Conditional Welcome: Russian Refugees as a Source of Skilled Labor in Interwar Turkey

by Pınar Üre

This article examines the so-called "White Russian" refugees, an important yet little-studied community, and their employment in early republican Turkey. Fleeing from the Bolshevik Revolution, refugees from Russia connected the two shores of the Black Sea by offering their expertise and knowledge in a number of fields in their host country. Russian refugees served as a source of skilled labor, and they functioned as agents of Turkey's economic, industrial, and cultural transformation. Russian ballerinas took to the stage in important ceremonies while Russian chefs opened the first European-style restaurants in Turkey's new capital, Ankara. Moreover, a significant number of Russian engineers worked in some of the most important industrial enterprises and trained Turkish technicians, a much-needed workforce as the country launched an ambitious industrialization program in the interwar years. Russian refugees not only filled the skilled-labor gap, but they also trained apprentices in their professions, transferring their knowledge to locals. In the end, the interaction between Russian refugees and their host society sheds new light into Turkish modernization, which was a multipolar process and was inspired by different models, rather than a single role model.

Key words: White Russians, refugees, Turkey, modernization, knowledge exchange

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the ensuing Russian Civil War led to an enormous wave of refugees, among whom were a significant number of anti-Bolshevik intellectuals, aristocrats, imperial officers, and bureaucrats. Turkey was the first stop for most post-1917 refugees, generally known as "White Russians" for their alleged affinity for the anti-Bolshevik White forces, although after a brief period many preferred to leave for better opportunities in Europe.[1] However, some Russian refugees opted to stay in Turkey. Even among the refugees who settled in Europe, throughout the 1920s and 1930s, there were some who came to Turkey either permanently or temporarily, mostly for professional reasons. This happened in spite of the Turkish government's restrictions on foreign labor in the 1930s, as Russian refugees received exceptional treatment, partly because of their cultural capital.

This article will discuss how the cultural capital of the Russian refugee community helped them carve out a space for themselves in Turkey in the interwar period. Immediately after its establishment, the new republican regime started a

program of cultural and industrial modernization, which necessitated a skilled labor force in various fields. At the same time, the new lifestyle of republican elites led to the proliferation of new urban tastes. This situation led to a confluence of interests between Russian refugees and the young republican regime. Russian ballerinas took to the stage in important ceremonies and Russian chefs opened the first European-style restaurants in Turkey's new capital. Moreover, a significant number of Russian engineers worked in Turkey and trained Turkish technicians, a workforce badly needed by a country that launched an ambitious industrialization program but lacked the necessary human capital. These refugees not only filled the skilled-labor gap, but many also trained apprentices in their professions, transferring their knowledge to Turkish nationals. Russian refugees' status as the bearers of technical, artistic, and cultural information offers a unique view of interwar Turkey from a little-studied perspective.

In existing literature, the question of migration across the Black Sea is addressed with regard to the plight of ethnic minorities such as Crimean Tatars, Caucasian Muslims, and Armenians from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.[2] Another thread focuses on unskilled labor migration in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, mostly with an emphasis on illegal trade and sex trafficking.[3] This article will try to combine the theoretical aspects of these chronologically diverse studies, and will open to discussion the presence of "broader networks of trade and culture at the boundaries of the Black Sea."[4] On the one hand, the question of Russian refugees will be treated within the context of labor migration. On the other hand, the role of refugees in cultural exchange will be highlighted. Refugees of the Russian Civil War were not passive subjects in the history of war and revolutionary violence. On the very contrary, many of them were highly skilled people who reinvented themselves under drastically different conditions away from home. They not only filled the labor shortage in host societies but also transferred their expertise and knowledge in a wide range of areas from classical ballet to food culture. The circulation of people, knowledge, and ideas across the Black Sea as discussed in this article may hopefully contribute to the growing literature that examines whether the Black Sea can be regarded as a bridge, hub or common ground, and not only as a border separating peoples and countries.[5]

