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Vol. I

**PROBABILITY**  
*of an*  
**Outbreak of War**  
**Documents M**  
**Naval Attaché**  
**MOSCOW**

**Volume 1**  
**Documents Numbers 1 to 3**  
(30 Oct. 1942 — 30 Jan. 1943)

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of Navy

Dept. letter, 2-14-72

By RH/RS Date MAR 3 1972

ISSUED BY THE INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS  
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Monograph Index Guide No.     

(To correspond with SUBJECT given below. See G. N. I. Index Guide. Make separate report for each main title.)

From Assistant Naval attache at Vladivostok

(Ship, fleet, unit, district, office, station, or person)

Date 30 October 1942

Reference     

Personal observation and conversation of American applied

Source Consul General A. I. Ward.

(As official, personal observation, publication, press, conversation with— identify when practical)

Evaluation Reliability 1

**RATING 1**

Subject U.S.S.R.

General Observations from railway journey.

(Nation reported on) (Main title as per index guide) (Subtitles) (Make separate report for each title)

BRIEF.—(Here enter careful summary of report, containing substance succinctly stated; include important facts, names, places, dates, etc.)

**Brief:** The American Consul General here in Vladivostok, Mr. Angus I. Ward, made an official trip to Moscow leaving Vladivostok on August 29th and arriving back at this post on October 4th, 1942. The following report comprises the main points he observed, and obtained from conversations with fellow Soviet passengers, on his trip. The majority of the items were gained from his return trip, as the greater portion of his trip to Moscow was by air transportation.

Mr. Ward states that the railway tunnel under the Amur River (at Khabarovsk) has been completed and is ready for use, but that its existence is being kept as secret as possible. Its western end is about 1-1/4 miles west of the Amur River, while its eastern end is in the environs of the city of Khabarovsk. The length of the railway tunnel is estimated to be approximately 3-3/4 miles and to be single tracked.

He further states that one informant told him that Kansk is to be the western terminus of the Baikal-Amur Main Line. Still other reports are that it is to be at Nizhneudinsk and others at Taishet. He was unable to make any observations that would tend to confirm any of the above.

According to information he could learn from fellow Russian passengers, it is understood that the greater portion of former personnel of the Soviet Far East Army have been used as replacements on the Western Front; and that that portion of the former army remaining is now being used as a training nucleus for newly mobilized conscripts. Approximately ten armored trains each connected to a locomotive under steam, and each on the alert, were seen during the last 625 miles to Vladivostok.

From his observations and previous knowledge of the country, he estimated that petroleum from the United States and Sakhalin is being furnished to railway tank cars east of Krasnoyarsk.

As his train moved east from Moscow the food available along the railway route gradually improved in quantity reaching its (continued on page 2)

Director of Naval Intelligence & Alaska Moscow.

Routing space below for use in G. N. I.

Archives  
CP-16-F-2  
CP-16-F-4  
General Board

Cowinch F-11  
N.I.S.

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By Authority of ART 0445  
OPINION 5510K BY OP 0210C  
Date MAR 3 1972

30 October 1942

Subject: U.S.S.R. General observations from railway journey.

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 peak at Sverdlovsk. Thereafter it became steadily scarcer. This does not mean that the food obtainable could be compared to that in the United States or almost any other "white" country. Soviet money was acceptable for sale of food, generally, from Moscow to Karinskaya. From just west of Irkutsk to Vladivostok some raw cranberries and an occasional bottle of milk were about the only foods offered for barter.

The discipline amongst the train personnel seemed to Mr. Ward to be at the lowest ebb it has ever been in his 8-1/2 years in the Soviet Union. The crew "bootlegged" and accepted "gifts" for train tickets from time to time.

From conversations he had with them, some Soviet Army Officers, fellow travellers, from the Leningrad area claimed that practically impregnable reinforced concrete and metal fortifications have been constructed by the Germans around Leningrad. That the food and supply situation in that city is very bad and will probably not improve until Lake Ladoga is frozen over. They also stated that Shlisselburg fortress is held by Red troops but that the city is held by the Germans; and that at Peterhof, the palace area is in Soviet hands but that the village is held by German troops. A Red Navy Officer fellow traveller stated that the Soviet battleship "October Revolution" had been very badly damaged by German bombing at Kronstadt.

