Minority Policies of Turkey and Wealth Tax of 1942

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Abstract

This paper focuses on minorities in Turkey and influences of Second World War period which caused internal discomforts and inequalities upon Turkish minorities. First i review the position of minorities and contribute the framework for understanding the place of non-Muslim groups in Turkey, their challenges and disappointments as well. Then try to enlighten effects of Second World War period on Turkish minorities and responses in Turkish society. Basically, Jewish people who escaped from Holocaust, the recruitment process of minorities and economic Turkification period, such as; Wealth Tax of 1942 are handled in this article.

Keywords: Minorities, Wealth Tax, Turkey, Jews
1. INTRODUCTION

There is no absolute consensus on the definition of what a minority is even if it is composed in various formal agreements, because minorities have not been treated fairly most of time in history, that’s why; there is many minority debates among nations in the present day. According to Baskın Oran, there ought to be differentiated group as a result of degradation of integrity if the concept of minority can be discussed. ¹ However the proposal for additional protocol to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, concerning persons belonging to national minorities defines a “national minority” as a “group of persons in a state who:

- Reside on territory of that state and re-citizens thereof;
- Maintain longstanding, firm and lasting ties with that state;
- Display distinctive ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic characteristics;
- Are sufficiently representative, although smaller in number than rest of the population of that state or of a region of that state;
- Are motivated by a concern a preserve that which constitutes their common identity, including their culture, their traditions, their religion or their language”²

The term of minority describes that a group which has language, ethnic root features or religion and societal categorities. Generally, the concept of minority has been comprehensively used as a shape of ethnical, national, religious and linguistic groups. Baskın Oran’s point of view shows that minority groups should have some significant features. Firstly there has to be a community that differentiates from other societal groups in terms of religion, ethnic and language diversities. Secondly, political dimension is a marker of minorities. Thirdly, these kind of minority groups should not have a authority on a country. Fourth one is only country’s citizens can be a minority necessarily. Lastly, these minorities

¹ Baskın Oran, “Türkiye’de Azınlıklar”, İletişim Yayınları, istanbul, p. 18
ought to be loyal towards their countries and not intend to have new state with divisiveness on
their homeland. The rights and problems of minorities was emerged with “nationalism
movement” which spread with French Revolution in 1789. Nevertheless, it has been still
maintained to be a controversial issue in present day.

The conquer of Istanbul Fatih Sultan Mehmed had endowed a “nation” status to Orthodox,
Armenians, and Jews right after took control of Istanbul. Just before the fall of Ottoman
Empire, Catholics had acquired “nation” status in 1830 and Protestants got it in 1848 due to
the pressure of European states and missioners’ activities as well. The top level of religious
leaders had been chosen as a representative of their own community in nation system. In this
perspective, community leaders were authorized to manage and control their depended
groups. Religious leaders were only responsible for emperor like a public officer indeed. Non-
Muslims thus had been living under same great authority and sovereign but obeying different
laws.

Furthermore, there had been effective affairs in between state and religious groups, in this
manner, it transformed to a “nation system” during 18th century in Ottoman Empire. Before
the laicism, religious dependence was considered as an individual case. In fact, it was a
societal case that interested in people who could speak their mother tongue only in temples.
Religious and societal life was oriented by their traditions which had come from centuries, by
this means, there was obeying rules for minorities in order to accommodate community. In
Ottoman State, nation of Muslim involved Islam believers entirely even if they have different
ethnical features and languages in country. Additionally, similar situation was seen in Balkan
Slavs, Greeks and Greek Orthodox, Armenians as well. However, emergence of nationalism
in 19th century gave birth to national uprising across the continent, Serbian, Bulgarians,
Catholics and Protestants regained their societal position. Great industrial revolution was
seen with the beginning second half on 18th century in Europe. European states had been
trying to establish economic collaborations and relations with Ottoman Empire. Reflection of
economic co-operation to minorities was positively because they could take advantage of this
economic dependence and it caused to increase their societal level. According to data, bon-
Muslim groups had a voice %61 of trade and industry zone, conversely, Muslims in place of
trade was %39 in same zone in Istanbul. We can see that ratio in trade %88 according to