Bernard Lewis's classic account, in which he identified Western Europe as the source of Turkish modernization, has long dominated academic discussions about the subject.[6] However, recent studies suggest that the Soviet Union, not only as a case of comparison, but also as a major source of inspiration, played a crucial role in the modernization reforms of the Turkish Republic.[7] The connections and interchanges between the two governments across the Black Sea meant that Soviet and Turkish modernization processes were not only similar, but also linked to one another. Therefore, recent scholarship presents a more vibrant and multidimensional portrait of Turkish modernization as a process in which the

Turkish government established channels of communication with multiple actors in an attempt to avoid dependence on any one powerful actor in the international arena.

In line with recent scholarship, this article suggests that early Republican modernization policies benefited from contacts with different, and sometimes contradictory, sources. In its attempts to develop a program of modernization, the Turkish government looked to both Western Europe and the Soviet Union for guidance, and successfully maintained its independence vis-à-vis these actors by balancing its relations. However, state-level contacts were not the only sources of Turkish modernization. As the case of Russian refugees illustrate, non-state actors also played a prominent role in fulfilling the modernization goals of the new regime. From engineering to urban culture, the young republic had an urgent need for experts, and Russian refugees filled an important and much-needed function in Turkish economic life, as they met the demand for skilled labor shortage. Therefore, paradoxically enough, there were "two Russias" that were somehow linked to Turkish modernization: The first one was Soviet Russia, which provided the Turkish government with expertise, financial credit, and political support. The other, although on a smaller scale, was the 'White Russian' refugee community scattered around the world after the Bolshevik Revolution.

Many Russian refugees, even though they did not obtain citizenship, lived and worked in Turkey, at a time when there were serious restrictions on both foreign and native non-Muslim labor force. The Law on Arts and Crafts Reserved for Turkish Citizens in Turkey (*Türkiye'de Türk Vatandaşlarına Tahsis Edilen Sanat ve Hizmetler Hakkında Kanun*), which was ratified on 11 June 1932, aimed to nationalize not only capital but also the labor market in the young republic. The law listed professions that could now be performed exclusively by Turkish citizens.[8] The list was very long. The second article of the law stipulated that foreign nationals were barred from employment in government institutions, including municipal and provincial administrations, and that they could not work as pilots. The article allowed the cabinet to permit employment in exceptional cases. Restrictions on jobs related to government or military service are perhaps understandable. However, the long list of professions listed in the first article of the law were very unlikely to pose a national security threat. Most of them were low-income jobs with little strategic meaning. According to the first article, foreign nationals could not be employed as janitors, cobblers, haberdashers, cloth producers, waiters, photographers, veterinarians, drivers, construction workers, musicians, singers, barbers, and so on. The law did not explicitly have an ethnic or religious connotation, but as Aktar noted, it primarily targeted Greek citizens still residing in İstanbul.[9] The law permitted a transition stage that allowed foreign nationals to continue their work until 1933, which was later extended until 1934.

In 1934, when the law's extension period expired, the League of Nations and

the American ambassador to Turkey intervened on behalf of Russian refugees. Eventually, the Turkish government granted exceptional treatment to Russian refugees, who were allowed to retain their jobs.[10] The newspaper *Cumhuriyet* quoted that at the time of the 1932 Law, there were 24 White Russian musicians (and three Soviet subjects), seven Russian carpenters, 54 White Russian drivers, and 13 Russian groceries in İstanbul.[11] However, the pressure exerted by the Americans and the League does not seem to be the only reason for the exceptional treatment of Russian refugees. Since the 1920s, the Turkish government was careful not to offend the Soviet leadership over the refugee question and promised to sort out the refugee crisis only through dialog with the Soviets, as this issue was regarded as a bilateral problem between the two countries.[12] As I will demonstrate later in this article, the refugees' role in filling the gap in qualified labor shortage might be another, and a more valid reason.

