yeni bir bakış açısı da kazandırılmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: *Afyon Ticareti, Haşhaş Yetiştiriciliği, Doğu Trakya, İlaç Endüstrisi, Katma Değerli Üretim*

Introduction

From the works of Italian historian Gaius Plinius and the Ancient Greek author Homer to those of modern ages, the cultivation of the opium poppy in Asia Minor (Anatolia) has been well-known.[1] Furthermore, Anatolia, the Middle East and the surrounding Mediterranean are the homelands of the opium poppy. Therefore, the symbols of the opium poppy have been described in architecture, coins, and various artworks of different civilizations in these regions. In other words, the opium poppy is a native crop of these regions and has had an important role in the socio-economic live of the societies and states in Mediterranean Basin. Due to its medical, commercial, and nutritional characteristics, the opium poppy has become highly sought-after and prized. While it was regarded as one of the most important commodities in international trade in the 19th century, its use as a medicine and narcotic drug addiction were issues in the 20th century.

In addition to the biological characteristics of the opium poppy, its cultivation, and the production of poppy seed and opium (opium juice) are the subjects of agriculture and economics. Apart from the coastlines of the Black Sea Region and Erzurum Kars Plato, the opium poppy can be cultivated in every part of Turkey. There was especially intensive opium poppy cultivation in Western Anatolia, the Lake Region, Eastern Thrace, the central part of North Anatolia, and the upper Euphrates sub-region in the early republican era.[2] However, the opium history of Eastern Thrace is not as well-known as the others. Therefore, this study aims to explain the opium history of Eastern Thrace (the European part of Turkey), from cultivation to marketing, by considering the socio-economic dynamics of the region and the political developments regarding opium, both in Turkey and in the international arena. Furthermore, since Eastern Thrace is on the border of both Bulgaria and Greece, its opium history is also related to these countries.

A. **The Biological and Agricultural Characteristics of the Opium Poppy**

The Opium poppy was named as *Papaever Somniferum* in botany by Swedish Naturalist Carl Linnaeus in the 18.th century.[3] The genetic origin of the opium poppy is Anatolia. Similar to *Papaver Rhoeas* (Corn Poppy), *Papaver Somniferum* is a member of trhe *Papaveraceae* Family.[4] Though the opium poppy has twenty-eight genera and more than two hundred fifty species,[5] *Paper Somniferum* is the sole species that has an economic and commercial value. Etymologically, the means of *Papaver Somniferum* is soporific or somnolent. From a plant development point of view, it has four months of vegetation and dark green leaves and stalk.[6]

1 Turgut Yazıcıoğlu, Türkiye'nin Nebati Yağ Zenginliği, Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Basımevi, Ankara, 1945, p.53.
2 Ahmet Gümüşçü & Osman Gümüşçü, "Türkiye'de Haşhaş ve Haşhaş Tarımının Coğrafi Dağılışı," Ankara Üniversitesi Türkiye Coğrafyası Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi, No. 6, 1997, p.134.
3 Martin Booth, Haşhaştan Eroine: Uyuşturucunun 600 Yıllık Öyküsü, (Trans. Öden Arıkan), Sabah Kitapları, İstanbul, 1996, p.1.
4 Robert N. Schery, Plants for Man, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1972, p.306; Süha Ünsal & H. Murat Göçmez, "Anadolu'nun Yerlisi Haşhaş, Sakini Kenevir," Kebikeç, No.18, 2004, p.211.
5 Booth, ibid., p.1.
6 Ayşe Fatma Erol & Erman Yanık, "Haşhaş Bitkisinin Anadolu Kültüründeki Yeri ve İzleri," Milli Folklor, Vol. 31, No. 124, 2019, p.203.

Biologically, there is a close relationship between the color of the opium poppy's petals and its seeds. Thus, white, and yellow seeds are obtained from the white opium poppy. With its vegetation changing between four and nine months based on its variety, it can be grown both in the summer and winter.[7] The seeds of the opium poppy are comprised of 44-54% oil and 25% protein. The seed of the opium poppy is used in the production of oil.[8] Furthermore, the oil percentage of white and yellow seeds is higher.[9] This oil is also used in cuisine, in the production of perfume, and in oil-based paint. The leaves and pulp of the opium poppy are one of the most important sources for foraging for animals.[10] Furthermore, peasants who grew the opium poppy made use of its stalks in the making of adobe brick, and for firewood.[11] Therefore, the opium poppy can be classified in each group; medicinal and aromatic plants, forage crops, oil crop plants, and cash crops.[12]

Geographically, the opium poppy grows in moderate climate conditions. Sandy and clayey soils that keep humidity are suitable for growing the opium poppy.[13] Therefore, it is cultivated on sloping lands.[14] There are three sowing times for the opium poppy; it can be sown between October and November, December and January or February and March. The most suitable sowing time for Eastern Thrace is March. In other months, high air temperature or strong winds negatively influence the homogenous pollination of poppy seeds in the field. Furthermore, to encourage homogenous cultivation, farmers mix 1 kg of poppy seeds with 3 kg of sand before sowing.[15] The seed of the opium poppy germinates at 4 degrees Celsius. Frost damages its growth.[16] It does not need pesticides during its four-month vegetation period.[17] Although it obtains nitrogen, phosphor, and potassium from the soil, farmers use organic manure to nutritionally supplement the soil and regulate its water-holding capacity. In addition, deep cultivation in the field is necessary for the root growth (rhizogenesis) of the opium poppy.[18]

'Poppy juice' is produced in the first ten days of the capsule maturation process, which is when the harvest of poppy juice begins. This period occurs two weeks after the capsule falls. The capsule of the opium poppy is cut into vertically during the heat of the day, thus, increasing the flow of poppy juice. Opium incised in the morning has a higher dose of morphine. However, each capsule provides eighty milligrams of poppy juice on average and farmers produce between eight and fifteen kilograms from one hectare.[19] However,

7 Gümüşçü &Gümüşçü, ibid., p.126-128.
8Booth, ibid., p.7; Hamilton Wright, "The International Opium Commission," The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1909, p.667.
9 Gümüşçü & Gümüşçü, ibid., p.129.
10 Booth, ibid., p.7; Wright, ibid., p.667; Yazıcıoğlu, ibid., p.60.
11 Çağrı Erhan, Beyaz Savaş- Türk Amerikan İlişkilerinde Afyon Sorunu, Nobel Akademik Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, p.10.
12 Gümüşçü & Gümüşçü, ibid., p.123.
13 Booth, ibid., p.2.
14 Galip Bahtiyar Göker, Afyon: Türkiye İstihsalatı: Haşhaş Ziraatı Ziraat Mıntıkaları, Afyon İstihsalatı, İstatistik Ahdi ve Kanuni Mevzuat, İstanbul Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, İstanbul, 1933, p.3.
15Burak Çıtır, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Afyon Ziraatı ve Ticareti (1900-1939), Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2015, p.18-22.
16 Gümüşçü & Gümüşçü, ibid., p.129
17 Booth, ibid., p.2-3.
18 Gümüşçü & Gümüşçü, ibid., p.132-133; Suphi Rıza Doğukan, Türkiye'de Haşhaş Ziraatı ve Afyon İstihsali, TMO Genel Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı, Ankara, 1950, p.15.
19 Doğukan, ibid., p.20; Booth, ibid., p.4-5.

since not every opium capsule matures at the same time, it cannot be harvested all in one go.[20] Additionally, rainy, windy, and dewy weather conditions are not suitable for the harvest of poppy juice.[21]

Based on harvest method, there are two types of opium: soft and drogist. With regards to Turkish opium, it seems the poppies grown in Diyarbakır, Malatya, Amasya, Tokat and Çorum, are soft, and those from other regions are drogist. The morphine rate of soft opium is higher, but the rate of plant residue is lower than drogist opium.[22] However, the morphine level of Turkish opium increases from the eastern to the western part of Turkey. The morphine level determines the pricing of opium. In contrast to this, codeine level increases from the western to the eastern part of Turkey at the beginning of the 1930s.[23] For example, while the morphine rate of Malatya was 10%, that of Thrace was 15%.[24] Two weeks after the harvest of opium, the poppy seeds are harvested and dried in the sun four or five days.[25] On average, 3 or 4 kg of poppy juice, 20 kg of poppy seed, and 100 kg stalks are obtained per hectare.[26] In addition to these biological and agricultural characteristics of the opium poppy, it is one of the native crops of the Mediterranean that has had a long and historical past.