In general, going east from Moscow were large numbers of war damaged railway cars; they appeared to be in process of being moved as far east as Novosibirsk. Likewise hospital trains were in process of being moved east but none were sighted east of Novosibirsk. No good rolling stock could be said to be lying idle. It was especially noted that there was very heavy train traffic between Omsk and Sverdlovsk, in which coal trains made up the bulk of the traffic and in which they were always given priority.

When Mr. Ward's train left Moscow more than one half the passengers were members of armed forces on transfer or leave, and convalescent wounded, travelling to Siberia, to places as far east as Sverdlovsk. Discipline and conduct were poor among men who had been in advanced zones. At first he attributed this situation to high spirits and the holiday feeling usually shown by troops moving from a zone of action to a rest area but as the days passed, and he gained opportunities to chat with soldiers and officers, he became convinced that it reflected more a general lowering of morale among the troops from advanced zones. Soldiers complained openly and even loudly of poor food, living conditions, hospitalization and leadership, and repeatedly compared their plight with that of the well fed and well cared for German soldiers on the Eastern Front. Officers complained cautiously of poor supply organization, inadequate and faulty signal corps organization in the field, seeming indifference of Soviet high command to heavy losses of life among line troops, and use of NKVD troops to prevent retreat by troops in action. One officer was bitter over the mowing down by NKVD troops of two battalions of overwhelmed infantry on the Kerch peninsula. The lack of adequate medical care, such that there were many casualties from gangrene, was also a subject of complaint.

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By Authority of ART 2445OPNAVINST 5510.10 BY OPNAVINSTBy BAKER Date MAR 3 1972

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*Follows*  
*Major Ulysh, Room 3344*

*closed*

Moscow, 15 January, 1943

*4-23-43*

Dear Major,

The Rover Boys have returned (two days ago) and life has settled down again to routine after the first flurry of opening parcels etc has died away. An additional and unexpected bounty from the Soviets appeared at the same time in the form of hot water, and we are now enjoying hot baths from time to time without having to cook the water on the stove. Looks like having an Admiral and a General in the house has its benefits.

The plane was held up about five days at Kuibishev due to the foul flying weather prevailing this time of year, and is now held up here waiting to get out again. The Reds are exceedingly careful about allowing anything in the air and take no chances. This policy has been a sound one in that in the eight months I've been around at least, there have been no accidents or even forced landings on the Teheran-Kuibishev-Moscow run, and this without benefit of much in the way of radio navigating equipment. I flew to Kuibishev and back in the nose of General Bradley's plane some time ago, to translate for the Soviet navigator they carried. He was a savage sort of duck from the Ukraine who zigzagged across the country and appeared to be lost about half the time. On those rare occasions when he was absolutely sure of himself he would lean back and sing at the top of his voice, having first shouted the good news to the Soviet radioman back aft. It was a comedy.

Zaitsev, the Captain first rank who is the navy's liason officer, was the only official Soviet on the field to greet the official plane. He appears to be exceedingly fond of Admiral Duncan and was also on hand to see him off last fall. The Red Army was not represented in either case. They have a Number One by the name of Yestignaev, a dapper looking polkovnik from the Caucasus somewhere (judging by his looks), and most of the M.A.'s consider him a first category barstard. Not at all the amiable and helpful fellow Zaitsev is.

There are however, quite a few decent lads in the army. Lt. Col. Dick Park had a cocktail party when Hurley was here and about a dozen assorted army officers turned up, mostly people Dick does business with, plus Hurley's plane crew. It can hardly be said they have an easy drawing room manner, but no doubt carry themselves off as well as would the majority of garden variety U.S. Army officers caught around Fort Sill or Cheyenne or some such. The most unusual case on record occurred several weeks ago via the strange agency of the circus. Lt. Col. Gray, a tank corps man with Gen. Faymonville, was at the circus with another American and two Soviet gals. Gray was looking around for a match, and a Red tank major offered him a light from his lighter. Gray remarked in English that he had been looking all over for such a lighter, an affair made from a rifle cartridge. On getting this bit of info translated into Russian the Red major insisted that Gray take it as a present, after the old expansive Russian fashion. To make a long story short, they ended up by taking him home for dinner, where a perfectly swell time was had by all. The fellow was a Hero of the Soviet Union, and on pushing off, mentioned with practically tears in his eyes that there were only two times in his life he had felt quite like he did then; when he received his order Hero, and the current moment. The next morning, a very fine little case appeared via messenger and in it were four more of the lighters. The case was suitably inscribed, "To Colonel Gray, from Hero of the Soviet Union etc etc.... It may seem a piddling affair to pass on such an apparently commonplace occurrence, but I can assure you, it has never happened in the memory of any of the present staff here, and is all the more remarkable in that he had to call up first for his C.O.'s permission, which was freely given. The fellow is now in Omsk, from whence he telephoned one of the gals who had been on the party.