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1912’s datas. Moreover, non-Muslim citizens in Ottoman State had an influential role in foreign trade similar with domestic trade because they had a chance to establish better affairs with European states due to religion, language and cultural factors. For instance, first Ottoman Consulate was established on seaside of Mediterranean and consul was chosen from non-Muslim citizens of Ottoman State. Different non-Muslim groups which belong to several religion and sectarians were realized in country. In this system, every person who adopted different faith was responsible for one religious community and formal status had been determined by a state. These non-Muslim groups were consisting of Orthodox, Armenians, Catholics, Jews and Protestants who ought to live Muslim people coherently. According to first population census that had been done during Mahmud the Second period 1830-1831, the proportion of non-Muslims in Rumelia was %60 and Muslim people were %37 as well. On the other side, the ratio of non-Muslim groups in Anatolia were %16, Muslims were %83. As a result Muslim people had a place with %66 of population; Christians involved %31, Jews %4 and Armenians %0.54 in Ottoman population. If we pay attention to some sectors which minorities had a significant role in Ottoman State, typography that first established by Jews in 1492 comes to forefront in between groups. Additionally, there were separatist movements and broadcastings which were carried out by non-Muslims’ organs with the beginning of 20th century. As a matter of fact, non-Muslim citizens had a unique position and Ottoman state gave a great importance to their worship and rituals.

Every non-Muslim groups had a right praying own temple, such as; church, monastery, synagogue as they wish. In addition, state assurance was granted to them for any interventions from outside. Tanzimat and Kanun-i Esasi were the formal documents which give a freedom of religion and sectarian privileges to minorities. However some significant problems were seen in this system because Western powers had a mind to use minorities against Ottomans, thereupon, Ottoman statesmen put into rule new reforms to protect independence and halt the nationalist movements which came from minorities. 1839 Tanzimat thus gave significant rights without any religious and linguistic prejudice. Afterwards, the scope civil rights were enlarged with Islahat in 1856; therefore, non-Muslim citizens acquired more privileges in their daily life. After Montrose Ceasefire agreement, there were transformation the status of minorities and observed some destructive activities which naturally affected Turkish minority.

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policy profoundly. Turkey’s founding treaty signing conference in Lausanne embraced the activities of non-Muslim groups during Independence War and pre-war period, besides, conflicts and discussions of minorities’ futures. Consequently, the status of non-Muslim citizens’s position was determined in Lausanne Conference right after the Independence War. “Ottomanism” policy rendered Ottoman State like a “land of dreams”, by this way Muslim people interested in agriculture and animal breeding, on the other side, minorities generally were artisan or tradesman. This unstable structure led to low level of life standards but minorities became a richest group of Ottoman state which has a capability giving a loan to a state. Definitely, the intensive wars between 1912 and 1922 left a trace on Turkey’s homogenization process because of many reasons. When we look at the political and economical consequences of Turkish and Greek population exchange between Greece and Turkey, it has various problems in means of political and economical gaining. The status of minorities were determined in Lausanne Conference that they could not have maintained life depend of Lausanne provisions. Therefore, minorities have been described as non-Muslim communities according to Turkish law system. For instance, Istanbul Greeks and Western Trakya Turkish people exempted from population exchange. Afterwards, non-Muslim merchants and foreign institutions with foreign capital suffocated from “Turkification Process” which led to the slogan “Turkey belongs to Turkish people”. We can see hostilities against minorities but it cannot be known whether these hostilities influence over community in detail at those times. Particularly, Turkish citizens considered minorities as a symbol of betrayal in Independence War, conversely, minorities was seen as an important triumph acquire aims on Ottoman lands. Minorities in Turkey had an equal rights and freedoms similar with Turkish citizens without any strict discrimination but they never have not had status with Turkish citizens. Furthermore, some opposite movements was considered against minorities during single party period. According to Kemalist nationalism every person proclaimed as a Turkish citizen, on the other hand, non-Muslim citizens were classified as a minority depending on structural reasons in Turkey. We confront “Turkification” struggles and hostility of minority rights and freedoms in a whole society.
2. Influences of Second World War Period to Minorities and the Case of Wealth Tax in 1942