B. **The Socio-Economic History of the Opium Poppy in the Ottoman Empire**

As Carl Linnaeus wrote in *Genera Plantarum* in 1753, Anatolia, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean are thought of as the homeland of the opium poppy.[27] Many scientists agree that opium poppy cultivation has continued for more than 5000 years in these regions. Therefore, the opium poppy has been used in the social, cultural, and economic life of the civilizations in these places. For example, it was described as a remedy for many illnesses on Sumerian tablets.[28] Furthermore, the oldest poppy seeds, which belonged to the 15th century BC, were found in Teb city in Egypt. Hence, the etymology of thebaine comes from this settlement. The opium poppy, which was named 'haşşikka' was also used in in the symbols of Kubba, who was a divinity of late Hittite. Similarly, symbols of this crop were seen on two faces of coins in Ancient Greece and Rome.[29] For example, figures of the opium poppy are seen on coins used in the Şuhut District of Afyonkarahisar in the early Roman period.[30] All of these findings indicate the socio-economic importance and value of the opium poppy in political and socio-economic areas amongst ancient civilizations.

20 Kazım Rıza, Türkiye Ziraatı ve Türkiye Ziraatının Mühim Şubeleri, Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1935, p.66.
21 Doğukan, ibid., p.19; Çıtır, ibid., p.25.
22 Doğukan, ibid., p.20; Ali N. Babaoğlu, Uyuşturucu ve Tarihi Bağımlılık Yapan Maddeler, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997, p.100.
23 Galip Bahtiyar Göker, Afyon: Türkiye İstihsalatı: Haşhaş Ziraatı Ziraat Mıntıkaları, Afyon İstihsalatı, İstatistik Ahdi ve Kanuni Mevzuat, İstanbul Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, İstanbul, 1933, p.17.
24 Rıza, ibid., p.64.
25 Murat Tekin, Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'de Uyuşturucu Kullanımı ile Mücadele (1920-1940) Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2005, p.66; Çıtır, ibid., p.26.
26 F. Cengiz Erdinç, Overdose Türkiye Türkiye'de Eroin Kaçakçılığı Bağımlılığı ve Politikalar, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004, p.45.
27 Booth, ibid., p.1; Ayşe Fatma Erol & Erman Yanık, ibid., p.204; Babaoğlu, ibid., p. 12; Erhan, ibid., p.7.
28 Süha Ünsal & H. Murat Göçmez, "Anadolu'nun Yerlisi Haşhaş, Sakini Kenevir," Kebikeç, No.18, 2004, p.210.
29 Fatma Erol & Yanık, ibid., p.205-206.
30 Filiz Çolak, "Anadolu'da Afyon Ziraatı ve Ticaretine Dair İzlenimler," The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies, Vol 6, No.1,2013, p.515.

In addition to poppy seeds, the opium poppy provides opium juice, which includes twenty-seven alkaloids including morphine, codeine, noscapine, and heroine.[31] The Ionians were the first civilization that used opium juice in medicine in history.[32] Furthermore, doctors made use of opium as a medication in the treatment of people in Ancient Greece and Rome.[33] Similarly, it was recommended as a tranquillizing drug and sold in pharmacies without prescription in the 19th century.[34] This time was a turning point in the proliferation of the use of these alkaloids in medicine and their sale in pharmacies. For example, the first sale of morphine in pharmacies began in Germany in 1901.[35]

Regarding drug addiction, opium was first sold by Arabic merchants and its consumption was taught to the Spanish and Portuguese in China in the 16.th century.[36] The use of opium became widespread from the 18th century onwards in the world. In this context, it was an instrument of homicides, suicides, colonialism, and so on. This contributed to the opium market in the international area. For example, the United Kingdom encouraged the spread of drug addiction in China through the East India Company.[37]

The Ottoman Empire took over the centuries old opium poppy culture of the Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian civilizations. As older civilizations had done before, opium was regarded as a painkiller and pleasure-inducing substance in the Ottoman period. While it was officially named as 'tiryak', its users named it as "tiryaki" in the Ottoman Empire.[38]It was such a valuable remedy that only sultans, kings or other prominent people could access it.[39] In general, the merchants of opium juice were non-Muslim- Armenian, Greeks, and Jewish- most of whom were also users.[40] In this context, when describing the production chain of the crop, Poroy said that opium touched everyone from its production to trade in the Ottoman Empire.[41] British and American merchants marketed Turkish opium juice to China in the 19th century and, thanks to their business income, the British merchants bought tea, silk and porcelain from China and sold these commodities to the USA and the United Kingdom. Due to the increasing profitability of opium, the Ottoman Empire controlled its sales and price, with the foundation of a monopoly at the end of the 1820s. İzmir Port was determined as the sole export point of Turkish opium. However, there were some problems in the payment of opium prices, having an adequate number of qualified officers, the prohibition of contraband trade, and the service of weight. The monopoly aimed to regulate the market, providing funds for the *Mansura treasury,* and preventing smuggling during the rule of Mahmud II.[42] The monopoly (Yeddi Vahid) system was firstly implemented with opium. However, this caused a decrease in opium

31 Schery, ibid., p.211
32 Erhan, ibid., p.8
33 Ünsal & Göçmez, ibid., p.210.
34 Schery, ibid., p.211.
35 Çıtır, ibid., p.14.
36 Erhan, ibid., p.9
37 Ünsal & Göçmez, ibid., p.211; Babaoğlu, ibid., p.32.
38 Erol & Yanık, ibid., p.208-209.
39 S. Kayıhan, Afyon ve Diğer Uyuşturucu Maddeler, Ahmet Sait Matbaası, İstanbul, 1946, p.25.
40 Erhan, ibid., p.12; İbrahim İhsan Poroy, "Expansion of Opium Production in Turkey and the State Monopoly of 1828-1839", Middle Eastern Studies, No.13, 1981, p.196-197.
41 Poroy, ibid, p.196; Kyle T. Evered, "The Opium Poppy in Turkey: Alternative Perspectives on a Controversial Crop," Focus on Geography, Vol.54, No.1, p.1.
42 Erhan, ibid., p.11-15; Poroy, ibid., p.198-202.

production.[43] Since the United Kingdom objected to the monopoly of the opium trade in the Ottoman Empire, the opium trade in Anatolia was liberalized with the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of 1838 (the Treaty of Balta-Liman)[44] ,which integrated the Ottoman economy into world capitalism.[45] Therefore, the opium poppy was also a subject of international trade and international politics.

C.The International Opium Politics: A Role of Countries and International Organizations

The USA first signed a treaty against opium with Siam in 1833, when China was protesting the opium traffic from India. By the same token, the most effective dissidence from the USA against the contraband opium trade was the Treaty of Wang Hea of 1844.[46] However, following the Second Opium War, the Tientsin Treaty on June 25, 1858, both brought the Chinese economy into world capitalism and legalized opium importation.[47] After these wars, the British strengthened their opium trade in China.[48] No doubt, this meant that the USA neglected opium traffic.[49] However, drug addiction in the USA increased in the years following the American Civil War (1861-1865). Morphine was used in the treatment of patients, causing an increase in addiction. Thus, drug prohibition began with the first anti-narcotic law established in San Francisco.[50] Therefore, the USA reversed the decision of American Chinese Commercial Treaty of 1880, which forbade the opium trade conducted by American citizens in Chinese ports. Furthermore, the USA noticed the danger of widespread drug addiction in the Philippines at the end of the 19th century.[51] The USA thought that the main source of opium in the Philippines was Turkey.[52] Thus, the importation of opium was prohibited in the Philippines in 1901. Within this scope, an Investigation Commission into opium was proposed by the USA and accepted by twelve countries, including China and Portugal, on February 14, 1902.[53] China forbade the opium trade and the British licensed medical purpose opium trade in 1902. The president of the Commission to the Investigation of Opium emphasized the serious drug addiction in Asia, the international support for the fight against drugs in China, and a need for the leadership of the USA in fighting against it and wrote a letter to the American President Theodore Roosevelt. With the sanction and support of Roosevelt, the International Opium Commission was set up in Shanghai on February 01, 1909. While the USA demanded a complete ban, Britain insisted on a controlled mechanism for the