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By Authority of *Navy*

*Dept letter, 2-14-72*

By *RWC* Date *MAR 3 1972*

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By Authority of Navy Dept.

Letter 2-14-72

By RAB Date MAR 9 1977

There is no doubt however, that the people are starting to get more friendly since the African venture and particularly since the success of their new offensives all along the eastern front. They are apparently of the opinion that our drawing off of German strength has been partly responsible for this rapid advance. Last night several of us went to see, "Pikovaya Dama," and while in the interminable line waiting to park our coats, we were much surprised to have a man in army uniform insist we go to the head of the line. He was vigorously supported in this by the wardrobe man and by the people ahead of us, which is far different from the sentiments voiced when a comrade tries such a stunt. And that old, reliable standby of popularity gauges, salutes, indicates by the large number we are getting that furriners are O.K. All this by no means indicates we are ready to move in and be one of the boys, as official policy regarding handing out info seems to be as before. However, like many other things here, the policy changes overnight and for all we know they might invite us tomorrow to take a ride on a destroyer.

Dick Park, along with General Hurley, apparently got a lot of good dope when they were on the Stalingrad front. Hurley is a great jollier and gets next to the average Russian with ease, calling them "Rain-in-the-Face", or "Sitting Bull," or some such, which they seem to enjoy hugely, along with his Choctaw Indian yell. I daresay it was FDR's pressure which got him into such a good spot to observe the fighting, although Hurley's own personality made the most of the opportunity. Dick Park is no slouch as far as personality is concerned and has more ability to get along with Russians than practically anyone I ever met. He is outstanding in that respect among the Army attachés here. Faymonville of course has a wide circle of acquaintances here and seems to be most popular with the Russians. He is most unostentatious about his operations and never embarrasses his Red pals by flaunting them before the multitude, most of them shrinking from the glare of publicity with the modesty of a ground mole.

The correspondents are now out on a conducted tour of the "front" and it remains to be seen what they will get in on. I was amused to see a blurb in "Time," to the effect that their sound information on what was going on in Russia was based on the experience of Walter Graebner's five months at the front with the Russian armies. Walter never rose off his dead bottom in the Metropole Hotel for more time than was necessary to move down to the dining room and return. And none of the other correspondents ever do either except in the rarest instances. This includes our friend Paul Winterton, of BBC fame. They take the press handouts and like em, plus what they can glean out of the local newspapers. Henry Cassidy seems to be considerably better grounded in the fundamentals here, no doubt due to his long sojourn of two years or more. Not much of a booser and keeps his ears flapping and his eyes open. Walter Kerr, New York Herald Tribune, is more or less fed up with the beesness here and wants to get home and into the army as a fighting man, being a young fellow and full of beans. Shapiro, U.P., is considered the dean of the corps and is a shrewd, Russian speaking Jew who has been in Moscow in peace time, studying. I don't believe he's too popular with the Embassy and has, on several occasions tried some shady stunts to get news. Neither his nor Gilmore's (A.P.) ethics are considered above reproach. Maurice Hindus is of course a screwball of the first category, biased beyond all hope of factual reporting, a Red of the Old School Tie.

There is a very interesting play currently running in Moscow, "The Kremlin Chimes." Gives a not too bright picture of Moscow and the Muscovites circa 1923, with plenty of jibes at the eager bungling of some of the communists of that day. A very genuine looking and acting Lenin is there, plus Uncle Joe and Dzerjinsky, all three very amiable and sympathetic and firm when firmness is needed. The crowd is of course too stupefied at seeing such a trio to do much more than gasp. Or maybe the picture was too damn true. It is perfectly astonishing to see what a difference there is in the appearance of various audiences here. The super dupers are of course seen only in private clubs and societies, one or two of which I have managed to get into from time to time. Generals galore and women in nice furs and hair do. Next comes the dramatic theatre and the concerts, where the crowd is clean and enthusiastic and "culturny" to the extent of not shoving each other around or yodeling during the performance. Nearly all officers and families here, plus a few nice looking civilians. In the ballet, the proletariat

