

ASSOCIATES OF KEMAL ATATÜRK 1932-1938

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Politics is people, and political influence is greatly facilitated by having access to key political leaders. Access is, of course, far from the only factor which contributes to political influence, but in a system such as Turkey's during the presidency of Kemal Atatürk (1923-1938) contact with the central power-holder is certainly a crucial dimension. This article will analyze the partial record of contacts with Atatürk from November, 1931 through his death in November, 1938 (as reflected in the list of official appointments kept by his receptionists and published in Turkish¹), and seek to assess the significance of the contacts.

The shortcomings of the data must be pointed out immediately. First, it covers only official appointments, whereas it is known that Atatürk almost nightly held dinners at which vital issues were debated among many influential persons². Second, the appointment calendar does not show the length of appointments, the subjects discussed, whether the visits might have been for ceremonial reasons only, etc. Third, it is very difficult to measure "influence" even if we had more complete data such as just mentioned. Nevertheless, I feel that certain tentative conclusions can be drawn and general patterns delineated which will supplement other data previously published and data still unresearched.

¹ Özel Şahingiray, *Atatürk'ün Nöbet Defteri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1955. Research for this article was made possible in part by support from the Research Council of Rutgers - The State University. Much of the work of cataloguing the entries of the book was capably done by Rosalie Cannone.

² This shortcoming may not be as serious as it appears, however. Prof. Afet İnan recalls that at least one of the several aides who maintained these lists included in them persons whom Atatürk wanted to have invited to dinners. Whether or not all these persons actually attended the dinner is questionable, but in any event we would have here a roster of those with whom Atatürk wished to have contact, which is the thing this article is trying to determine.

ATATÜRK'S STYLE OF LIFE

During the last 6 1/2 years of his life Atatürk seldom was elsewhere than Ankara or İstanbul. In each of these years he spent at least four months in İstanbul (except 1934 when he was there 94 days), residing there almost half of 1937 (188 days, covering most of February, half of May and June, most of July, all of August and September). He made only nine trips of more than a days duration outside these two cities (Aegean, Mediterranean, Çukurova Jan. 15-Feb. 7, 1933; Yozgat, Kayseri, Konya Feb. 1-7, 1934; İzmir-Çanakkale area April 7-16, 1934; Aegean region with the Shah of Iran, June 20-26, 1934; Antalya-İzmir Feb. 17-25, 1935; no trips 1936; Black Sea coast June 8-12, 1937; Aydın region Oct. 8-13, 1937; Malatya-Diyarbakır-Afyon-Eskişehir Nov. 12-20, 1937). I have not been able to determine with any certainty whether this was more or less than during the years before 1932.

The *Nöbet Defteri* confirms the widely-known fact that Atatürk was generally a "night-person", seldom retiring before dawn or rising before early afternoon. On occasion he would go two days or more without retiring when he was working on a project. By far his favorite place to visit was his model farm on the outskirts of Ankara, where he went and dined almost daily during many periods. He also frequently took drives around the city of Ankara, stopping at numerous public places. Only rarely, however, is it recorded that he visited the homes of his acquaintances. Of these, Kılıç Ali was the only person at whose house Atatürk stopped more than about four times during the entire 6 1/2 years. He did, however, stop frequently at Prime Minister İnönü's official residence adjoining his own at Çankaya. The total number of visits to private homes, including those of Kılıç Ali and İnönü, is about one hundred. Most of the dinner parties appear to have been held at Çankaya, although there were also fairly frequent visits to Karpıç's restaurant and the Ankara Palas Hotel. Atatürk was also a frequent watcher of movies.

ATATÜRK'S VISITORS

Volume of visits. During the 6 1/2 years of this study Atatürk had about 15,000 official appointments. There was an unbroken upward trend, from 1,961 visits in 1932 to 2,816 visits in 1937. This is in con-

trast to the impression of some that his contacts decreased in the last years of his life. The sharp decrease in visitors as his final illness advanced was noticeable about mid-March, 1938. There were wide variations from month to month and quarter to quarter, with no discernible significant patterns except that the fourth quarter of the year tended to be the busiest. It is likely that this was related to Turkey's Independence Day (October 29) and the annual opening of the National Assembly (November 1). The pattern is shown in Chart I.