43 Çolak, ibid., p.521-522.
44 Erhan, ibid., p.11-15; Poroy, ibid., p.198-202.
45 Şevket Pamuk, Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, p.97-102
46 Wright, ibid., p.650.
47 Dong Wang, China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History. Lexington Books, Lanham, 2005, p. 16-17; Wright, ibid., p.650.
48 J. B. Brown, "Politics of the Poppy: The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 1874-1916," Journal of Contemporary History, Vol.8, No.3, 1973, p.100.
49 Taşlıgil & Şahin, ibid., p.168.
50 Erhan, ibid., p.25; Dale H. Gieringer, "The Origins of Cannabis Prohibition in California," Contemporary Drug Problems, Vol 26 No.2, 1999, p.238.
51 Taşlıgil & Şahin, ibid., p.168.
52 Wright, ibid., p.652.
53 Wright, ibid., p.648-649.

opium trade.[54] This political transformation indicates the changing perception of opium from a commercial good in the 19th century, to a drug in the 20th century.[55]

The opium policy of the USA aimed to decrease the entrance of drugs to the USA until 1909. Thus, the USA supported the end of the opium problem in the Philippines and the anti-drug campaign of China. The decision of Shanghai advised the prohibition of drugs.[56] In contrast to the official policy regarding the opium trade, the British working class founded a civil society for the prohibition of the opium trade in London in 1874. Due to the insistence of the United Kingdom, the participants could not issue a decision regarding a complete ban on the opium trade. Exportation of opium was forbidden by the countries that prohibited its use, as was importation of the drug. The non- medical use of opium through either inhaling or injection were banned.[57] However, France, Britain, and the Netherlands evaded responsibility in Shanghai. While Russia, Habsburg, and Italy sent a representor, the Ottoman Empire did not do so.[58] There had been intensive trade in opium and tea between the East India Company of the United Kingdom and Chinese merchants since the last quarter of the 18th century.[59] Thus, one seventh of the total income of India came from drug trafficking in these years. Petna, Nepal and Benaris were important opium cultivation areas in India. Furthermore, the opium trade between Anatolia and Monsoon Asia was a profitable business in the 19th century.[60]

The control of opium production and trade was accepted by the Hague International Opium Convention on January 23, 1912.[61] Some decisions regarding the classification of narcotic substances, and the control of its production, sale, and international trade were taken.[62] However, Germany and the United Kingdom, two countries which were heavily engaged in the opium trade, refused to propound the decision of the convention in their parliaments.[63] The Ottoman Empire refused to attend the convention since the opium poppy was one of the most prominent crops in the agriculture and foreign trade of the Empire.[64] Furthermore, the USA accepted the Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914 to support the act of 1909 and limit drug traffic.[65] However, with the outbreak of the First World War, the demand for the use of morphine increased.[66] As a result, increasing morphine demand for the treatment of injured soldiers invalidated the obligations decided in Shanghai in 1909 and the Hague in 1912.[67] Germany accepted the decisions of the Hague Convention of 1912 following the concluding of the Treaty of Versailles of

54 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.33.
55 Özgür Burçak Gürsoy, "Losing Wealth or Restricting the Poison? Changing Opum Policy in Early Republican Turkey 1923-1945, Histoira Agraria, No.61, 2013, p.120.
56 Tekin, ibid., p.23-24.
57 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.90-91.
58 Tekin, ibid., p.26.
59 Tom Standage, Altı Bardakta Dünya Tarihi, (Trans. Ahmet Fethi), Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2014, p.200-201.
60 Poroy, ibid., p.191-194; Göker, ibid., p.19.
61 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.92.
62 Tekin, ibid., p.23.
63 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.92.
64 Suna Altan, "Cenevre Afyon Konferansları ve Türkiye'nin Tutumu," Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı, Year 17, No.26, 2019, p.50.
65 "The Harrison Narcotic Act," Virginia Law Reviews, Vol.6, No.7, 1920, p.534.
66 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.93.
67 Altan, "Cenevre Afyon Konferansları ve Türkiye'nin Tutumu," p.53.

1919.[68] Similarly, Article 280 in the Treaty of Sevres and Article 100 in the Lausanne Peace Treaty stipulated the acceptance of the Hague Convention of 1912.[69] However, the Hague Convention of 1912 obliged national measures against drugs rather than international collaboration. Thus, drug addiction became widespread during the First World War. Drug addiction also became widespread with the increase of prostitution in İstanbul during the First World War.[70]

When the United Nations was established on January 10, 1920, it was initially interested in the control of dangerous drugs. Thus, the United Nations arranged two International Opium Conventions in Geneva in Switzerland from February 12-19, 1925, and on July 13, 1931. Thus, opium production decreased between 1929 and 1931. [71] With the decision of the International Opium Conventions of 1925 in Geneva, the USA aimed to set up a system that controlled international drug traffic. Turkey sent the under-secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, Mehmet Süreyya Bey, and a teacher from the Istanbul Agriculture School, Nurettin Bey, as representor to the second International Opium Convention of 1931 in Geneva. Thus, opium production was restricted to scientific purposes and the monopolization of opium production and its sale, control of the international opium trade, and an aim to decrease drug addiction were decided.[72]

D. The Production and the Export of poppy seeds and Opium in the Early Republican Period

Selanik, İzmir, and İstanbul were three important opium trade ports in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. The hinterland of Selanik Port was Macedonia, the hinterlands of İzmir Port was Western Anatolia, and the hinterland of Istanbul Port was Middle Northern Anatolia, including Tokat, Çorum and Amasya. These hinterlands were the prominent regions where opium poppy was produced.[73] 77% of the opium that went through İzmir Port was exported to the United Kingdom at the beginnings of the 20th century.[74] After the loss of Selanik in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, the other two ports continued to be the export points of opium. In Turkey, 60% of opium was exported from Istanbul, while the rest was exported from İzmir.[75] Opium poppy cultivation and opium juice exportation continued after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. For example, thanks to an average of 340 tons of yearly opium exports, Turkey had one third of the international commerce of opium between 1928 and 1933.[76]

Western Anatolia, Eastern Thrace, the lakes region, the central part of North Anatolia, and the upper Euphrates sub-region were all prominent regions in opium poppy cultivation between 1927 and 1933.[77] While there was only poppy seed production in eight provinces

68 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.93.
69 Tekin, ibid., p.29-32.
70 Ümit Uzmay, "Türkiye'de Eroin Kçakçılığı ve Politikalar Üzerine Cengiz Erdinç ile Söyleştik," Kebikeç, No.31, 2011, p.181.
71 Official Gazette, 26 January 1933; Babaoğlu, ibid., p.93.
72 Tekin, ibid., p.33-35.
73 Göker, ibid., p.2.
74 Çolak, ibid., p.523.
75 Göker, ibid., p.13; Çolak, ibid., p.517.
76 Yeşilköy Tohum Islah ve Deneme İstasyonu (1926/7-1936/7), Kenan Basımevi ve Klişe Fabrikası, İstanbul, 1937, p.89.
77 Gümüşçü & Gümüşçü, ibid., p.134.

-Kırşehir, Bitlis, Adana, Kayseri, Yozgat, Tokat, Bolu, and Eskişehir -there was both poppy seed and opium production in thirty-four other provinces. Of these, 70% of opium was produced in Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya, Manisa and Burdur. Although Afyonkarahisar had the largest opium poppy cultivation areas in Turkey, these lands constituted only 2% of the total cultivation areas in Afyonkarahisar.[78] Therefore, opium cultivation was quite limited due to the intensive labor force required, marketing conditions and competition from other crops. Apart from the coastlines of the Black Sea Region and Erzurum Kars Plato, the opium poppy can be grown in every region of Turkey. For example, the climate of Tekirdağ and Çatalca was suitable for opium poppy cultivation in Eastern Thrace.[79]

After the proclamation of the Republic, two opium stock markets were established in Istanbul and İzmir in 1924.[80] The Non-Muslim bourgeois (mainly Greek, Armenian, and Jewish) were influential merchants in these stock markets.[81] Almost 70% of Turkish opium was traded at these stock markets The opium cultivated in Thrace was sent to the İstanbul stock market. The pricing of opium was based on its morphine level, which was tested through the Harrison method.[82] This method originated in London, and there were two testing laboratories in İstanbul and one in İzmir in Turkey. While opium was taken to Istanbul in wooden crates, each of which weighed 76 kilograms, it was moved to İzmir in baskets. [83] Then, foreign matters such as stone and soil were removed, and the crushed opium poppy seeds were cleaned. Furthermore, the use of the Harrison method increased the commercial value and foreign demands for Turkish opium in international markets. Generally, France, the USA and the Netherlands were important opium importers in the 1920s and the 1930s. [84] Opium producers made 200-800 gram 'dollops', which were then marketed.[85] As it was exposed to oxygen, its color turned into seal-brown over time.[86]