It should be noted that Russian refugees were not the only group of people who received exceptional work permits in the interwar period. It is a well-known fact that a significant number of experts, including academics, architects, urban planners, and engineers from Germany, Austria, and Hungary came to Turkey upon the encouragement of the Turkish government in the 1920s and especially in the 1930s. Even though there is no comprehensive work on foreign experts and knowledge transfer in Turkey in the early republican period, there are case studies on particular individuals or institutions. The contribution of German scholars to the institutionalization of Turkish academia and the role of European architects in the transformation of Ankara from a traditional Anatolian city to a modern capital are some of the subjects that were addressed in Turkish-language scholarly works, if not in English.[13] However, Russian refugees are unique among other foreigners who worked and lived in Turkey. First, unlike Hungarian, German, or Austrian experts, whose numbers were limited to a few individuals and who were intentionally invited by the Turkish government, Russian refugees were the remnants of a big refugee wave that altered the demographics of İstanbul at the beginning of 1920s. Second, Russian refugees were political exiles, and they escaped from the Soviet regime, which was the most important ally of Turkey in the interwar period. In the exchanges between Soviet and Turkish statesmen, the issue of "White Russians" often came up as a sign of Soviet anxiety about their continuing presence on Turkish soil.[14] It was against this backdrop that Russian refugees made either small or big contributions to Turkey's industrial, economic, and cultural transformation.

Russian Refugees as Agents of Industrial Transformation

Engineers seemed to be the preferred professional group among Russian refugees, which is not surprising considering the industrial development targets of the young republic and its dire need for trained experts.[15] As early as 1924,

one "White Russian" engineer was listed as an employee at the Ministry of Public Works.[16] The specialists were in most cases given work permits on the condition that they would train Turkish experts in line with the developmentalist spirit of the early republican years. For example, in November 1930, White Russian Aleksandr Sergeyevich Seleznov petitioned to work as a motorist in Turkish waters and train Turkish motorists at the same time. His application was approved on the condition that only Turks would be employed in his workshop.[17]

Apparently, White Russian engineers worked not only in Istanbul, but also in various Anatolian towns. For instance, a document from September 1935 shows that a certain Russian refugee named Niko, who lived in Koyulhisar in the province of Sivas and worked on construction projects in this town, was given a work permit and was exempted from the 1932 Law.[18] Another document from November 1936 proves that the visa application of a certain Russian refugee, Florinsky, was approved, because his son-in-law Ivanov, who worked as an engineer in Ereğli coal mines, was the only person who could support him financially.[19] In the summer of 1937, a White Russian engineer living in Belgrade received both a visa and a work permit to work at the Iron and Steel Factory in Karabük upon the request of the Ministry of Economy.[20] This permit is all the more interesting because the establishment of the Karabük Iron and Steel Factory was advised by Soviet experts in their 1932 report, which outlined suggestions for Turkish industrialization.[21] As a result of the changing international atmosphere on the eve of the Second World War, Turkey eventually secured the necessary financial support from the British H.A. Brassert Company in 1936. The construction of the factory started in April 1937, and it began production in 1939. The Karabük Iron and Steel Factory operated under the auspices of Sümerbank, a major state-owned bank and industrial holding company established in 1933 with Soviet credit. The work permit given to an anti-Bolshevik refugee engineer at a factory whose establishment was advised by the Soviets and which was ultimately financed by the British attests to the pragmatism of the Turkish government and the diversity of its sources for capital and labor in the interwar years.

White Russian engineers and specialists, who lived either in Turkey or Europe, also functioned as agents of economic cooperation between Turkey and European countries. In February 1934, the "White Russian" Coto Servashidze,[22] who was working as an expert in Tevfik Cenani Milk Factory in Istanbul, was allowed to go to Europe to represent his company on a business trip.[23] Similarly in May 1936, another White Russian Pierre (Pyotr) Shchepotiev, an expert on cement machinery who worked in Belgium, was given a one-month residence permit upon the invitation of *Istanbul Anadolu* Çimentoları *Türk Anonim Şirketi* (Anatolian Cements Turkish Joint Stock Company). Shchepotiev was also expected to train Turkish workers in his area of expertise.[24] In August of the same year, his residence was extended for another month.[25]