Frequency of individual visitors. Approximately 415 individuals appeared among Atatürk's visitors. Of these 145 came only once, 62 twice, 25 three times, 57 made between four and ten appearances, 48 were seen 11-25 times, 21 others 26-49 times, 31 more made 50-99 visits. Considering that we are dealing with a span of more than 2300 days and more than 72 months, I think it is not being unduly restrictive to say that those who visited less than 100 times are relatively insignificant, at least insofar as using official appointments as a channel of contact with Atatürk. Some of these people, of course, undoubtedly had frequent dinner table contact with Atatürk. My analysis, therefore, concentrates on the 40 individuals who appeared on 100 or more dates, or an average of approximately twice a month if spread out over the six years. A few others are referred to if they appeared 25 or more times within a single year.

Table I shows data for the 40 most frequent visitors. Table II shows their frequency pattern by years. Table III lists the next most significant group, those with 50-99 appearances. Most of the visitors in the over-100 group appeared more or less regularly throughout the period. I have indicated the few cases where a high number of total visits alone hides an unusually heavy concentration in one year or one period.

Several significant points emerge from the analysis³.

³ The major sources of biographical information are: Gotthard Jaschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren...* (1931-2: *Die Welt des Islams*, XV, pp. 1-33; 1933-4, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, XXXVIII (1935), pp. 105-42; 1935-41, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, Leipzig 1943); İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, Yedigün Neşriyatı, 1946; Afşin Oktay, *Biyografiler Ansiklopedisi*, Ankara, Bereket Matbaası,

1 — Those whom Atatürk saw officially most frequently were almost without exception of his own age group. There are data for 38 of the 40 most frequent visitors and for 29 of 31 in the 50-99 group. Of these 67, 33 were within three years of Atatürk's own age, and only eleven were as much as ten years Atatürk's juniors. The average age of these men in 1935 was 50. On this dimension it is notable that they were quite representative of the membership of the National Assembly, being in fact just a little younger than the average age of 51.8 of all deputies elected to the 5th Assembly in 1935⁴.

2 — Almost all of Atatürk's most frequent official visitors were acquaintances of long standing. Listed in Table I is the time of first confirmed contact which I have been able to find for 35 of the 40 men. Five were acquaintances from school days in Salonica (school-mates Conker, Bozok, Bulca, Somer, and Atatürk's teacher Ziya Naki Yaltrum); six more were his contemporaries at the Military Academy and General Staff College between 1899 and 1904 (Özdeş, Cebesoy, Çambel, İnanç, Özalp, Düzgören); five others first made his acquaintance during clandestine political activities in Salonica prior to the Young Turk revolution of 1908 (Uzer, Tör, Dilmen, Aras, İnönü); five most likely had their first contact with the future President when connected with the Committee of Union and Progress and the Ottoman Parliament in İstanbul between 1908 and 1914 (Mayakon, Kaya, Bayar, Saka, Galip) and three others were important or rising journalists during that period (Atay, Talay, Ünaydın); two were army colleagues prior to the World War (Peker, Çetinkaya), and Atatürk met one during his diplomatic sojourn in Sofia in 1913 (Kavalalı); for only eight of the 35 is there no confirmable contact

1958; Muharrem Mazlum, *Erkânharbiye Mektebi ve Harp Akademisi Tarihçesi*, Yıldız Harp Akad. K. Matbaası, 1930; the 1934 (indexed) edition of Atatürk's *Nutuk*; Dankwart A. Rustow, "The Army and the Founding of the Turkish Republic", *World Politics* XI (July, 1959), pp. 513-52; Lord Kinross, *Atatürk*, New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1965; and numerous lesser sources. Frederick Frey kindly supplied me with a list of Turkish deputies. My particular thanks are to Dankwart A. Rustow for making available many items from his prodigious store of knowledge about the personnel of the Turkish Republic. Important data was also furnished by Prof. Afet İnan, Prof. Enver Ziya Karal, and Uluğ İğdemir.

⁴ Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite* (Cambridge, M. I. T. Press, 1965), p. 170.

before 1914 (Kılıç Ali, Gürer, Bayur, Uran, Arsal, Arıkan, Köprülü, Özer). This continuity of leadership leaves little doubt that the experiences of the Young Turk period (1908-1914) had a very strong influence on the policies of Atatürk and of virtually all those who advised him and whose ideas when spoken to others undoubtedly carried the implied weight of being almost the President's own.