Turkey began to determine customs tariffs and pay off the foreign debts of the Ottoman Empire in 1929.[87] Moreover, since Turkey had only recently emerged from ten years of fighting, it had a foreign exchange bottleneck.[88] Therefore, the production of cash crops such as sugar beet, tobacco, cotton, and the opium poppy and the establishment of their associated industries were regarded as necessary for value-added agricultural production and the swift payment of foreign debts.[89] Opium was income generating and therefore demanded production as a significant part of Turkey's foreign trade.[90] Therefore, the founders of the Republic of Turkey opposed external demands for the prohibition of the opium poppy in the early republican era.[91] The ports of İstanbul and İzmir had been two export points of poppy since the 19th century. Opium began to be traded at exchanges in

78 Rıza, ibid., p.65.
79 Ahmet Hilmi, Afyonculuk, Kastamonu Matbaası, Kastamonu, 1915, p.15; Çıtır, ibid., p.31.
80 Erhan, ibid., p.19-20.
81 Tekin, ibid., p.72.
82 Erhan, ibid., p.19-20.
83 Göker, ibid., p.8; Çıtır, ibid., p.76-78.
84 Erhan, ibid., p.19-20; Tekin, ibid., p.68.
85 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.100.
86 Göker, ibid., p.5.
87 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.104.
88 Erhan, ibid., p.22; Tekin, ibid., p.51.
89 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.104.
90 Tekin, ibid., p.52.
91 Evered, ibid., p.2.

the domestic market in the mid-1920s. Thus, the production of the poppy and its trade could be controlled.[92]

To get a higher income, the added value production of opium and the export of separate alkaloids of opium had a critical role. Also, the economic recession of the Great Depression of 1929 forced Turkey to take measures. In this context, three pharmaceutical industries were established between 1926 and 1929. The first industry that was established was the Oriental Products Company; set up by Japanese capitalists in the Taksim District of İstanbul. Hite Sagan and Hosep Galenyan were two shareholders of the company. The plant had 25 qualified workers and produced between 1,560 and 1,950 kg alkaloids per month.[93] However, it was closed in 1927.[94] The second opium plant was founded using French capital, under the name *Eczayı Tıbbiye ve Kimyeviye (ETKİM),* in the Eyüp District of İstanbul. It was set up by by Nesim Toronto, who was an opium merchant, and his business partners in May 1929. The Toronto Family had trade relations with the Whitalls who was one of the Levantine families of İzmir. This industry produced morphine, codeine, heroin, and dionine. The plant could produce between 800-1000 kg alkaloids per month and employed 35 workers. However, the plant was closed in 1931.[95] The third industry was founded, again with the support of the French, under the name *Türk Eczayı Tıbbiye ve Kimyeviye Şirketi (TETKAŞ)* in the Kuzguncuk and Çengelköy districts of İstanbul on December 12, 1929. On the board of managers in the company were İsmail Hakkı, Kirkor Çürükçüyan, Kevork Çürükçüyan, Hasa Saka, Paul Michelaere, Maurice Lapire, and Adrien Biliotti. This firm employed 60 workers and produced 800-1000 kg of alkaloids, including morphine, heroin, codeine, and papaverine.[96] However these opium industries increased the level of drug addiction in Turkey. For example, Psychiatry Mazhar Osman wrote that the first drug addicts who came to his clinic were from these firms.[97] These developments forced the government to take some measures.

D.1 Legal Arrangements for the Opium (1928-1933)

The closing process of these plants firstly began on December 24, 1928, with legal arrangements made regarding narcotic substances. Thus, the Ministry of Health was made responsible for the control of heroin, raw opium, and cocaine.[98] The enactment of Law No 1369 resulted for two reasons. First, the increasing number of addicts in İstanbul created social unrest and caused public order crimes. Second, Turkey was accused of being a source of drugs in the American and Egyptian press, and thus public opinion went against Turkey on an international level.[99] Additionally, the detention of three drug smugglers who came from İstanbul in the USA increased added more evidence to back up

92 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.105.
93Tekin, ibid., p.53.
94 Erhan, ibid., p.22.
95 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.105; Tekin, ibid., p.54; Altan, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Haşhaş: Sosyo-ekonomik ve Dış Politik Boyutlarıyla, Son Çağ Yayınları, Ankara, 2021, p.70-73.
96 Tekin, ibid., p.54.
97 Mazhar Osman Usman, Keyf Veren Zehirler, Kader Matbaası, İstanbul, 1934; "Eskiden Buralar Hep Uyuşturucuydu," Liste List, 23 September 2014; https://listelist.com/istanbuldaki-eroin-fabrikalari/ (Erişim Tarihi 20.11.2021).
98 Erhan, ibid., p.22; Kayıhan, ibid., p.139.
99 Erhan, ibid., p.23; Uzmay, ibid., p.179; Gürsoy, The Opium Problem in Turkey, Boğaziçi University Ataturk Institute Master Thesis, 2007, p.52.

the claims of the international media.[100] Thomas Russell who was a police commissioner in Cairo, Egypt in the 1910s was appointed to the director of the Egyptian Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau (CNIB) in 1929. Russell investigated the routing of international drug trafficking and created a public opinion in Egyptian Press.[101] For example, though Turkey exported 2 tons of morphine and 4 tons of heroine to Europe in the first six months of 1930, this exportation was not seen in the foreign trade operations of importer countries such as Germany, Switzerland, and France. Furthermore, New York Police caught some traffickers who were smuggling drugs on board an Alesia ship, departing from İstanbul to New York. Thereupon, Turkey was accused of being a source of the increasing drugs in New York and Chicago. Furthermore, the Bayer Company, which was the inventor of heroine, wanted to have the monopoly and thus it supported the rising reactions against competitor Turkish alkaloids.[102]

Since drug trafficking by sea shipment was uncovered, smugglers started to transport the drug by air from Yeşilköy Airport, and by railway via the Eastern Railways. As 33 kilometers of the Eastern Railways between Edirne and İstanbul passed through Greek territory, drugs were transferred by some passengers and rail workers. In this way, drugs were sent from Thrace to the city of Hamburg, Germany.[103] During this time, the Edirne press reported some stories regarding the economic, fiscal, and legal dimensions of smuggling.[104] In addition, the membership process of Turkey joining the League of Nations also directed the narcotic substances politics of Turkey.[105] The full membership of the League of Nations was discussed on July 9, 1932, in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Turkey joined the League of Nations on July 18, 1932.[106]

Although opium poppy cultivation and the processing of opium was regarded as a solution for the payment of foreign debts, the monopoly founded in Europe under the conditions of the Great Depression of 1929 tried to decrease the opium prices in Europe. In this context, the pharmaceutical industries of Europe, such as Merck, Roche, Sandoz and so on, established a cartel under the name of *Convention Internationale des Opiaces*.[107] This monopoly aimed to keep the prices of the final product high and keep the prices of raw opium low.[108] Thus, this attempt caused ten times decline in the price of the Turkish poppy between 1930 and 1933. This caused the unjust treatment of 300,000 opium producers. Thus, these farmers preferred cotton and tobacco cultivation rather than the opium poppy.[109] As a measure against the monopoly, Turkey and Yugoslavia signed bilateral agreements regarding the Joint Marketing of Opium on April 14,1932.[110]

100 Tekin, ibid., p.57.
101 Gürsoy, The Opium Problem in Turkey, p.54.
102 Erdinç, ibid., p.88-91.
103 Erdinç, ibid., p.108.
104 "Kaçakçılık Vatana İhanettir," Edirne Postası, 30 April 1933.
105 Erdinç, ibid., p.87.
106 The Republic of Turkey, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Parliamentary Minutes, Term 4, Vol. 9, 81. Session, July 9, 1932, p.537-543; Şayan Ulusan, "Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyeti'ne (Cemiyet-i Akvam) Girişi -Öncesi ve Sonrası," Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Vol.7, No.16, 2008, p.246.
107 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.105-106.
108 Kayıhan, ibid., p.138.
109 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.105-106.
110 "Historical Survey," Bulletin on Narcotics, Vol.3, 1953, p.3-8; https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/bulletin/bulletin_1953-01-01_3_page003.html (Erişim Tarihi: 20.11.2021); The Republic of Turkey Official Gazette, 22 June 1935.