2.1. Jews Who Escaped From The Holocaust

When Adolf Hitler came to power on January 20, 1933, opened a new era in the world and in Turkey as well. Jews who had a no chance to live in Germany began to investigate immigration opportunities to live other countries. At that point, Turkey was one of the countries to accept Jewish refugees, but Turkey was very cautious and acted extremely piky. European Jews started to explore possibilities to emigrate other countries which had not been under the hegemony of fascism. Because of this purpose an international conference that composed with Austria and Germany was held in Erivan in July 1938. In conference, countries was trying to find solutions for immigrants who escaped from Holocaust. Chaim Weizman who was a president of Sohnur offered 200 thousand German Jews having a place in Turkey to high-level official government officials. They emphasized that Turkey could provide a significant amount of foreign aid, if this proposal is accepted. Moreover, there were arrival of ships which consisted of full of Jewish refugees who were expelled from Germany and German occupied countries to Turkey. If we give an example from history, it is beneficial to look at some cases in Poland during Second World War. Poland decided to cancel the citizenship of Polish citizens who had been living in foreign states over five years. Afterwards, Jewish people were put on trains and transported to Poland by Germans. However Polish authorities would not accept these people, and they should have lived in terrible conditions when trains reached the Polish border. Parita ship with 600 Czechoslovak Jews went to Rhodes right after living from Constanta but Italian authorities did not accept Parita and it came to Izmir port on August 9, 1939. This time Turkish authorities did not allow refugees to set foot in Izmir because there was a fear of the disease indeed. Struma Disaster which killed many innocent people was trying to transport 169 Jewish immigrants abroad. This fatal adventure had begun with Romanian Jews’ struggle to find out a way going to Palestine illegally, that’s why; they wanted to use Turkish land as a transit route. Jewish immigrant passed through very difficult process at that time because American government has adapted very strict regulations against Jewish people and refugees, Portugal banned the

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Jewish immigrants pass through on her territory to escape.\textsuperscript{11} We see some announcements ready carry Jewish refugees to Palestine. The 180-tonne Panama flagged ship Struma also took part between these advertisements. However, Struma had been used for animal transport before, thus, it did not have suitable conditions for passengers and engine. As a result, the captain of Struma gave a positive report for Struma’s condition in return for bribe.\textsuperscript{12} So, Struma reached Turkish territorial seas but there were some significant problems about passengers. All Jewish people passed health controls, realized that their food stock was finished and refugees were on the brink of diseases. Shortly, immigrants were not given permission to use Turkish territories and Struma sent to Black Sea without any food stock and engine. Finally, Struma was sunk with Soviet’s submarine torpedo in Sile holes, causing the death of 767 immigrants except two passengers. Furthermore, the cargo ships were used for transfer Jews to Palestine which took averagely 14 days long but these days led to tremendous problems such as insufficient opportunities and the number of passengers above the capacity entailed hygiene problems, unhealthy conditions and lack of water. Eventually, the Second World War was influenced by Nazi horror, and thousands of Jewish people from different states, such as Romania, Austria, Hungary, Poland and some African countries was sent to death camps and put into gas rooms. However, Struma disaster has been a great shame against Jewish immigrants who escaped from Holocaust tragedy.

\textbf{2.2. The Recruitment Process of Minorities}

In November 1939, minorities which would not have given military training were decided to recruit under the command of the Turkish officers to work. They were permitted of doing military service six months long instead of eighteen months provided to pay its price. Minorities who was doing military service could not use weapons; instead, they worked in construction. These kind of discriminations against minorities caused dissatisfactions among minorities because they wanted to have same circumstance with other Muslim citizens in fact. During the Second World War Axis powers begun to move on Balkans, that’s why; Turkey felt a serious threat due to that progress. Famous Turkish commander Kazim Karabekir indicated that minorities ought to send away from Istanbul to Anatolia if there would be a

\textsuperscript{11} Ulvi Keser, “Turkish Assistance Activities for the Jewish Immigrants and Jewish Immigrant Camps in Cyprus During Second World War,” 2009, p.738.

possible invasion in Istanbul during CHP’s group meeting. Moreover, the greatest fear of Turkish authorities was a betrayal from minorities towards state’s survivability to any possible war. Therefore, the eyes of Turkish people turned to non-Muslim citizens when there was a event of military threat immediately. When Germany gained hegemony on Yugoslavia and Greece, Turkey immediately managed to her foreign policy by signing a non-aggression pact with Germany on 18 June 1941. According to American archives, German spies were able to move freely and comfortably in Turkey as a result of non-aggression pact with Germany. Afterwards, the Turkish governments decided to called up “reserve soldiers” (yirmi kur’a difficultéları). Recruitment process was very fast and non-Muslim men were taken from their homes and workplaces by Turkish security forces. Some men were trying to run away from recruitment but they were all rounded by polices. We can see that process in Vitali Hakko’s memories. Even if he did military service before, yet he recruited again unquestionably. Eventually, Turkey and Germany made a close collaboration with each other before the Second World War and first two years of war. These closenesses paved a way deep impact on state authorities and society because Nazis was trying to awaken extreme nationalism, thereby, provoke Middle Asian Turks and convince Turkish authorities to join a possible great war with it. In the opinion of the foreign media, there were three main reasons behind the recruitment process. First one is remove minorities from local trade and facilitate birth of Muslim bourgeoisie by this way. Secondly, integrate non-Muslim citizens to military camps in order to prohibit any hostile upheaval against Turkey at the time of war because of the distrust of non-Muslim citizens. Lastly, round up minorities at the request of Nazis to foreign ministry. Reserve soldiers (Yirmi Kur’a İhtiyatları) disbanded on July 27, 1942, but on November 11, 1942 Wealth Tax would be emerged in Turkish political life.