3 — Of the 40 most frequent visitors, only six were not deputies in the Assembly during the period covered in this analysis (i.e. the 4th and 5th Assemblies). Further, most had been deputies for a considerable time: ten had served continually since the convening of the 1st Assembly in 1920⁵; fifteen others since the 2nd Assembly elected in 1923; only six had first become deputies as late as the 3rd (1927) and 4th (1931) Assemblies; and three, a doctor and two prominent language and history reformers (Dilmen, Yaltrım, Köprülü) were made deputies in the 5th Assembly (1935), i.e. at the time when they began to be among Atatürk's most frequent visitors. This certainly supports Frey's finding that the Assembly was "the focal position in (the Turkish) governmental structure"⁶.

Quite the opposite situation was true in regard to holding executive office in either the government, the Republican People's Party, or the Assembly. Only eight of the 40 held cabinet posts during the 1931-38 period. If frequency of official visits can be a criterion of the directness of the political role which Atatürk attached to various ministries, the "key" ones were Interior (Şükrü Kaya's frequency of visits was at least "high" in every year except 1936); Education (Dr. Reşit Galip was "high" during his incumbency 1932-3; Hikmet Bayur was a more frequent visitor during his 1933-4 incumbency than at any other time; Saffet Arıkan was consistently "high" or "very high" during his 1935-8 tenure); Foreign Affairs (Tevfik Rüştü Aras, high especially in 1932-4); and Economics (Bayar). Prime Minister İnönü was a "moderately frequent" visitor, although he undoubtedly had much contact with Atatürk through other channels.

Party offices were held by only five of the 40 most frequent

⁵ Ali Fuat Cebesoy also served in the 1st Assembly, but had his service interrupted after the Progressive Party incident of 1924-5, resuming membership in the 4th Assembly.

⁶ Frey, p. 6.

visitors. The party Secretary-General was, not unexpectedly, always a frequent visitor, although less so in the tenure of Recep Peker (1931-6) than during that of Saffet Arıkan (1931) or Şükrü Kaya (1936-8). (Of the three Peker was the most independent and the strongest in his own right, which might account for his lower frequency of consultation than the others). The party Executive Committee elected at the 1931 party congress included from among the most frequent official Atatürk visitors only Saffet Arıkan and Hasan Cemil Çambel. None of the top 40 visitors was elected to the Executive Committee at the 1935 Congress. The other party post held by a frequent visitor was Ali Çetinkaya as head of the party Assembly Group in 1933-4.

Assembly office-holding shows a similarly low frequency pattern. Other than Kâzım Özalp's holding the office of Assembly President up to 1935⁷ (when he became Defense Minister), only four on our list held Assembly posts : Nuri Conker, Hasan Saka and Hilmi Uran served briefly as one of two vice-presidents, and Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın was one of three Assembly secretaries in 1931-3.

Formal holding of executive office is not, of course, the only indicator of close relation to policy execution, and there is no doubt that the network of personal relations which dominated the Atatürk period meant close watch on and influence over the execution of programs by non-office holders. The data presented here may indicate, however, a hypothesis worth further investigation, i.e. that while the formulation of overall policy was kept in the hands of Atatürk's colleagues in the revolution, implementation of programs was to a larger extent left to others, probably mostly younger men who were increasingly products of modern, Kemalist political and professional education and experience.

4 — Sub-groups. Within the category of "old acquaintances" there are, of course, sub-groups, such as ex-army officers (see below), journalists (Atay, Ünaydın, Çambel, Talay), administrators and technical or professional specialists (Kaya, Arıkan, Bayar, Uzer, Uran, İnanç, Saka) and intellectuals (Aras, Galip). Only one distinct group exists, however, which does not closely overlap the category

⁷ His visits during his tenure as Assembly President were "moderate". His successor, Mustafa Abdülhalik Renda, paid Atatürk a total of only 33 official visits during 1931-8, 16 of these during five months of 1937.

of old Atatürk colleagues. These were the language and history reformers, who began to appear among Atatürk's visitors with very great frequency about 1935. The impression that Atatürk gave much time and personal attention to these activities is confirmed by the rise of leading members of the Dil Kurumu (Language Association) to high places on the list of Presidential visitors : Mayakon (Atatürk's most frequent visitor in both 1936 and 1937, seeing him more than half the days in each of those years), Dilmen, as well as the less spectacular rise of Üstün, Onat, Tankut and Arsal of the Language Association and Köprülü and Bayur of the Tarih Kurumu (History Association) and the close identification of Arıkan and Çambel with the history program. Further, the *Nöbet Defteri* reveals that many of the meetings of the history and language commissions were held at the Presidential residence, and that Atatürk attended the language and history congresses almost in their entirety.