Owing to its high morphine rate, Turkish and Yugoslavian opium were demanded by the global pharmaceutical industry.[111] Turkey and Yugoslavia produced 80% of the global demand for the opium poppy. Most of the opium was drogist.[112] Turkey signed a treaty with Yugoslavia for the processing and sale of poppy juice.[113] Thus, while Turkey had a 274,000-kilogram drogist opium export quota, Yugoslavia had a 79,500-kilogram quota. This agreement started to be implemented on October 14, 1933.[114]

Furthermore, the temporary closing of the pharmaceutical industry in İstanbul worried the drug bosses there. Thus, they decided to move their plants in Bulgaria where there was a supply of opium poppy but not anti-drug movement. They opened four plants near Sofia. The owners of ETKİM (SICO) and their Bulgarian joint ventures had shares. They began to send drug to the USA over Hamburg and to Egypt over Marseille. Thus, Police Commissioner of Cairo Thomas Russel proved the drug trafficking of these plants in Bulgaria in the Opium Advisory Commission of the League of Nations in May 1932. Thus, Bulgarians closed these plants.[115] Total number of pharmaceutical industries in the world was 54 in the beginnings of the 1930s.[116] Germany, Switzerland, and France were important importers of Turkish opium in these years. Furthermore, with the struggles of Thomas Russel at an international level, Bulgaria began to implement a control mechanism on opium production in 1934.[117]

In this political atmosphere, after an interview between the American Ambassador Charles Hitchcock Sherill and Turkish Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras, it was decided that a diplomatic note would be sent to Turkey. Then, Sherill did an interview with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Following a two-day assembly of the council of ministers, the Turkish Government took strict seven measures against opium poppy cultivation and trade on December 25, 1932. Thus, both opium industries in İstanbul would be closed and drug trafficking, in which some politicians had become involved, was banned.[118] The council of ministers accepted the decisions of the Hague International Opium Convention of 1912 and the two International Opium Conventions in Geneva of 1925, and 1931, on December 25, 1932. With an influential speech given by Tevfik Rüştü Aras, the Cabinet decision was ratified and accepted with 184 affirmative votes by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on January 14, 1933.[119] Subsequently, with the prohibition of opium law in seventeen provinces in Turkey on January 14, 1933, the volume of trade in opium decreased over the years.[120] The cultivation of the opium poppy and the trade of opium

111 Suphi Rıza Arıkan, "Türkiye'de Haşhaş Ziraatı," Dönüm, Vol.5, No.10, 1940, p.433-434.
112 Tekin, ibid., p.68.
113 Babaoğlu, ibid., p.106.
114 Kayıhan, ibid., p. 139-140.
115 Erdinç, ibid., p.103-104.
116 Erdinç, ibid., p.138.
117 "Bulgarlarda Tedbir Almaya Başladı," Cumhuriyet, 15 June 1934.
118 Erdinç, ibid., p.98-99; Okan Ceylan, "Devlet, Sağlık ve Ekonomi Üçgeninde İki Mahsul: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde Çeltik ve Haşhaş Tartışmaları (1920-2018)" TBMM'nin Açılışının 100. Yılı: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Demokrasi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara, p.939.
119 The Republic of Turkey, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Parliamentary Minutes, Term 4, Vol. 12, 24. Session, January 14, 1933, p.93; Okan Ceylan, "Türkiye'deki Haşhaş Ekim Yasağının Afyon İlindeki Yansımaları (1971-1974)", VIII. Uluslararası Afyonkarahisar Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı, Afyonkarahisar Belediyesi, 2019, p.1088.
120 Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi, Ziraat Vekaleti Neşriyatı Kongre Yayını, Ankara, 1938, p.1.

had been free until the Law of 2253 in 1933, and its cultivation has been controlled and prohibited in all 17 provinces from this date on.[121]

Table 1: Opium Poppy Cultivation, Production and Exportation of Opium Juice (1927-1932) (Dekar/Tons)

Years	Opium Poppy Cultivation Areas	Poppy Seed Production	Opium Production	Exportation
1927	169,662	2,373	112	268
1928	494,000	5,013	330	314
1929	350,000	8,581	663	368
1930	465,000	20,447	474	272
1931	541,000	20,295	490	350
1932	322,000	5,803	96	206
1933	450,820	9,002	257	430
1934	201,680	4,337	148	42

Based on the table, it seems that opium poppy cultivation, opium and poppy seed production increased until 1931. However, it began to decline from this date on. The influence of the Great depression of 1929, the decrease of opium prices resulting from the *Convention Internationale des Opiaces* in Europe, and the closure of pharmaceutical industries were important reasons behind this decline. Moreover, the restriction of opium in 1933 caused a sharp decrease in opium production from 1933 to 1934.

To control opium production and its foreign trade, Turkey established a Union of Opium Growers on March 30, 1933[122] and a Narcotics Monopoly under the direction of the Ministry of Economics on May 31, 1933.[123] The board of managers of the Narcotic Drugs Monopoly were Habibzade Ziya Bey, Ahmet Hilmi Bey, Ali Sami Bey, Mehmet Hüsnü Bey, and Mecit Mağmumi.[124] However, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Economics, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were also responsible for the control of the opium poppy ,from its cultivation to processing and sales. The Narcotic Drugs Monopoly has two branch offices, in Istanbul and İzmir.[125]

With the enactment of Law 2108 on January 14, 1933, Turkey accepted the international opium conventions of 1912,1925 and 1931. Turkey limited cultivation of the opium poppy within 17 provinces and took control of opium with the foundation of the Narcotic Drugs Monopoly on May 31, 1933. This institution standardized opium production. A law that limited the cultivation of the opium poppy and its importation

121 Akçasu, ibid., p.6; Murat Kahraman, Türkiye'de Haşhaşta Uygulanan Politikalar ve Haşhaşın Türkiye İçin Önemi, Namık Kemal Üniversitesi Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2011, p.28; Nuray Okumuş, Türk Amerikan İlişkilerinde Haşhaş Ekim Krizi (1968-1975) Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul, 2018, p. 1-2.

122 Republic of Turkey, Official Gazette 4 April 1933.

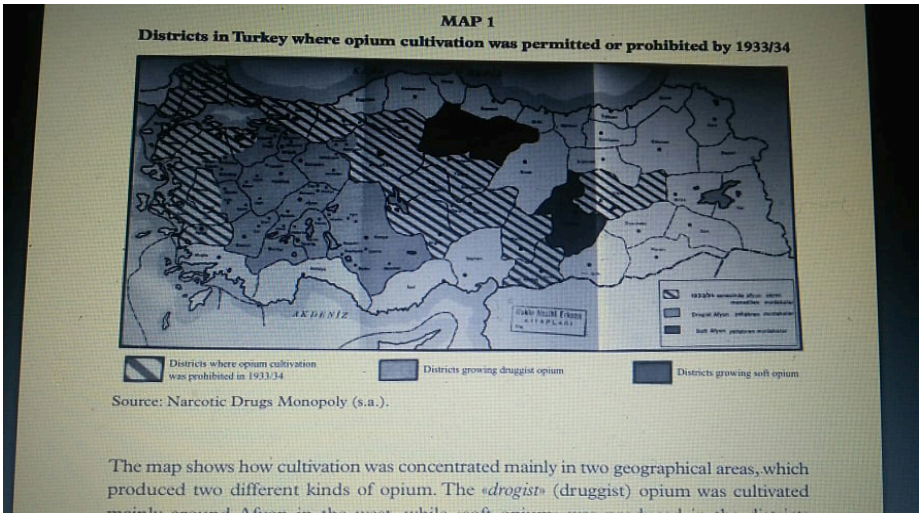
123 The Republic of Turkey, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Parliamentary Minutes, Term 4, Vol. 15, 64. Session, 31 May 1933, p.468-472.