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14 Samim Akgönül, “Türkiye Rumları, Ulus-Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci,” İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p.99
2.3. Economic Turkification Period - Wealth Tax of 1942

Ankara government had been trying to meet deep war costs and counterfeit in order to meet defense costs of Turkey. Nevertheless, Turkish government was responsible finding out some important beneficial sources that would be economic taxation for citizens. As a matter of fact, Minorities in Ottoman State felt themselves as an Ottoman and did not lose their personality in spite of living under state authority for a long time. Turkification policies which were adopted in an early republican era aimed to minorities. Particularly, all shops, restaurants and night clubs in Beyoglu were under control of non-Muslim population. Turkification strategies which performed whole republican period had an effective and determinant role in between central authority and non-Muslim country. Wealth Tax was discussed for a long time in Turkish political life because it was considered a “single party government policy” against minorities’ rights and freedoms. The military success of Germans in Second World War encouraged racist movements harassing own minorities during war, caused birth of Wealth Tax of 1942 as well. The aim of tax was acquiring huge income from some lines of businesses that gained “great” income utilizing from Second World War environment. Additionally, another cause of Wealth Tax was “...the sharp decline in imports and the diversion of large resources for the maintenance of an army of more than one million...” Therefore, Ankara tend to counterfeit in order to meet needs of state because there were high level of government expenditure and prevalence of “Black Market”. Wealth tax of 1942 was not indeed only a financial implementation; it was also an important policy by means of major cultural campaign as well. Moreover, it can be shown as an example of controversial movements against non-Muslim people. According to journalist Rıdvan Akar, Wealth Tax was also used upon 26000 poorest non-Muslim citizens who were drummers, employees, servants and drivers, but Muslim population should have paid less than minorities, drew reaction from minorities. Fundamentally, the reflection of Wealth Tax was mostly felt in Istanbul because there was %54 percentage of non-Muslim tax liable. Ass. Prof. Sakir Dincsaşin and Dr. Stephen Goodwin stresses on Turkey’s strategy arised from constructivist interpretation towards Jewish people. Republic of Turkey confronted various difficulties in an emergence of national identity. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk aimed to generate society that all

17 Feroz Ahmad, “Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye,” Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, p.120-121.
people named as a “Turkish” without any prejudice of religion or race and all citizens ought to speak same language and share common culture.\textsuperscript{19}

Although Wealth Tax was implemented to Muslim Turkish citizens, there were easiness for payments and tax discounts, thus, they could pay taxes without any purification movements. These conditions paved the way intensive reactions from foreign states and influenced Turkish foreign policy comprehensively. In addition, European countries protested Wealth Tax that had been seen unfair policy against minorities, but interestingly, some historians indicates that tax was performed when German powers expanded its hegemony throughout European continent. Those who assert opposite point of view is Germany had already been beginning to lose her influence on Europe when Wealth Tax was adopted in Turkey. The significant issue that should not be overlooked is Germany was always a supporter of Wealth Taxes in many countries including Turkey. War economies have been seen in various states because of heavy conditions of Second World War. For instance, United Kingdom was an unique ally that had not been occupied by enemies throughout war, but the war strategy of German military forces, intensive air and naval bombards agitated British economy deep rooted. Therefore, British authorities should have adopted additional taxes and loans to meet expenses and balance the economy. We can see another similar example which was named “crisis taxes” in Switzerland.\textsuperscript{20} As a result, Wealth Tax did not obtain necessary income for Turkey’s financial needs, rather, exacerbated economy. Big companies could survive but prices were risen exorbitantly due to meet their loss.\textsuperscript{21} Afterwards, Wealth Tax was abolished in the face of big reactions. There were two main aims with Wealth Tax; decrease the prices of goods and reduce the amount of money in market. Tax did not have positive effects on Turkish economy and financial circumstance of country became worse. The prices of real-estate especially in Istanbul passed into the hands of Muslim merchants but the most destructive effect on minorities was physiological indeed. Then, the crisis gave a birth to Democrat Party and its rise following years because minorities tend to support Democrat Party because of physiological reasons instead of CHP.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21}Kemal Karpat, “Türk Demokrasi Tarihi, Sosyal, Kültürel, Ekonomik Temeller,” Timiş Yayınları, 2010, p.206
\textsuperscript{22}Samim Akgönül, “Türkiye Rumları, Ulus-Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci,” İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p.142.
3. Conclusion