5 — The military. Two kinds of omissions from the list of most frequent official visitors are noteworthy. One is in regard to the military. Although, like Atatürk, at least twelve of the 40 here examined began their public careers as army officers or made their initial reputations chiefly through military activities (Kılıç, Conker, Özdeş, Gürer, İnönü, Cebesoy, Peker, Çambel, İnanç, Özalp, Düzgören, Çetinkaya), it does not seem appropriate to call them a "military bloc". All had resigned from the army, and all had distinguished themselves in civilian, political careers since the end of the War of Independence. In contrast to the high frequency of official visits of these soldiers-turned-politicians is the notable absence from the official visit list of many whose primary reputation and association continued to be that of professional soldiers. Marshall Fevzi Çakmak appears in the *Nöbet Defteri* only ten times. The five major army commanders who dramatically resigned from the Assembly at Atatürk's request when he enforced separation of the army from politics in 1924⁸ also are very infrequent (Ali Hikmet Ayerdem, 85 visits, almost all between October 1935 and June 1936; Fahrettin Altay, 80 visits scattered throughout the six years; İzzettin Çalışlar, 59 visits; Şükrü Naili Gökberk, 51 visits before his death in 1936; Cevat

⁸ Cf. *A Speech Delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal*, Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1929, p. 690.

Çobanlı, 9 visits). Other rather prominent officers were also very low on the list such as Salih Omurtak (29), İbrahim Çolak (33), and Pertev Demirhan (23). None of the major army commanders of the 1930's appeared as many as 50 times throughout the period. If there was military influence within the government, it was well-tempered by political experience of its main agents.

6 — Some other prominent figures were not found on the "most frequent" list. In addition to several being on the comparatively low 50-99 list (Table III), fewer visits than might have been expected were made by such persons as Ali Canip Yöntem (25), Ali Rana Tarhan (14), Abdülhalik Renda (15), Cemil Uybada'n (48), Cevdet Kerim İncedayı (11), İbrahim Süreyya Yiğit (16), Mahmut Esat Bozkurt (17), Mazhar Müfit Kansu (15), Vasif Çınar (46 before his death in 1935) and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (43). Individual reasons probably account for the low frequencies in each of these cases. At least some were frequent dinner companions, several were ambassadors and thus frequently out of the country.

CONCLUSIONS

At least in its public image the Turkish government's top echelon during the years 1931-38 was one of men with personal participation in many of the events of the Young Turk revolution and the stormiest years of the formation of the Republic, tied together by an intricate network of personal acquaintanceships of long standing. It is likely that Atatürk's "dinner table academy", his other main locus of contacts beside official appointments analyzed in this article, was made up of pretty much the same basic group. As the "dinner table academy" was frequently the scene of major debates on basic policies and issues as well as a sort of "testing ground" for younger, aspiring leaders, the influence of this relatively small Atatürk cohort on the Turkish Republic's future was great indeed.

The findings of this analysis are not very surprising in the context of a revolution such as Turkey's. Projects like ousting the Ottoman dynasty, fighting the War of Independence, and implementing fundamental political and social reforms against great potential resistance, all of which policies having implications and outcomes which were far from certain, were ones in which great mutual trust among leaders was rightly considered extremely important. The

revolution in education that was projected under the Turkish Republic was also probably in part responsible for the marked persistence of the domination of "old revolutionaries" well into the Republican period. (They were, it should be added, not particularly old during the period of this analysis as leaders of nations go, averaging about 50 years of age in 1935). It was only after about the late 1930's that an appreciable number of significantly younger, Republic-trained men began to be available and to aspire to power. When this did happen, they did not take long to make themselves felt, the difference in age between the newly-elected deputies and "carry-over" deputies, as one indicator, increasing markedly starting about 1939⁹.

On the whole, Atatürk chose capable associates, whose long mutual acquaintance and common experiences probably were quite useful in giving Turkey unified and decisive leadership in a crucial period of its development. Perhaps the dominant group's lack of executive office provided opportunities for younger men to gain experience for future political power, and close supervision by those who successfully set the course of Turkey's transition from empire to republic. But we must know more about the men who appear in the *Nöbet Defteri* before we can tell precisely more about what the influences on Atatürk were, and before we can get at some intriguing dimensions like what kinds of personalities Atatürk had affinities for, and with what consequences.