Similar examples abound: In December 1936, White Russian Baron Jacques de Schweitzer, the representative of a French construction firm, was permitted to visit Turkey for at most three months to discuss the reconstruction of the Mudanya-Bursa road with asphalt.[26] In February 1938, White Russian Kovalensky paid a visit to Turkey with his Nansen passport[27] as the representative of *La Bougie* B. G. Factory, from which the Turkish Air Force made a purchase.[28] In March 1939, Von Nessler, a Russian refugee with a Nansen passport, received a travel permit to visit to Turkey as representative of *Verkaufsgemeinschaft Pyrotechnischer Fabriken*, a Berlin-based fireworks company, which wanted to establish commercial relations with Turkey.[29] There were also White Russian investors who set their eye on launching business ventures in Turkey, as did a certain Yuhaim Bulichev, a White Russian businessman living in Germany, who was permitted to visit Turkey in February 1932 with the aim of opening a textile factory in Istanbul.[30]

Juxtaposing these travel and work permits alongside the Law on Arts and Crafts of 1932 discussed above, an interesting paradox appears: While the law restricted foreign labor employment even in low-income jobs, the above examples prove that many Russian refugees secured jobs in the industrial sector, rightly considered to be the commanding heights of the Turkish economy. The desire to nationalize the labor market existed side by side with a pragmatic use of refugees' expertise, whose skills were necessary until the government could replace them with a well-trained workforce made up of its own citizens.

Russian Refugees as Agents of Commercial Interaction

Like engineers and technical experts, Russian refugees who engaged in commercial activities did not encounter serious difficulties when they travelled to Turkey. Tobacco merchants were particularly frequent visitors, a trend highlighting tobacco's importance for Turkish economy in the 1920s and 1930s. In December 1928, a White Russian merchant named Volf Laybov received a travel permit to visit Turkey with two German factory owners to purchase a significant amount of tobacco.[31] Likewise in June 1933, another White Russian merchant, Moise Leibmann, who was living in Amsterdam with a Nansen passport, and was known as a respectable merchant by the consulate in The Hague, was permitted to enter Turkey to engage in the tobacco business.[32]

In April 1934, White Russian Aleksandr Orlov, who lived in Thessaloniki, wanted to visit Istanbul to purchase a large amount of tobacco. The document granting his permit explains the government's policy on White Russian merchants in detail. According to the Settlement Law of 1934, a cabinet decision was needed for all White Russians entering Turkey so that they could be registered. Orlov's permit stated that, this rule notwithstanding, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the approval of the Ministry of Interior, could authorize visas for those White Russians whose visit would be economically useful for Turkey and who would spend a

limited time in the country, as long as their identities were approved by Turkish embassies and consulates.[33] The document hints at the commercial usefulness of the Russian refugee community and echoes the pragmatic attitude of the Turkish government with regard to Russian refugees.

Russian Refugees as Agents of Cultural Transformation

The work and residence permits granted to White Russians also mirrored the new tastes and cultural priorities of republican elites. The transformation of urban culture, especially in the new capital Ankara, required professionals that could serve the needs of a modern city life. Such professionals, although in high demand, were difficult to find among the country's native population, and Russian refugees were a likely source of expertise. Falih Rıfkı Atay, an important writer in Atatürk's close social circle, argued that Russian refugees first changed urban life in Istanbul: They taught city-dwellers how to enjoy the beach, and changed the understanding of entertainment. According to Atay, Russian refugees socialized more with Muslim Turks than with the Jewish or Christian population of the city, which Atay ties to the fact that Turks and Russians were very much alike in their traditions.[34]