begins to make itself felt and smelt, and there is a generous sprinkling of prostitutes charging around looking for soldiers on leave and foreigners. As many enlisted men as officers and masses of high school gals probably in on free tickets from their special heroines in the ballet, whom they cheer to the rooftops. Most of the furriners are to be found here as it entails no necessity for understanding the lingo. Last of all comes the circus, and there is no doubt they scrape the bottom for this. A foreigner in the circus, especially in uniform, is almost as much a center of interest as the waltzing bears and takes a chance of having as many fleas on him when he leaves as the said bears. The movies catch all categories, just like they do in the US, and on those rare occasions when a decent film (by Soviet standards) shows up, individuals will go five or six times to it. Home life is so damned drab and public that most of the citizens prefer to spend their time away from it. The ballet is even heated comfortably, which is more than can be said about any other establishment in Moscow, including the US Embassy. It hovers around 50 f. in our office and living quarters.

K O It is my personal opinion that now the Soviets are on the make, they will be hard to talk into allowing any considerable fighting units of foreign powers into the Union. Joe is simply not going to whack up the credit for victory in the west or goose the Japs in the east if he can accomplish the necessary ends otherwise. This goes double for helping China by allowing much material to get there via his domain. It is certainly not to Soviet interests to see China come out of this in any other than an exhausted condition, in fact so damn bad a condition that the foreign powers would feel "obliged" to "help" them, which would of course be the go sign for the Reds to infiltrate and keep China for the Chinese. (Communists). I haven't the slightest doubt that Chinese "unity" will end with Chiang Kai-shek, and he can't live forever.

We are faced with the problem of what to furnish the Soviet friends with on those occasions when we get our hands on them. This also goes for the Froggies and other spare parts, of which there is always a generous sprinkling on hand. Vodka is now \$11 per litre and on a quota of four liters per person per month. You know what a Russian can do to a liter of vodka; Champagne is almost impossible to get and is \$8 per bottle. Various wines are available in small quantities, ranging about \$5 per bottle. The Russians are not too fond of whiskey, which they term "ersatz vodka", and there isn't any whiskey anyway, so that question is largely academic. I noticed in a "New Yorker" the other day an advertisement for vodka made in the USA, and although it seems rather peculiar to ship vodka to the USSR of all places, I believe it would be a first class idea if we could get about six cases of American vodka over here to relieve the entertaining situation. I realize it may sound damned odd, bringing up the matter of "entertaining" when a lot of my contemporaries are being entertained on coconut milk or worse, in a jungle somewhere, but there is a job to do here and its going to get bigger before it gets smaller. I firmly believe that a good solid organization in the USSR is going to pay dividends even before the end of the war, and after the war, in the post war scrabble and God-knows-what we are going to need well oiled and jeweled bearings to support the fine contact point between three hundred million people.

There must be a certain sense of security in the air around here. They are taking down the boards over a lot of the windows, including display windows in the Moscow Hotel. Street lights are on now, dimmed of course, but bright enough to see your way around by, and motor cars and buses carry fairly bright headlights. There is still a midnight curfew, not rigidly enforced, and a diplomatic card usually enough to get by on even if you don't have an all night pass. On New Years, the curfew was suspended as they probably wouldn't have had enough jails to hold all the violators. They put out the info quite late in the afternoon of the 31st, so people couldn't be sure of it until the last moment.

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By Authority of *Navy Dept.*

*letter, 2-14-72*

By *PAW* Date MAR 3 1972

Frankel is all steamed up to get back to Murmansk and it looks like he may have an adequate staff on the way at last. If he can only get his motor car up there! Taecker is vastly relieved now that his chow has arrived and his only complaint now is the slow mail service, a justifiable gripe.

The transportation situation here is not of the best due to the shortage of gasoline, or the terrible stuff the Bolos call gasoline. The motorcycle will scarcely run on it. We are allotted for the two cars and the motorcycle 300 liters per month, which isn't as much as it seems in that the cars go most of the time in second gear due to the poor fuel. The enlisted men live in Mukovaya, near the National hotel and take their meals in Spasso, a mile and three fifths. Several of the officers also park in Spasso, and all this requires a considerable amount of ferry work. Then there are the trips to the airfield and station from time to time, and the calls at the navy office. We are planning to get gas into the north and trade it for more on the allowance here.