On a comparative basis, although evidence is lacking it appears not unlikely that countries with recent histories in some respects similar to Turkey's might exhibit rather similar patterns. One thinks of the initial years of the Russian Revolution, of contemporary India, Tunisia, Yugoslavia or Burma, even perhaps of John F. Kennedy's "Irish mafia" and Harvard acquaintance contingent (which might have been the start of such a rough pattern, or might still become one). Further comparative studies in this regard would seem a promising avenue of research.

⁹ Frey, pp. 201-2.

TABLE I
ATATÜRK'S MOST FREQUENT VISITORS
(100 or more visits)

Number of Visits	Name	When & Where Born	First Confirmed Atatürk Contact	Assessm ^(a) of Visits	Party Office (b)	Frequency Pattern of Visits (c)	Main Activity or Relation to Atatürk
613	Kılıç Ali	1890 Istanbul	Sivas 1919	1-5		High all years, very high 1932, 33, 36, 37.	Close political associate; close friend (frequent Atatürk visits to his house)
593	Nuri Conker	1881 Salonica	Schoolmate	2-5	Assy. Vice-Pres. 1935-6	Very high all years to death in 1936.	Constant companion for many years.
554	Salih Bozok	1881 Salonica	Schoolmate	2-6		High all years.	Aide-de-camp 1917-23; old friend.
521	İsmail Müştak Mayakon	1882 Yenişehir (Thessaly)	CUP period Meclis-i Ayan Sec. (1909)	1 only		No visits before August, 1934; high 1935; extremely high 1936, 37.	Language researcher.
476	Müfit Özdeş	1877 Kırşehir	Classmate 1904, Mil. Academy	2-5		Very high 1934, high all other years.	Old colleague, veteran politician (Co-founder Vatan ve Hürriyet Cem. 1906)
471	Şükrü Kaya	1884 Istanköy	CUP period	2-5	Interior Min. 1927-38; CHP Gen. Sec. 1936	Very high 1934, occasional 1936, high all other	Important cabinet officer.

Lists	Name	When & Where Born	First Confirmed Atatürk Contact	(a) Assemblies	Party Office (b)	Frequency Pattern of Visits (c)	Main Activity or Relation to Atatürk
454	Saffet Arıkan	1888 Erzincan	World War I	2-8	CHP Gen-Sec. 1931; CHP Exec. Comm. 1931-5 Educ. Min. 1935-38	Very high 1935; high all other years.	Important party and cabinet officer and member of History Association.
411	Tevfik Rüştü Aras	1883 Çanakkale	Ca. 1909	1-5	Foreign Min. 1925-38	High 1932, 33, 34; moderate all other years.	Important cabinet officer and intellectual.
363	Falih Rıfki Atay	1893 Istanbul	Ca. 1908	2-8		High 1933, 34, 35; moderate all other years.	Press Assn. Pres 1935; intimate colleague.
350	Hasan Cavit Belül	1878 Hopa	?	2-8		High 1932-3; moderate all other years.	
330	Celal Bayar	1884 Umurbey (Bursa)	CUP period	1-10	Econ. Min. 1932-7. Prime Min. 1937-8.	High 1932; moderate all other years.	Important cabinet officer.
320	Cevat Abbas Gürer	1887 Niş (Yugoslavia)	Aide-de-camp WW I and War of Independ.	1-5		High 1935, 37; moderate 1932, 36; occasional other years.	Old colleague.
315	Tahsin Uzer	1880 Salonica	Salonica pre-1908	1-5		Very high 1933; high 1934; moderate 1932, 5; occasional other years. Frequently away from Ankara.	3rd Zone Inspector (E. Anatolia) 1935-39; old Atatürk colleague.