Even though Istanbul was the first recipient of the changes brought by Russian refugees, Ankara followed suit after it became the new capital. An iconic landmark in Ankara's social scene in the early republican years, the famous Şehir *Lokantası* (City Restaurant) was a perfect example showing the role played by Russian refugees as transmitters of modern urban culture. The restaurant was opened in the new capital in 1928 by Krikor Karpovich, better known as Karpich Baba (very possibly a Russified ethnic Armenian), who had left Russia after the Revolution. Karpich probably first left for Iran, as official documents noted that by the time he received Turkish citizenship with his wife Margirit in 1935, he was an Iranian citizen.[35] After first settling in Istanbul, Karpich was invited to Ankara in 1924 by the owner of Taşhan, a major shopping mall in the old center of the city. He first started with a small European-style restaurant in Taşhan, which heralded Karpich's future endeavors.[36] He managed to open the larger Şehir in 1928 when he received the necessary credit from İş *Bankası*, a bank recently established by the government to support entrepreneurial class in Turkey. Karpich's Şehir, which was generally referred to only by the name "Karpich," became a popular meeting point for Ankara's intellectuals, diplomats, bureaucrats, and politicians, including Mustafa Kemal.[37] The restaurant brought European-style food culture to the young capital in the heart of Anatolia: it had a strict dress code for its customers, and it was the first venue that brought together dance, music, and fine dining in this rising Anatolian city. Apparently, its modernizing role was supported by the government, because in addition to the initial credit he received from the bank, the government paid an annual sum of 6,000 liras to Karpich every year.[38]

It seems that Karpich invited other Russian refugees both from Istanbul and

from Europe to work at his establishment. For instance, in 1932, he requested the government to bring Danial Efendi, a caviar expert, from Paris. In December of the same year, Danial Efendi received a work permit on the condition that he would teach his job to Turks, because there were no caviar experts in Turkey at the time.[39] If caviar consumption was a marker of one's social class in modern Ankara, then it was necessary to train servicemen by experienced professionals to meet the demand for this new pleasure.

Some of the most prominent intellectuals of early republican years attest to Karpich's role in transforming Ankara's urban culture. The famous writer Nurullah Ataç said that "he [Karpich] is the man who taught us how to dine."[40] Ahmet Muhip Dıranas, a prominent poet, noted that Karpich was like the Beethoven of his profession: His dedication to his restaurant had the trappings of artistry. According to Dıranas, Şehir *Lokantası* was more than a restaurant; it was a school that established a tradition and trained students. Dıranas argued that what he saw in Karpich was "a humble representative of the advanced civilization that will be born out of the marriage between East and West."[41] Falih Rıfkı Atay remarked, "[W]herever you go in Anatolia and in whatever restaurant or hotel you see a decent servicemen with proper manners, it is possible to conclude that he was trained at Karpich's."[42] Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar concluded that Karpich was largely responsible for foreigners' good impressions of Ankara.[43] Another important novelist, Reşat Nuri Güntekin similarly stated that Karpich was a source of pride for Ankara, as he created a tradition of fine dining that merged Eastern and Western food cultures with a totally Western façade.[44] The striking common point in these eulogies is that Karpich's restaurant is described as a school, as a place where the knowledge of modern urban life was transferred to the citizens of the young Turkish republic through the agency of a Russian refugee. This knowledge helped create a Western-looking urban culture, but in fact it was informed by both Eastern and Western sources.[45]

After Karpich's death in 1952, *Süreyya Lokantası* (Süreyya Restaurant) replaced Şehir as the new meeting place of political and intellectual circles in Ankara.[46] *Süreyya* was opened by Sergey Khomyakov (who later changed his name to Süreyya), a former officer in General Pyotr Wrangel's Army. Sergey (or Süreyya) was trained by Karpich, as he worked as the chief waiter in Şehir for a long time.[47] He opened his own restaurant in 1942. *Süreyya Lokantası* was more like a night club, because this new venue placed more emphasis on music and dance than Karpich's Şehir. Not only did these venues become the meeting place of diplomats, intellectuals, politicians, and journalists in republican Ankara, they also trained the next generations of waiters and chefs, thus creating a tradition of fine dining in the Turkish capital.