124 Tekin, ibid., p.73.

125 The Republic of Turkey, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Parliamentary Minutes, Term 4, Vol. 15, 64. Session, 31 May 1933, p.468-472.

and exportation opium entered into force on June 24, 1933.[126] A decision, published in the Official gazette on June 8, 1933, stated that cultivation areas of the opium poppy were restricted. Furthermore, based on the decision of the cabinet in August 1933, cultivation of the opium poppy in border towns was prohibited to reduce the possibility of trafficking.[127] The authority of the Narcotic Drugs Monopoly was passed to the Soil Products Office in 1938. The International Opium Conventions in Geneva on February 12, 1925, made the cultivation of opium poppy sixty kilometeres away from the national borders obligatory.[128]

Map 1: Districts in Turkey Where Opium Cultivation was Permitted or Prohibited by 1933



Source: Özgür Burçak Gürsoy, "Losing Wealth or Restricting the Poison? Changing Opium Policy in Early Republican Turkey 1923-1945, *Histoira Agraria*, No.61, 2013, p.121

There were about 100,000 opium producer families in Turkey in 1933. If it is thought that there was an average of six people in every household, then 600,000 people relied on an income from opium production. Furthermore, when the merchants, middlemen, and retailers were added, this number increased more.[129] Based on the 4. Article of Code regarding the Narcotic Drugs Monopoly, opium poppy cultivation areas were determined. In this context, Ankara, Beypazarı, Nallıhan, Bursa, Orhaneli, İnegöl, Afyonkarahisar, Eskişehir, Antalya, Konya,Tokat, Amasya, Çorum, and Malatya were granted an opium production licence.[130] However, the cultivation of the opium poppy and the production of

126 Akçasu, Alaettin Akçasu, "The Changes Experienced by the Narcotics Monopoly in Turkey," Bulletin on Narcotics, Vol. 1, 1952, p.6; https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/bulletin/bulletin_1952-01-01_1_page003.html (Erişim Tarihi: 20.11.2021); Tekin, ibid., p.73; A.D Krikorian &Myron C. Ladbetter, "Some observations on the cultivation of opium poppy (Papaver somniferum L.) for its latex," Botanical Review, Vol.41, No.1, 1975, p.62.
127 Official Gazette, 8 June 1933; Tekin, p.74.
128 Songar, ibid., p.32.
129 Göker, ibid., p.6.
130 "Afyon Alım Mıntıkaları," Cumhuriyet, 27 August 1933.

opium were quite primitive.[131] Furthermore, opium poppy cultivation in Kepsut, Bigadiç, Sındırgı and Dursunbey Districts of Balıkesir and Eşme, Kula, Gördes and Demirci Districts of Manisa was prohibited on January 14, 1933. However, due to the climate conditions and the central role of opium poppy in the socio-economic life of people, its cultivation was permitted on August 10, 1933.[132]

The cultivation of the opium poppy was prohibited in Eastern Thrace as a result of a Cabinet decision made on August 10, 1933.[133] But, due to the rakı industry in Tekirdağ, which was founded in 1931, the government permitted the cultivation of aniseed in Şarköy in the 1940s.[134] However, since Filibe was lost in the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878, the production of the opium poppy in Edirne Province ended. Therefore, there is no data about opium cultivation or production in Edirne Province, which constituted Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, Gelibolu Sanjacks, in the Agricultural Statistics of the Ottoman Period in 1909-1914.[135] Furthermore, the cultivation of the opium poppy in Eastern Thrace in the early republican period is not a well-known topic in the opium history of Turkey. It makes a sensation about when cultivation of the opium poppy had begun and why its cultivation had been encouraged in Eastern Thrace. Furthermore, there were six years of opium cultivation in Eastern Thrace between 1927 and 1933. However, it was firstly seen in Rumelia at the beginning of the 19th century. Therefore, before explaining the short socio-economic history of opium in Eastern Thrace, the history of opium in Rumelia constitutes a basis of this study.

E.The Opium History of Eastern Thrace and the Infrastructural Problems

The opium poppy was brought over to Macedonia from Afyonkarahisar by Turks in the first quarter of the 19th century. It was firstly cultivated in Shtip (İştip) in 1835. Thanks to favorable climate conditions and high demand for opium, its cultivation became widespread in the Danube Valley at the end of the 19th century.[136] Üsküp, İştip, Kavadar, Köprülü, Perlipe, and Koçana were prominent regions where the opium poppy was cultivated in Macedonia. Kavadar opium was known as the best quality opium in the Balkans.[137] It was also cultivated in Filibe and Köstendil. However, apart from in Yukarıcuma, it was cultivated only for the sake of its oil. [138] Apart from Macedonia, Eastern Thrace is a peninsula situated in south-eastern Europe. The region is surrounded by the Black Sea in the east, the Marmara Sea in the south, Bulgaria in the north, and Greece in the west.[139]The opium history of Eastern Thrace began after the foundation of

131 Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi, p.6.
132The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives the Archives of the Republic (BCA) 30-18-1-2/40-75-12 (23.10.1933).
133 "Afyon Ekimi Yasaklandı," Edirne Postası,11 September 1933.
134 Trakya Coğrafyası: Tabi, Zirai, Beşerî ve Veteriner, Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Coğrafya Encümeni, Vol.8, Askeri Matbaa, İstanbul, 1944, p.39.
135 The Republic of Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute, Osmanlı Dönemi Tarım İstatistikleri (The Agricultural Statistics of the Ottoman Period) 1909,1913 and 1914, Ed. Tevfik Güran, Vol 3, DİE Matbaası, Ankara, 1997, p.50-190.
136 D. Dalev, L. Iliev, and R. Ilieva, "Poppy Cultivation in Bulgaria, and the Production of Opium," Bulletin on Narcotics, Vol.1, 1960, p.25. https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/bulletin/bulletin_1960-01-01_1_page005.html (Erilişim Tarihi: 23.11.2021).
137 Göker, ibid., p.19.
138 D. Dalev, L. Iliev, and R. Ilieva, ibid., p.25; Göker, ibid., p.1-2.
139 Abidin Özmen, Trakya, Kanaat Basımevi, Ankara, 1948, p.3-4.

the Republic of Turkey. Immigrants from Yugoslavia increased cultivation of the opium poppy in Turkey in Thrace and Western Anatolia in the early republican period.[140] Despite the opium poppy cultivation being prohibited in Aydın province, it was permitted for a while. The decision resulted from the culture of opium poppy farming of the immigrants coming from the Tikveşli Region of Yugoslavia to Aydın.[141]

The cultivation of the opium poppy was encouraged by the government to increase income and make the payment of foreign debts remaining from the Ottoman Empire easier. In general, the opium poppy was cultivated by small agricultural enterprises, in which members of the family were employed.[142] The opium poppy was produced in every part of Eastern Thrace between 1927 and 1933. It was one of the most prominent exported products and had a high price until 1930, when the economic damage of the Great Depression was experienced.[143] Due to economic issues, farmers had difficulty in finding markets.[144] Foreign trade was regarded as an important solution in dealing with the socio-economic problems of the crisis.

In the sale of opium, there was a standardization problem, and a cartel problem in Europe. For example, some opium producers mixed in foreign matters such as soil, crushed poppy seeds, and winter squash, reducing the quality of the opium. This was thought to be an adulteration. The opium producers of the region faced the risk of losing their market in the international arena. Therefore, the press of Edirne emphasized the importance of the foundation of product exchange, commodity exchange market, and Chamber of Industry and Trade in Edirne.[145] Since opium brought in money, farmers and merchants demanded the trading of opium at the exchange.[146]

The sale prices of crops such as wheat, sesame, and opium could not cover the cost or expense of production. For example, because of the Great Depression, the sale prices of opium declined from 30 liras to 8 liras. Due to this sharp decrease in opium prices, the income of opium growers decreased. Both Edirne Chambers of Trade and the Istanbul Chambers of Trade demanded the decrease of the transport expenses of the Eastern Railway Company (Chemins de fer Orientaux).[147] However, the company did not take any responsibility and refused to reduce transportation fees.[148] Thus, in contrast to other regions, the transport expense of opium was high in Thrace.[149] The railways of Eastern Thrace did not nationalize until 1936.[150] In these socio-economic conditions, the social influences of economic recession were felt in Uzunköprü. Though Uzunköprü was one of the prominent trade centers of Eastern Thrace, neither farmers nor merchants had