The Froggies are pretty well established here now. Old General Petit is the head man. He was in South America for several years and missed the war in France. The "aviators" are out at Ivanova, not far from Moscow. The business of getting next to them is handicapped considerably in that we have no facilities for entertaining them, but so far, it is safe to say they are not doing a hell of a lot.

Lt. Col. Gray has just gotten back from a couple of weeks at Gorky, at a tank repair works. He says it is positively shocking to find what a lack of tools and facilities they are suffering under. In some cases the tools are there but have been carefully packed away and the Russians continue to remove nuts with a cold chisel and hammer. The tanks are lying around in the snow with no effort to protect the guns or keep the wet out of them. The most appalling part of the whole place was the sanitary arrangements, or rather the lack of them. A toilet (three holer type) had long since been filled up, had overflowed into the floor, finally into the yard, and at the present juncture they were climbing on to the top of the pile there. One had to wade into a similar mess in the case of a small head inside the building. The mechanics are little more than animals, so he says. Gray is no diletante and wades into the grease up to the elbows. His stuff is no exaggeration as I have seen the same thing in half a dozen places. They were most hospitable to him however; gave him the best they had to eat, including plenty of meat (rarity). All expressed amazement that he should want to live at the repair works instead of the hotel in town (ten miles away) and that he should get out there and dirty his hands. A british delegation out some time previously had been of another kidney and had given them different ideas on foreigners.

I've had no indication so far that you get any of these letters, or if you are interested, or if you think it would be better to incorporate this sort of stuff into more sedate reports to DNI. I have always been of the opinion that more can be said without having to number the paragraphs and guard your language, and trust you will see that anybody who might be interested gets his nose into this.

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By Authority of Navy

Dept letter, 2-14-72

By BAKES Date MAR 3 1972

**CONFIDENTIAL**

P.S. Just learned something of possible interest the other night. A Soviet friend of mine was at a gathering at which the well known composer Prokoplev was on hand. He said that he and several of his associates were busy writing up a Soviet anthem to replace the "Internationale." They had four versions dashed off to date, for tentative trials before the Big Shots, one version being pretty close an approximation to the old Imperial "God Save the Tsar." What next?

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By Authority of Navy  
Dept letter, 2-14-72  
By RH/RS Date MAR 3 1972

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AB/A9/165/

Office of Naval Attache,  
American Embassy,  
Moscow, USSR.

KT/hk

January 30, 1943

FT-5

AB 2/5/61

AC 1359  
2/13

From: Commander Kemp Tolley, USN.  
To: The Director of Naval Intelligence.  
Via: The Naval Attache, Moscow, USSR.  
Subject: Conversations with Soviet Naval Officer. News letter.

1. Captain-Lieutenant Mikhail Kostinsky is assistant liaison officer for foreign naval attaches at Moscow. He speaks and understands a considerable amount of English, having been assistant naval attache at London for several years, prior to the outbreak of the present war. He ordinarily expresses himself freely. On the occasion of the subject conversations he appeared exceptionally frank, possibly due to the friendly surroundings, which included two other American naval officers and a bottle of whiskey.

2. His general attitude as far as the war is concerned is one of uninspired, dogged determination. As a Ukrainian, his homeland is over run. As a Baltic naval officer, his family has been sent eastward to the Urals, and the majority of his belongings and small trinkets abandoned in Leningrad. Like millions and millions of other Soviets, his prospects of settling down to an ordered life, professionally or personally, seem to be out of sight in the fog of the future. Like most Russians, he has a hereditary dislike for all Germans, partly through jealousy, partly in remembrances of the past.

3. It is improbable that Kostinsky has access to material which would influence his opinions on major policy, but certainly he has opportunity to join in discussions and hear the views of numbers of officers of the Soviet naval commissariat.

4. His two principal themes are: (a) Concentration of all military strength in one theatre of war, and (b) closer cooperation between the United Nations. He argues that while twelve Axis divisions were tied down in north Africa, two hundred and fifty were engaged on the Soviet Front. The effort in time and material spent in transporting the Allied Forces to Egypt and West Africa, could, if combined with forces available in Britain, have been decisively employed in Europe. Germany would have been unable to support a strong African diversion concurrently with defending herself in Europe on two fronts.