Ballet was another sphere of modern urban life that showcased the role of Russian refugees as transmitters of European culture. Russian ballet dancers were

employed to perform on important occasions, while some worked as teachers of the first generation of Turkish ballet dancers. One example was the work permit given to Valeria Elanskaya, the principal dancer of the Paris Opera. Elanskaya first received her work and residence permit in February 1937 for a month, which was extended for another month in May of the same year.[48] Elanskaya was expected to dance in Ankara Palas, an important public space in the new capital, where republican balls and dancing events hosted the top echelons of society.

A more important name for the history of Turkish ballet was Lydia Krassa Arzumanova, a graduate of the Imperial Ballet School in St. Petersburg, who immigrated first to Yekaterinodar (Krasnodar after 1920) and then to Istanbul in 1921. Arzumanova was important because she opened the first ballet studio in Turkey.[49] Until the establishment of her studio, theater companies from Europe toured Istanbul and staged performances, but there were no local ballet companies. Arzumanova's students put on their first performance in 1931, and throughout the 1930s, they performed on several occasions, mostly for charity purposes and to raise money for the Red Crescent and similar humanitarian organizations.

Arzumanova taught ballet in the *Halkevleri* (People's Houses)[50] of Istanbul in the 1940s, but she briefly continued her career in Ankara in the same decade, where she prepared the choreography of the first "Turkish ballet," *Bir Orman Masalı* (A Forest Tale). The music for this piece was composed by the famous Turkish composer Ahmet Adnan Saygun and it was staged for the first time in Ankara to commemorate the 12th anniversary of the establishment of the *Halkevleri*. Arzumanova trained some of the first stars of Turkish ballet, including Yıldız Alpar. Arzumanova helped Alpar study in France with her former teacher from St. Petersburg, Olga Preobrazhenskaya, which meant that the continuing connections between Russian refugees in Turkey and France helped the training of the new generation of Turkish artists.

Conclusion

In 1933, on the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic, a Soviet delegation visited Turkey. The delegation included high-ranking military and political leaders as well as a documentary crew. The visit was immortalized by the documentary Ankara: *The Heart of Turkey*, which praised the transformation of the new Turkish capital from a dusty Anatolian town to a city with modernist architecture thanks to the progressive outlook of the republican regime.[51] Paradoxically enough, it was Russian refugees, who had escaped from the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet regime, that played a role in this transformation much appreciated by the Soviet delegation. In Ankara and elsewhere in Turkey, Russian refugees connected the northern and southern shores of the Black Sea by transferring technical and artistic knowledge to Turkish citizens, as well as by creating a trans-Black Sea cuisine.

The examples brought forward in this article suggest that those Russian

refugees who had the necessary skills and professional experience were permitted to stay and work in Turkey, sometimes for temporary periods and sometimes for life if they became citizens, because the young Republic did not have sufficient qualified labor to replace them.[52] This pattern shows that the Turkish government, in addition to ethno-religious concerns, was also motivated by pragmatic motives in its immigration and refugee policy. The professional background of refugees and their contributions to Turkey's economic and industrial development played a certain role in their inclusion into the Turkish society.

The integration of Russian refugees in the Turkish labor market allows us to reach some conclusions about the reforms in the first years of the Turkish Republic. Turkish modernization was not one-sided and one-dimensional, and Western Europe was not its only source of inspiration. On the contrary, the Turkish republican modernization project benefited from multiple transnational sources. Contacts with the Soviet Union were financially and politically a very important component in early republican modernization. However, the 'Russians' who contributed to Turkish modernization were not limited to the Soviets but also included former imperial Russian subjects who were scattered around the world.

