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Translated from the original Russian by Samuel J. Hirst.

**An abridged transcript of a conversation in Comrade Voroshilov's apartment on 6 May 1932.
Present: Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Litvinov, Karakhan, Surits, İsmet Paşa, Tevfik Rüştü Bey, Hüseyin Ragıp Bey.**

Molotov began the conversation with an announcement of the Soviet government's gifts for İsmet: a fully equipped machine-tractor station, two trucks, a bus, five tankettes, and two tanks with armaments. Next, Molotov proposed that the Turks initiate the business conversation by indicating what subjects interested them most.

İsmet referred to the atmosphere of trust and friendship that had presided throughout his visit, and he declared that he and his entourage had given much thought to the Soviet offer of aid. They believed that it would be most beneficial to ask the Soviet government for aid for Turkish industrialization via long-term credit. The credit would be used to acquire machinery for the most necessary factories for Turkey.

For Turkey, the priority industrial equipment is that which could establish domestic textile production, and in particular cotton textiles. The specialists could think about other spheres. Turkish industry suffers from a lack of planning, which has led to a dearth of sources for equipment and funds. First and foremost, he would like a firm answer regarding the loan.

Stalin asked about the concrete terms of the loan.

İsmet answered that he would want credit in the sum of 8 million dollars, to be paid off in 25–40 years. There would be no interest (though the Turks would be willing to make concessions on this point) and amortized payments in the form of Turkish goods.

Stalin and Molotov indicate their agreement, in principle, to long-term credit. The duration would be 20 years, and the amount 8 million dollars. We would not ask the Turks for interest, and we have no objections to amortized payments in the form of Turkish goods.

İsmet clarifies: in that case, would the amortized payments amount to 400,000 dollars annually?

Stalin and Molotov answer in the affirmative.

Rüştü asks whether payment in the form of Turkish goods would mean a letter of credit from the Turkish Central Bank to the Soviet government, which the Soviet government would then spend in its entirety on Turkish goods.

İsmet added that he would like to ask the following question: having laid the foundations for Turkish industry with this credit, Turkey in the future would be interested in further developing its industry. He would like to discuss this matter today as well, but Rüştü had advised him not to abuse his hosts' kindness.

Stalin answered: "If you do not establish your own industry, you will be wiped from the face of the earth."

Rüştü declared that he, speaking as foreign minister, would like to note the enormous impression that would be made on the entire world by an announcement that the Soviet Union was in the position to offer Turkey credit and that Turkey, with the help of this credit, had embarked on the path of industrialization. In Rüştü's opinion, this was an event of world-historical importance.

In conclusion, Stalin observed that the Soviet Union was offering what it could; in 2–3 years, as our economic successes take root, "we will look again."

İsmet acknowledged the value of Stalin's promise.

Stalin answered that everyone present would remember İsmet's willingness to take advantage of the promise.

Transcribed by Divil'kovskii.

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From the Moscow Embassy

7 May 1932

To the Foreign Ministry

For the Prime Ministry.

1. Today, May 6th, the meetings and negotiations have reached a conclusion. Even though Stalin came prepared, each of the three negotiations lasted five to six hours. We had the opportunity to closely and repeatedly observe him and those who govern Russia. Our impression is positive. The respect, affection, and prestige shown for Turkey gave real satisfaction. The Party, the people, and the army all participated in the demonstrations with enthusiasm.

2. On the matter of foreign security, there was no chance for the idea of signing a new document. They did not want to discuss the League of Nations at all. I raised the issue, first indirectly and then, after repeating it several times, explicitly told both the prime minister and Litvinov on two occasions about the likelihood of Turkey's entry into the League of Nations. But, from Russia's point of view, the matter is done. On this subject, we are in agreement with the reply given to our Bern ambassador in Geneva.

3. On the subject of internal security, I spoke with Molotov alone for two hours. After emphatically rejecting any responsibility on their part, he emphasized that the current demonstrations of sincere and genuine friendship would be a warning to all ill-intentioned agitators. I made a note of this. In our travels around the country, we also took the opportunity in our public declarations to explain the relationship between Bolshevik Russia and nationalist and Kemalist Turkey.

4. Kalinin stated that the course of trade was fair, and he apologized for the shortcomings and mistakes in the past.

5. In the economic field, they asked for concrete and workable proposals. Stalin said that they would provide aid like a brother but that their capabilities were currently limited. Today they announced that those exchanges had been a preamble. As samples of their factories' products, they offered gifts: 5 tankettes, 2 tanks, 2 trucks, and a bus, along with ten tractors as part of an agricultural set. Then they asked what else they could do. I requested a total of eight million dollars in credit, to be allocated for

military equipment and factory machinery for textiles and other needs. This would be repaid in full over twenty years, interest-free, and in annual installments in kind. In response to our proposal, they said they could only do this much but they immediately said yes. Stalin added that they were not in a position to provide monetary assistance, but that in three years they would be richer. This was the end of the discussion. The signs of agreement are promising. Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, and all of the others took every occasion to express their affection and respect for the Turkish nation and for our great Gazi. Signed: İsmet

Hüseyin Ragıp