No.	Name	When & Where Born	First Confirmed Atatürk Contact	(e) Assign- ment	Party Office (b)	Frequency Pattern of Visits (c)	Main Activity or Relation to Atatürk
312	Edip Servet Tör	1880 Adapazarı	Salonica pre-1908	2-8		Very high 1936; high 1934, 35, 38; occasional other years.	Old political asso- ciate (Co-founder Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti 1906)
280	Ahmet Cevat Üstün	1894 ?	?	no		Moderate all years; occasional 1932.	Language researcher; diplomat.
242	İsmail Hakkı Kavalalı	Kavala (Thrace)	Sofia 1913	no		159 visits in 1937; moderate 1933; occasional other years.	Personal friend.
240	İsmet İnönü	1884 Malatya	1908	All since 2	Prime. Min. 1923-37	Moderate all years; high 1934.	Important cabinet officer.
236	İbrahim Necmi Dilmen	1887 Salonica	Salonica pre-1908	5-7		High 1935-6; moderate 1937; occasional other years.	Language Assn. Gen. Sec. 1932 on.
227	Ali Fuat Cebesoy	1882 İstanbul	Classmate Mil. Acad. 1904	1-2, 4-10		Absent 1932; moderate 1933-37.	Very old friend.
223	Hacı Mehmet Somer	1882 Salonica	School-mate	4-5		High 1933; occa- sional 1932; moderate other years.	Very old friend.

No.	Name	When & Where Born	First Confirmed Atatürk Contact	Assessment (a)	Party Office (b)	Frequency Pattern of Visits (c)	Main Activity or Relation to Atatürk
215	Ziya Naki Yalrum	1892 Kalecik (near Ankara)	Atatürk's school-teacher, Salonica 1890's	5		Very high 1937; moderate 1935-6; very occasional 1932-4.	Long in politics (co-founder Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti 1906). Doctor.
203	Hikmet Bayur	1891 İstanbul	Foreign Min. Pol. Section Chief 1920	4-7	Educ. Min. 1933-4	Moderate 1934-7; occasional 1932-3..	Pres. Gen. Sec. 1932; historian, writer
199	Hilmi Uran	1884 Bodrum	Around 1918	3-8	Assy. Vice-Pres. 1937-8.	Very high 1935; moderate 1936-7; occasional 1932-4.	Experienced administrator.
194	Hasan Reşit Tankut	1891 Elbistan (near Malatya)	?	4-9		High 1936-7; occasional 1934-5; no visits 1932-3.	Language researcher.
189	Naim Hazım Onat	1889 Konya	?	2-8		Moderate 1933-6; occasional 1932.	Important writer of Sun Language Theory and Student of Arab Turkish relations.
185	Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın	1892 İstanbul	Battle of Gallipoli	2-4	Assy. Sec. 1931-33.	High 1932; moderate 1933; occasional other years.	Lang. Assn. Sec. 1932; Pres. Gen. Sec. 1933-4; Ambassador after 1934; important Atatürk publicist.
184	Recep Peker	1888 İstanbul	Army pre-World War	2-8	CHP Gen. Sec. 1931-7	Occasional 1932, 35; moderate other years.	Party secretary; old Atatürk colleague. Cultural activity.

No.	Name	When & Where		First Confirmed		Assem. Blises (a)	Party Office (b)	Frequency Pattern of Visits (c)	Main Activity or Relation to Atatürk
		When Born	Where Born	When Contact	Where Contact				
182	Fuat Bulca	1881	Yenişehir (Thessaly)	Schoolmate		2-5		Moderate 1932-5; occasional 1936-7.	Frequent dinner companion; Head of Air Assn; old colleague
157	Hasan Cemil Çambel	1879	Istanbul	Mil. Acad. 1899		2-7	CHP Exec. Comm. 1931- 35.	High 1932; mod- erate 1935; oc- casional other years.	Hist. Assn. President 1935; journalist, writer.
155	Kâzım İnanç	1881	Diyarbakır	Mil. Acad 1902		3-4		Occasional 1932, 35; moderate other years.	Veteran general (Yıldırım Group 1917) and later provincial governor
145	Refik Say- dam	1881	Istanbul	?		1-6	Health Min. 1925-37	Moderate 1932 34; occasional other years.	Accompanied Atatürk to Samsun 1919.
143	Kâzım Öz- alp	1880	Köprülü (near Salonica)	Mil. Acad 1905		1-9	Assy. Pres. 1925-35; Defense Min. 1935-9.	Moderate 1932-4; occasional other years.	Prominent general; Atatürk political troubleshooter.
139	Dr. Reşit Galip	1893	Rhodes	Pre-World War		2-4	Educ. Min. 1932-3	High 1932; mod- erate 1933-4. Died 1934.	Early Türkocağı leader History Research Comm. Head 1933; Atatürk very fond of him.
136	Hasan Saka	1885	Trabzon	Ottoman Parl.		1-9	Assy. Vice- Pres. inter- mittently	Moderate 1932, 36; occasional other years.	Economic, financial expert, intellectual.