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Endnotes

1 Even though refugees of the Russian Civil War were considered "Russians" by their host countries, in reality, their demographic makeup reflected the diversity of imperial Russian society. From Jews to Kalmyks, Don Cossacks to Georgians, the term "White Russian" was used to include a wide range of peoples fleeing from the Bolsheviks, many speaking languages other than Russian. The refugees in Turkey also included a large number of Muslims, especially from the Caucasus and Crimea. However, Turkish official documents and newspapers never refer to Muslim refugees from Russia as White Russians, thus making an ethno-religious distinction between the refugees. Setting Muslims aside, all non-Muslim refugees – whether they were Buddhist Kalmyks or Georgians – were classified as White Russians in newspaper articles, official documents, and personal accounts. In this article, I will use the term White Russian as it was understood by the Turkish society of the period both for the sake of clarity and because the Turkish government treated Russian refugees based on this broad categorization that transcended ethno-linguistic boundaries. Questions surrounding Muslim refugees were conditioned upon very different dynamics, and their situation requires a separate study, which falls outside the scope of this article. For further discussion about the status of White Russians in Turkey, see Pınar Üre, "Remnants of Empires: Russian Refugees and Citizenship Regime in Turkey, 1923-1938," Middle Eastern Studies 56, no. 2 (August 2019): 207–21; Bülent Bakar, Esir Şehrin Misafirleri Beyaz Ruslar (İstanbul: Tarihçi, 2012).

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4 Editorial, "The Black Sea World and the Question of Boundaries," Kritika 19, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 237.

5 Idem, 238–39.

6 Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 480–87.

7 Samuel J. Hirst, "Anti-Westernism on the European Periphery: The Meaning of Soviet-Turkish Convergence in the 1930s," Slavic Review 72, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 32–34.

8 "Türkiye'de Türk Vatandaşlarına Tahsis Edilen Sanat ve Hizmetler Hakkında Kanun, No. 2007," Resmi Gazete, no. 2126 (16 June 1932): 1564.

9 Ayhan Aktar, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Uygulanan Türkleştirme Politikaları" Tarih ve Toplum, no. 156 (December 1996): 334.

10 Aktar, "Türkleştirme Politikaları," 335–36.

11 "Türk'lere Hasredilen İşler," Cumhuriyet (28 March 1932): 1–2.

12 Semyon Ivanovich Aralov, Bir Sovyet Diplomatının Türkiye Anıları, trans. Hasan Ali Ediz (İstanbul:

İş Bankası Yayınları, 2014), 185.

13 Examples include: Yücel Namal, "Türkiye'de 1933-1950 Yılları Arasında Yükseköğretime Yabancı Bilim Adamlarının Katkıları," Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Dergisi 2, no. 1 (April 2012): 14–19; Leyla Alpagut, "Hermann Jansen için Ankara'da Yeni Bir Görev: Gazi Orman Çiftliği Planlaması," Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi 5, no. 1 (2017): 1–26; Damla Çinici, "Başkent Ankara'nın İnşasında Etkin bir Mimar: Giulio Mongeri ve Yaşam Öyküsü," Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi 3, no. 1 (2015): 13–41.

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15 Seyfi Yıldırım, "Türkiye Demiryollarında İstihdam Edilen Yabancı Uzmanlar (1925-1950)," Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi 23, no. 67-68-69 (March-July-November 2007): 305–38.

16 Cumhurbaşkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi (Presidential Republican Archives, hereafter BCA), Institution Code: 30.11.1.0, Location No: 8.28.20 (22 October 1924).

17 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 15.72.7 (9 November 1930).

18 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 57.70.18 (5 September 1935).

19 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 69.88.20 (16 November 1936).

20 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 76.57.11 (21 June 1937); BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 77.63.6 (10 July 1937).

21 Nadir Yurtoğlu, "Cumhuriyet Döneminin En Önemli Ağır Sanayi Hamlesi: Karabük Demir ve Çelik Fabrikası (1939-1960)," Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi 33, no. 2 (2017): 160–62.

22 Name spelled as in document.

23 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 42.8.5 (17 February 1934).

24 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 65.42.15 (20 May 1936).

25 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 68.71.3 (20 August 1936).

26 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 70.99.4 (31 December 1936).