The status of non-Muslim groups in Turkey was determined in Lausanne Conference which provided equal rights and freedoms with Turkish people but we can see some controversial policies against minorities during single-party period. Some thinkers entitled it as an expression of nation-state consciousness, some parts was naming it injustice against minorities. Nonetheless, Balkan, Middle Eastern, Caucasian, and East European societies which had lived under Ottoman authority still have a similar rights, such as; speak own language or adopt whatever religion. However, Wealth Tax of 1942 caused various conflictual expressions that separated thinkers into strict camps in Turkey. Particularly, some authorities’ points out that wealth taxation process were necessary and vital for Turkey financial needs and non-Muslim people’s involvement in trade composed a disturbance in society. Thus, we can see strong struggles Muslim citizens attach to economic life in Turkey. In short, Wealth Tax in Turkey aimed to compose a campaign which tries to shift assets of non-Muslim groups into the hands of the new Muslim bourgeoisie.23 Furthermore, Wealth Tax was considered as an economical and cultural genocide against minorities which has been critisized by non-Muslim groups intensively. It is completely true that taxes were received unfairly and some Anatolian land lords gained a chance to be a rich tradesman by means of having minorities’ properties. Honestly, minorities were taken from trade, thus, purification process against minorities was performed in spite of all reactions. Afterwards, some non-Muslim groups that included about 30000 Jews citizen immigrated to other states reluctantly. Even if Turkey’s deterioated financial status was showed as a main reason of Wealth Tax, it did not symbolized Mustafa Kemal’ “nation building policy”, that’s why; minorities lost confidence, began to approach government with suspicion as an emotional reflex. Eventually, the Second World War period paved the way for various unfair implementations in extraordinary conditions nearly all states. Therefore, Istanbul bourgeoisie and some part of non-Muslim groups were considered potential threat and betrayers by improving classes in Ankara.24

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24 Samim Akgönül, “Türkiye Rumları, Ulus-Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci,” İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p.123.
The problems of minorities continue today. If we have to give an example, Heybeliada Clergy School, charitable intuitions, and ecumenical patriarch can be significant points in minority policies of Turkey. However, there has not been any permanent solutions that would satisfy non-Muslim citizens in Turkey yet. The most important thing we have to consider is the integration of non-Muslim groups in Turkey to structure and necessary precautions to prevent dismissal from the system.
Chronology

3rd May 1839  →  Declaration of Tanzimat Fermanı; “All citizens were accepted as an Ottoman, privileges that related to religions were abolished.”

4th October 1853  →  Crimean War; paved the way for Islahat Fermanı, destruction of Ottoman Economy.

18th February 1856  →  Declaration of Islahat Fermanı; non-Muslim citizens deserved some significant rights, the emergence of “Ottomanism” movement.

30th May 1876  →  Berlin Memorandum; Russia, Germany and Austria foresaw non-Muslim groups and foreigners in Ottoman Empire had been at risk, they need these states’ protection.

13th July 1878  →  Berlin Congress Agreement; Ottoman Empire would like to make reforms in Eastern part of Anatolia in favour of Armenians but it could not be done due to Ottoman laws.

8th October 1812  →  I. Balkan War; Turkish people became minority in Balkans, the emergence of minority question.

7th June 1914  →  the first population exchange agreement in between Turkey and Greece.

28th July 1914  →  the beginning of WW- I

30th October 1918  →  Mondros Ceasefire Agreement
19th May 1919  the beginning of Turkish Independence War
10th August 1920  the Sevr Agreement
14th October 1922  the Mudanya Ceasefire Agreement
20th October 1922  Ankara Government invited to Lausanne Conference.
20th November 1922  “Minorities case” started to be discussed in Lausanne Conference.
1st May 1923  the population exchange agreement which had been related to Greeks and Turkish people exchange between Turkey and Greece was signed in Lausanne Conference.
24th July 1923  End of Lausanne negotiations
1st September 1939  the beginning of WW-II
22 July 1941  Germany invasion in Russia.
11th November 1942  announcement of “Wealth Tax” in Turkey
7th January 1943  the minorities who had not paid tax sent to Aşkale in Erzurum.
20th January 1943  →  German military forces were defeated in Stalingrad.

15th March 1944 → “Weath Tax” was withdrawn.

January 1950 → Turkey passed through multi-party system.

14th May 1950 → Democrat Party came to power in Turkey.

18th February 1952 → Turkey became member of NATO

6th September 1955 → the day of “6-7 September cases” in Turkey

27th May 1960 → the first military coup in Turkey
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