140 Songar, ibid., p.32.
141 The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives the Archives of the Republic (BCA) 30-18-1-2/41-91-3 (27.12.1933).
142 Gümüşçü & Gümüşçü, ibid., p.129.
143 Alyanakzade," Mahsulatımız ve İhracatımız," Edirne Millî Gazete, 2 August 1929; Göker, ibid., p.9.
144 E. Necmi, "Mahsulatımız," Edirne Postası, 29 May 1930.
145 Alyanakzade," Mahsulatımız ve İhracatımız," Edirne Millî Gazete, 2 August 1929; Göker, ibid., p.9.
146 "Afyon Mahsulü," Edirne Postası, 8 May 1930.
147 "Ne Olacak?" Edirne Postası, 4 Haziran 1930; "İktisadi Atılışlar," Millî Gazete, 13 July 1933.
148 E. Necmi, "Trakya'da İktisadi İnkişaf," Resmi Edirne, 31 December 1931.
149 Rıza, ibid., p.63.
150 Vahdettin Engin, "Rumeli Demiryolu," Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Ansiklopedisi, Vol. 35, İstanbul, 2008, s. 237; Okan Ceylan, "Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası'nın Edirne Serüveni: Türkiye Demokrasi Tarihinden Notlar," Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Vol.21, No.42, 2020, p.277.

enough capital.[151] Therefore, crop diversity was regarded as one of the solutions to deal with the economic recession.[152] Some crops remained unsold and thus peasants had difficulty in paying taxes.[153] Peasants transported their crop by their own means to Tekirdağ Port,[154] which had lost its significance because of the building of the Eastern Railways.[155] Even worse, since 33 kilometeres of the Eastern Railway passed through Greek territories, diplomatic problems possibility. To overcome these issues, Rıfat Ilgar, who was the General Director of State Railways visited Edirne Chamber of Commerce.[156]

In addition to the İstanbul market, the requirement of the new foreign markets for Edirne was suggested by Bekir Kara, who was the president of the Edirne Chamber of Trade and a pioneer of rice cultivation in Eastern Thrace. As a result of railway tracks between Anatolian cities and İstanbul, the provinces of Eastern Thrace had difficulty in competing with Anatolian provinces. However, thanks to Edirne, Dedeağaç Railways connected to Dedeağaç Port, Edirne and their surrounding areas. Thus, intensive foreign trade was enabled with the Greek Islands and Italy, rather than Istanbul, until the Balkan Wars. With the loss of Dedeağaç, Edirne lost its export point and the hinterlands of Western Thrace. Therefore, to export abroad, a railway project that connected the İbrice Sub-districts of Keşan to the internal areas of Thrace and İbrice Port in the Saros Gulf was proposed.[157]

Similarly, Müftüzade Şerif (Bilgen), a big landowner, politician, and businessman, also emphasized the necessity of finding new foreign trade. Long distance railways, the high cost of transportation, German capital in Eastern Railway, and crops coming from Anatolian provinces to Istanbul hindered trade in Eastern Thrace.[158] Demands were made for the construction of İbrice Port by local merchants to the Minister of Economy, Celal Bayar.[159] İbrice was 30 kilometres away from Keşan. The building of İbrice Port would enable the export of agricultural products from Eastern Thrace to Mediterranean countries and the Aegean Islands more efficiently and more profitably. The building of İbrice Port was regarded as an alternative to Dedeağaç Port, which was lost in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.[160] However, since there was not a port on the Edirne Aegean Sea coastline, the crops of Eastern Thrace were sold in the markets of İstanbul. For example, 1,870 kg opium was produced in Edirne and sold in August 1930 to İstanbul. The opium producers made 29,550 liras from this sale.[161] Similarly, 1,000 kg and 1,477 kilograms of opium were produced in Tekirdağ in 1931 and 1932, respectively.[162]

In addition to these infrastructural problems, unfavorable weather conditions in 1929, particularly frost, caused a decline in the yield of some crops, such as wheat, barley, and

151 "Uzunköprü'deki Durgunluk," Edirne Postası, 4 June 1930.
152 Mehmet Şeref, "Edirne İşleri," Millî Gazete, 24 October 1931.
153 M. N. "İktisadi Buhran ve Devlet," Altıok, No.12, 1934, p.3-5.
154 "Uzunköprü'de İktisadi Buhran," Edirne Postası, 3 November 1932.
155 Hacer Ateş, "Tekirdağ," Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, Vol.40, 2011, p.362.
156 "Nakliye Derdi," Edirne Postası, 14 August 1930.
157 "Ticaret Odası Kongresi," Edirne Postası, 26 February 1930.
158 E. Necmi, "İstihsalatımız İçin Yeni Mahreçler," Edirne Postası, 11 Mart 1930.
159 "İhracatımız," Edirne Postası, 1 May 1930.
160 "Keşan-İbrice," Edirne Postası, 1 August 1931.
161 "Edirne'nin 1930 İhracatı," Edirne Postası, 1 August 1931.
162 Gültekin Celal, "Afyon Rekoltesi," Edirne Postası, 3 November 1932.

opium.[163] Moreover, due to spring showers in Eastern Thrace, the opium production was low.[164] There were three sowing times for the opium poppy. These were in autumn (November- December), in winter (January-February) and in spring (March-April). There were three types of cultivation methods- the broadcasting, row planting, and bottle methods. While 80% percent of drogist opium was cultivated in winter months, 20% of soft opium was cultivated in spring months. In contrast to the averages of Turkey, the drogist opium of Eastern Thrace was cultivated in spring around March. After the sowing of poppy seeds into the fields, their germination period was about three weeks. Hoeing was used as a kind of artificial selection to strengthen the roots of opium poppy seedlings and eliminated competition with weeds. [165] However, the cultivation areas of the opium poppy were intensive in some districts of Eastern Thrace.

Table 2: Opium Poppy Cultivation and the Production of Poppy seed and Opium in Agricultural Census of 1927 (Dönüm/Kg)

Settlements	Opium Poppy Cultivation Areas	Opium Production	Poppy seed Production
EDİRNE	12	13	92
Uzunköprü	25	-	1,092
Kavaklı (Meriç)	25	11	-
Keşan	3	-	48
Total	**65**	**24**	**1,232**
TEKİRDAĞ	10	41	-
Çorlu	18	26	720
Hayrabolu	32	50	-
Saray	-	-	-
Şarköy	1	2	-
Malkara	-	-	-
Total	**61**	**119**	**720**
KIRKLARELİ	507	-	50,429
Babaeski	15	-	763
Demirköy	-	-	-
Lüleburgaz	20	18	-
Vize	1	-	36
Total	**543**	**18**	**51,228**
ÇANAKKALE	-	-	-
Eceabat	4	4	104
Ezine	15	-	605
İmroz	-	-	-
Bayramiç	1		25

163 "Trakya'da Ziraat," Edirne Millî Gazete, 9 May 1930.
164 Rıza, ibid., p.64.
165 Doğukan, ibid., p.16-18.

Bozcada	-	-	-
Biga	-	-	-
Gelibolu	-	-	-
Lapseki	-	-	-
Total	**20**	**4**	**734**
İSTANBUL	**-**	**-**	**-**
Üsküdar	-	-	-
Adalar	-	-	-
Bakırköy	-	-	-
Beyoğlu	1	1	-
Çatalca	5	49	-
Şile	-	-	-
Total	**6**	**50**	**-**
Total Amount of the Region	**695**	**215**	**53,914**
Turkey	**169,662**	**112,257**	**2,473,758**

Source: The Republic of Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, *1927 Tarım Sayımı (Agricultural Census of 1927)*, DİE Matbaası, Ankara, 1970, p.77-78

Most probably, opium poppy cultivation started in 1927 in Eastern Thrace to supply the opium demands of the pharmaceutical industries of Istanbul. Based on the Agricultural Census of 1927, the opium poppy cultivation areas, poppy seed production and the opium production of Eastern Thrace was not that significant in Turkey. It had quite a limited share of both country-wide opium production and the total agricultural production of Eastern Thrace. In this way, the opium poppy cultivation areas of Eastern Thrace constituted only 0.5% of the total opium cultivation areas in Turkey. Similarly, the opium production and poppy seed production of Eastern Thrace constituted 0.2% of the total production in Turkey.[166] Kırklareli had 75% of the cultivation area, 94.5% of poppy seed production capacity, and 9% of opium production. Edirne had 10% of cultivation area, 2.5% of poppy seed production and 11% of opium production. Tekirdağ had 10% of cultivation areas, 1.5% poppy seed production, and 55% of opium production. Çanakkale had 3% of the cultivation area, 1.5% of poppy seed production and 2.3% of opium production. Istanbul had 1% of the opium poppy cultivation area and 23% of opium production. However, there was no poppy seed production in Istanbul. The rural areas of the Çatalca district of Istanbul, the Çorlu District of Tekirdağ, the Kırklareli Central District, Uzunköprü and the Kavaklı (Meriç) district of Edirne and the Ezine District of Çanakkale were important settlements in the cultivation of the opium poppy in Eastern Thrace. The cultivation of the opium poppy continued in the region until 1933. While poppy seeds were the raw material of the oil, the opium was sent to pharmaceutical industries in İstanbul. In