27 Nansen passports were issued by the League of Nations to people displaced by revolutions and wars after the First World War. The idea was formulated in the 1920s by Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian-born High Commissioner for Refugees of the League. For more information, see "Nansen – A Man of Action and Vision," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, last modified 14 September 2009, https://www.unhcr.org/events/nansen/4aae50086/nansen-man-action-vision.html.

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29 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 86.23.11 (14 March 1939).

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31 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 1.7.9 (5 December 1928).

32 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 37.46.1 (15 June 1933).

33 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 43.18.5 (4 April 1934).

34 Falih Rıfkı Atay, "Baba Karpiç," Resimli Hayat Gazetesi (19 November 1952): 48, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/19480.

35 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 52.15.9 (28 February 1935).

36 Funda Şenol Cantek, 'Yaban'lar ve Yerliler: Başkent Olma Sürecinde Ankara (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003), 280–81.

37 Hulusi Alkan, "Popüler Kültür ve Eğlence Hayatı, Ankara'nın Eğlence Hayatı Üzerine Sosyo-Kültürel Bir İnceleme," (MA thesis, Gazi University, 2008), 74–75.

38 Necati Tonga, "Ankara Tarihine Damga Vurmuş Bir Edebiyat Mahfili: Karpiç Şehir Lokantası,"

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39 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 32.79.13 (25 December 1932).

40 Cantek, 'Yaban'lar ve Yerliler, 281.

41 Ahmet Muhip Dıranas, "Baba Karpiç," in Yazılar (İstanbul: Adam, 1994), 84–85.

42 Atay, "Baba Karpiç," 48.

43 Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, "Karpiç," Resimli Hayat Gazetesi (19 November 1952): 49, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/19480.

44 Reşat Nuri Güntekin, "Karpiç Babaya Mersiye," Resimli Hayat Gazetesi (19 November 1952): 49, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/19480.

45 A decade later, in the 1950s, Soviet authorities encouraged culinary interaction between various Soviet republics, as well as promoting the development of a cosmopolitan cuisine in the Soviet Union. Black Sea countries in general and Georgian cuisine in particular played an important role in the creation of an all-Union Soviet food culture. Diane P. Koenker, "The Tastes of Others: Soviet Adventures in Cosmopolitan Cuisines," Kritika 19, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 270–72.

46 Önder Şenyapılı, "Gençlik Yıllarımın (ve Öncesinin) Ankarasında Eğlenme-Dinlenme Mekanları," in 'Cumhuriyet'in' Ankara'sı: Özcan Altaban'a Armağan, ed. Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2006), 325–26.

47 Turan Tanyer, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sının Sosyal Hayatından Sahneler (Ankara: VEKAM, 2006), 40–43.

48 BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 72.13.19 (17 February 1937); BCA, Ins. Code: 30.18.1.2, Loc. No: 74.39.20 (14 May 1937).

49 Gönül Uzelli, "Lidya Krassa Arzumanova'nın Türk Balesine Katkıları," in Atatürk'ten Soğuk Savaş Dönemine Türk-Rus İlişkileri, I. Çalıştay Bildirileri, Ankara, 14-15 Mayıs 2010, ed. İlyas Kamalov and İrina Svistunova (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2011), 191–96.

50 Halkevleri were established in 1932 and operated until 1951. Their purpose was to strengthen republican reforms across towns in cities in Anatolia, as well as to introduce artistic and academic knowledge to the broader Turkish public. Halkevleri organized lectures and offered free courses about music, folklore, dance, fine arts, drama, literature, among others. Halkevleri also provided libraries to the public and conducted research about various aspects of Anatolian culture and society. For more information, see Sefa Şimşek, Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi: Halkevleri, 1932-1951 (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002), 215–25.

51 Samuel J. Hirst, "Soviet Orientalism across Borders: Documentary Film for the Turkish Republic," Kritika, 18, no. 1 (Winter 2017): 36–37.

52 For a detailed analysis of citizenship policies towards Russian refugees, see Üre, "Remnants of Empires."