Visits	Name	When & Where Born	First Confirmed Atatürk Contact	Assem- blies (a)	Party Office (b)	Frequency Pattern of Visits (c)	Main Activity or Relation to Atatürk
135	Rasim Ferit Talay	1888 Tripoli (Libya)	pre-World War I	4-7		Moderate 1934, 35; occasional other years.	Publisher (Minber Press 1918 with Fethi Okyar and Atatürk).
125	Fuat Köprülü	1890 İstanbul	1930 ?	5-10		Moderate 1935, 36, 37; occasional other years.	Historian
117	Yusuf Ziya Özer		1929-30 ?	(8-9)		Moderate 1934, 35; occasional other years.	Ethnographer and language researcher.
106	Sadri Maksudi Arsal	1881 Kazan	Possibly 1925	7-8		Moderate 1932; occasional other years.	Law Professor, Ankara University; language reformer.
104	Seyfi Fuat Düzgören	1880 İstanbul	Mil. Acad. (Class of 1905, one yr. after Atatürk)	6-8		Moderate 1936, 37; occasional 1935; no visits 1932-4.	Old army colleague (Hareket Ordusu 1909)
104	Ali Çetinkaya	1878 Afyon	CUP period Manastır; 1911 Tripoli.	1-7	Pub. Works Min. 35-9; CHP Assy. Gp. chmn. 1933-4.	Occasional all years.	Close political associate; Indep. Courts 1925-6; frequent dinner guest.

(a) Assemblies elected as follows:

1. 1920	6. 1939	11. 1957
2. 1923	7. 1943	12. 1961
3. 1927	8. 1946	13. 1965
4. 1931	9. 1950	
5. 1935	10. 1954	

b) Only government or party offices during 1931-8 listed.

- (c) Very high : 96 or more visits in a year, average 8 per month.
High : 60-95 visits.
Moderate : 25-59, i.e. at least twice a month on the average.
Occasional : less than 25.

TABLE II

MOST FREQUENT VISITORS, BY YEARS (25 or more visits in one year, or average of twice a month.)

<i>1932</i>		<i>1933</i>	
Kılıç Ali	115	Nuri Conker	124
Nuri Conker	115	Tahsin Uzer	103
Salih Bozok	86	Kılıç Ali	98
Şükrü Kaya	84	Hasan Cavit Belül	97
Dr. Reşit Galip	78	Salih Bozok	92
Hasan Cavit Belül	73	Saffet Arıkan	87
Ruşen Eşref Üneydin	72	Müfit Özdeş	81
Tevfik Rüştü Aras	62	Şükrü Kaya	81
Celâl Bayar	62	Falih Rıfki Atay	67
Hasan Cemil Çambel	62	Hacı Mehmet Somer	67
Refik Saydam	53	Tevfik Rüştü Aras	62
İsmet İnönü	48	Celâl Bayar	55
Falih Rıfki Atay	47	Ruşen Eşref Üneydin	48
Cevat Abbas Gürer	46	Kâzım Özalp	42
Saffet Arıkan	45	Dr. Reşit Galip	41
Müfit Özdeş	40	Recep Peker	41
Tahsin Uzer	33	İsmet İnönü	40
Kâzım Özalp	31	Ali Fuat Cebesoy	33
Hasan Saka	27	Kâzım İnanç	27
Fuat Bulca	25	Ahmet Cevat Üstün	26
Sadri Maksudî Arsal	25	Naim Hazım Onat	26
		Ali Çetinkaya	26
 <i>1934</i>		 <i>1935</i>	
Nuri Conker	141	Hilmi Uran	95
Şükrü Kaya	125	Müfit Özdeş	92
Müfit Özdeş	99	Falih Rıfki Atay	81
Salih Bozok	90	Kılıç Ali	80
Tevfik Rüştü Aras	88	İbrahim Necmi Dilmen	76
Tahsin Uzer	87	İsmail Müştak Mayakon	65
Saffet Arıkan	85	Cevat Abbas Gürer	64
Kılıç Ali	76	Salih Bozok	62
Falih Rıfki Atay	73	Edip Servet Tör	62
Edip Servet Tör	64	Şükrü Kaya	60
İsmet İnönü	64	Tevfik Rüştü Aras	59
Fuat Bulca	53	Ahmet Cevat Üstün	59
Hikmet Bayur	52	Tahsin Uzer	55
Naim Hazım Onat	42	Hacı Mehmet Somer	48