166 The Republic of Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1927 Tarım Sayımı (Agricultural Census of 1927), DİE Matbaası, Ankara, 1970, p.78-83.

general, the poppy seeds of Thrace were white in color.[167] The oil and morphine rate of white color poppy seeds were higher than grey ones.[168]

Table 3: Opium Poppy Cultivation and the Production of Poppy seed and Opium Between1928-1933 in Eastern Thrace (Decar/Tons)

Years	Crop	Provinces/Country-Wide				
	Opium Poppy	Edirne	Kırklareli	Çanakkale	Tekirdağ	İstanbul
1928	Cultivation Areas	2000	1000	1000	1000	-
	Poppy seed Production	7	-	8	-	-
	Opium Production	-	-	-	-	-
1929	Cultivation Areas	-	-	-	-	-
	Poppy seed Production	20	2	2	-	-
	Opium Production	1	-	1	2	-
1930	Cultivation Areas	2000	6000	-	2000	1000
	Poppy seed Production	81	206	-	-	-
	Opium Production	1	12	-	4	1
1931	Cultivation Areas	1000	5000	-	3000	-
	Poppy seed Production	32	111	-	3	-
	Opium Production	2	4	-	-	3
1932	Cultivation Areas	-	4000		1000	-
	Poppy seed Production	-	15		-	15
	Opium Production	-	1		1	-
1933	Cultivation Areas	570	-	500	150	-
	Poppy seed Production	34	-	-	-	-
	Opium Production	1	-	-	-	-

Source: The Republic of Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), *Zirai Bünye ve İstihsal (Aricultural Structure and Production 1928-1934*, DİE Matbaası, Ankara, 1936, p.105-108; Source: Trakya Umumi Müfettişliği İstatistik Bürosu, *Trakya İstatistik Yıllığı* Vol. I, Mehmet İhsan Matbaası, Ankara, 1936.

Based on agricultural statistical data from 1928 and 1933, it seems that opium poppy cultivation and the production of poppy seed and opium steadily increased between 1928 and 1930 in all provinces of Eastern Thrace. Following this period, there was a sharp decline in the production of poppy seed and opium in the region between 1931

167 Ali Kürçay, Haşhaşların Kültür Şekline Girmesinde Türk Çeşitlerinin Mevki ve Rolü, Çankaya Matbaası, Ankara, 1946, p.19-20; Çıtır, ibid., p.28.
168 Celal Tarıman & Fethi İncekara, "Haşhaş Ziraatı Nasıl Kazançlı Olur, İstiklal Matbaası, Ankara, 1954, p.5; Çıtır, ibid., p.30.

and 1933.[169] Changes in the cultivation areas and fluctuating production occurred as a result of numerous factors: the opium demands of the pharmaceutical industry in İstanbul, the decline of opium prices as a result of the economic damage caused by the Great Depression of 1929, the influence of the *Convention Internationale des Opiaces* in Europe, the political repressions of the USA, Egypt and China, and the high transport prices of the Eastern Railway Company. While the first three reasons regard the national and international dynamics of that period, the last regards the domestic policies and dynamics of Eastern Thrace. As mentioned before, opium poppy cultivation was brought under government control on January 14, 1933. A Cabinet decision in August 1933 prohibited cultivation of the opium poppy in border towns and permitted its cultivation only a minimum of 60 kilometeres away from the borders. The close and friendly foreign relations between Turkey and Greece at the beginning of the 1930s and the laying of 33 kilometeres of railway track through the Greek territory between Edirne and İstanbul increased the possibility of drug smuggling.

As an alternative to the opium poppy, sugar beet cultivation was suggested in the provinces of Eastern Thrace.[170] The opium poppy producers of Eastern Thrace also began to cultivate sesame and sunflower in the fields in which they had cultivated the opium poppy before. The villages where Turks and Pomaks, who had migrated from Macedonia, lived had an opium poppy culture.[171] However, the opium poppy producers of Eastern Thrace objected to prohibition. After the cultivation of the opium poppy had been restricted in some cities of Western Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, Celal Bayar, who was the Minister of Economics, said that this restriction resulted from the over-accumulation of opium in the hands of farmers, and the responsibility of Turkish government was to tackle the problem of increasing drug addiction in the world.[172] As a result, many women and children who worked in opium poppy fields became unemployed in Eastern Thrace.[173] However, with the outbreak of the Second World War, demand for oil in Turkey increased. Thus, a Cabinet decision on July 7, 1940, permitted the cultivation of the opium poppy in Pınarhisar, Vize, Lüleburgaz, and the Babaeski Districts of Kırklareli in the first half of the 1940s.[174]

CONCLUSION

This study discusses the opium poppy with regards to its socio-economic history in Eastern Thrace in the early republican period, from agricultural, economic, political, and international perspectives. The coastline around the Mediterranean is the homeland of the opium poppy. It has played an important role in the social, economic, and political lives of Anatolian civilizations. While the opium poppy was initially regarded as a painkiller, a pleasure inducing substance and a commodity in the ancient and medieval

169 The Republic of Turkey Turkish Statistical Institute (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), Zirai Bünye ve İstihsal (Aricultural Structure and Production 1928-1934, p.105-108.
170 James Windle, "A Very Gradual Suppression: A History of Turkish Opium Controls (1933-1974)," European 8Journal of Criminology, Vol.11, No.2, 2014, p.198.
171 Ali Rıza Dursunkaya, Kırklareli Vilayeti'ni Tarih, Coğrafya, Kültür ve Eski Eserleri Yönünden Tetkik, Yeşilyurt Basımevi, Kırklareli, 1948, s.114.
172 "Afyon Ziraatı," Akşam, 5 September 1933; Gürsoy, The Opium Problem in Turkey, p.76-78.
173 Gürsoy, The Opium Problem in Turkey, p.126.
174 Kayıhan, ibid., p.362-364.

ages, it has been thought of as both a narcotic drug as well as a substance with medical uses since the mid-19th century. Thanks to its agricultural and biological characteristics, it produced a high economic return in the 19th century. For this reason, many business organizations and political authorities tried to control the production and trade of opium at an international level. However, due to the socio-economic problems of increasing drug addiction, the USA and China pioneered the fight against drugs in the 20th century. Furthermore, international conventions to tackle the opium problem were arranged in Shanghai, Hague, and Geneva between 1909 and 1931. On the one hand, opium can be viewed as a highly useful raw material for the medical industry, but on the other, it can be a source of drug addiction. Therefore, the biological characteristics of the opium poppy directed both the internal health politics of states and international organizations in the 20th century.

Since opium was one of the most important commodities, it was regarded as invaluable for the repayment of Ottoman debts in the early republican era. As such, it was one of the most prominent export commodities of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. The political elites of the Republic of Turkey tried to provide added value, rather than just export raw opium, by permitting the foundation of three pharmaceutical companies in Istanbul. Moreover, providing added value was vital to increase profit during the economic damage caused by the Great Depression of 1929 and the pricing policy of the Monopoly of *Convention Internationale des Opiaces*. The government encouraged the cultivation of the opium poppy in Thrace. For example, the highest level of poppy seeds was produced in Kırklareli, and the highest amount of opium was produced in Tekirdağ. However, the tricks of some farmers in opium juices, the possibility of drug trafficking with Greece, the high price of exporting via the Eastern Railway Company, the lack of alternative markets apart from İstanbul, the negative influence of fluctuations in climate on the opium poppy (e.g. frosts and spring showers) prevented the cultivation of opium poppy. After the prohibition of the cultivation of opium poppy, farmers cultivated sugar beet, sunflower, and sesame. Opium poppy cultivation was more widespread in the villages whose inhabitants had migrated from Macedonia to Eastern Thrace in the last quarter of the 19th century and in the first quarter of the 20th century. However, an opium poppy culture could not be sustained.

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