Celâl Bayar	41	Naim Hazım Onat	48
Hasan Cavit Belül	40	Hasan Cavit Belül	43
Hacı Mehmet Somer	38	Rasim Ferit Talay	39
Ahmet Cevat Üstün	38	Hasan Cemil Çambel	36
Yusuf Ziya (Özer)	38	Fuat Köprülü	35
Kâzım İnanç	37	Ziya Naki Yaltrum	33
Recep Peker	35	Celâl Bayar	32
Ali Fuad Cebesoy	35	Fuat Bulca	30
Rasim Ferit Talay	32	Hikmet Bayur	29
Refik Saydam	29	Ali Fuat Cebesoy	28
Kâzım Özalp	28	İsmet İnönü	26
		Yusuf Ziya	25

1936

İsmail Müştak Mayakon	202
Kılıç Ali	98
Edip Servet Tör	96
İbrahim Necmi Dilmen	95
Nuri Conker	86
Müfit Özdeş	76
Hasan Reşit Tankut	76
Saffet Arıkan	66
Ahmet Cevat Üstün	64
Salih Bozok	59
Cevat Abbas Gürer	48
Tevfik Rüştü Aras	46
Hasan Cavit Belül	46
Ziya Naki Yaltrum	44
Celâl Bayar	44
Hikmet Bayur	43
Falih Rıfık Atay	39
Seyfi Fuat Düzgören	38
Hacı Mehmet Somer	34
Ali Fuat Cebesoy	30
Recep Peker	29
Hasan Saka	28
Fuat Köprülü	27
Kâzım İnanç	26
Aziz Samih İlter	26

1937

İsmail Müştak Mayakon	201
İsmail Hakkı Kavalalı	159
Kılıç Ali	105
Ziya Naki Yaltrum	102
Salih Bozok	95
Ali Fuad Cebesoy	91
Cevat Abbas Gürer	89
Hasan Reşit Tankut	81
Ahmet Cevat Üstün	72
Edip Servet Tör	68
Müfit Özdeş	66
Şükrü Kaya	61
Celâl Bayar	56
Hikmet Bayur	53
Dr. Mehmet Ali Agakay	48
Tevfik Rüştü Aras	43
Kâzım İnanç	43
Naim Hazım Onat	41
Saffet Arıkan	40
Hacı Mehmet Somer	39
Hasan Cavit Belül	38
Seyfi Fuat Düzgören	35
İsmet İnönü	35
Hilmi Uran	33
Falih Rıfık Atay	32
Dr. Şakir Ahmet Ediz	32
Fuat Köprülü	32
İbrahim Necmi Dilmen	31
Recep Peker	29

TABLE III
Persons Making 50-99 Visits

Name	Nr. Visits	Year of Birth
Ali Muzaffer Göker	99	1887
Şükrü Saracoğlu	94	1887
Neşet Ömer İrdelp	93	1882
Muhlis Erkmén	91	1891
Abdülkadir İnan	90	1889
Ali Hikmet Ayerdem	85	1887
Zekâi Apaydın	84	1880
İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı	84	1888
Muzaffer Kılıç	83	1897
Fahrettin Altay	80	1880
Recep Zühtü Soyak	77	1893
Yunus Nadi Abaloğlu	72	1880
Kâzım Dirik	70	1879
Fazıl Nazmi	70	?
Dr. Mehmet Ali Agakay	68	?
Cemal Hüsni Taray	67	1893
Dr. Şakir Ahmet Ediz	66	1875
Necmeddin Sadık Sadak	64	1890
Hakkı Tarık Us	63	1889
Saim Ali Dilemre	63	1878
Fethi Okyar	61	1880
Aziz Samih İltér	60	1877
Esat Sagay	59	1874
İzzettin Çalışlar	59	1882
Mehmet Asım Us	59	1884
Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç	58	1884
Yusuf Akçura (d. 1935)	57	1876
Celâl Sahir Erozan (d. 1935)	54	1883
Şükrü Naili Gökberk (d. 1936)	51	1876
Kâzım Sevüktekin	50	1877
Şemsettin Günaltay	50	1882

Chart I. Volume of Visits 1932 - 1938