5. As for cooperation between the United Nations and the Soviet Union, Kostinsky deplored the lack of any joint liaison or coordination of grand strategy. I pointed out that various efforts had been made so far on our part, to establish liaison and formulate plans to cover the Far Eastern theatre in case of Japanese attack. Kostinsky replied that they had absolutely no misgivings about their ability to defend themselves in the East against the Japanese; that they matched the Japanese soldier for soldier and with some in excess; that their reserves and auxiliary services in the

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East had not been drawn on to help in the West; that indeed the Far Eastern Army had been STRENGTHENED since the outbreak of hostilities in the West. I suggested that the Japanese could probably manage to put a million men in Manchuria in case of war with the USSR. Kostrinsky insisted that they could match them man for man, tank for tank, plane for plane, and that after Changkufeng and Nomonhan they had no doubts about relative fighting ability. He mentioned that naval activity, particularly submarines, would be more or less restricted to the Japan Sea inasmuch as the Japanese controlled the several narrow exits into the Pacific. This would greatly restrict the influence the submarine forces might have on the flow of Japanese supplies, which could be brought across routes south of Tsushima.

6. I remarked that it would be most welcome if the opportunity were given our officers from time to time to make cruises on board Soviet ships, particularly in the Black Sea area. Kostrinsky said that as far as the Black Sea was concerned, there didn't appear to be much possibility at the moment as major operations in that area were in the making.

7. He made no mention of the United Nations supplies reaching the USSR., and it is probable that he is no better informed in this respect than the majority of the Soviets, who have no source of information other than occasional flashes in the newsreels, of ships being unloaded in the north, or a convoy enroute.

8. As to the British, Kostrinsky had no opinions to offer other than that Comdr. Lea, R.N., next senior to Rear Adm. Miles, must be of pretty low horsepower, having remained a lieutenant commander upwards of ten years, and that this fact didn't surprise him after having gotten to know Lea better.

9. The Soviet naval medical service and their doctors were exceptionally low in Kostrinsky's opinion. He remarked that in the old imperial days there was a saying to the effect that the ship's priest, the ship's doctor and the ship's cat were well known for never doing a damn thing useful and that as far as the second two were concerned, conditions were largely the same in the Soviet Fleet.

10. Kostrinsky is a man of average to better than average intelligence by our standards. He has also enjoyed the broadening influences of duty in a foreign country, which comparably would have a far greater effect on a Soviet than on an American.

It appears that his opinions as formed by his discussions with fellow officers and by the information he has access to, do not engender a concept of strategy as broad as the Anglo-American combine has followed. Furthermore, it is apparent that Soviet opinion is not satisfied by any means with the African campaign as a full diversionary effort in the West. The "Vtoroy (Second) Front" is still expected, even though little boys no longer remind foreigners of it in the streets as they did during the taut days of last summer.

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By Authority of Navy  
Dapt. letters, 2-14-72  
By PNB Date NOV 9 1972

Subject: Conversations with Soviet Naval Officer. News letter. SECRET

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11. It is regretted that no action has yet been taken in exchanging officers with the Red Navy for duty on shipboard. Considering our system as compared to the Soviets, there is no reason to believe that they do not have excellent sources of information from our ships through American sailors who have communist affiliations or sympathies. It is not likely that we have any comparable source in the Red Fleet from which we can obtain information on the morale, training, intelligence, efficiency and outlook of their men or the condition of their ships. There is certainly no doubt that Soviet information on practically every phase of American activity is vastly greater than our information on them. It is not likely that in having a Soviet officer on an American ship could we disclose much that they don't already know. As to technical details, an observer walking about the ship or serving in her can obtain nothing more than superficialities. Technical information in detail is a matter of blueprints. Information on personnel we can get only by observation on board Soviet ships, and this is vital information which they undoubtedly have about us.

It is reasonable to expect that following the present war, the military in the Soviet Union will be in a tremendously strong position. Even at the present time, hardly a day passes that does not bring some new development improving the position of the army and shaping its character along the lines of the best fascist and militarist armies in Europe. After the war we shall perhaps see a Russia as intensely nationalistic and fascist as 1937 Germany and Italy. Then we will not enjoy the position of fighting allies as we do now, with legitimate reasons to exchange officers and occupy positions where information can be exchanged, information which may be invaluable to us five years from now, when it will be unobtainable.

12. I do not believe that we can expect a large measure of strong Soviet cooperation in the Far East unless and until military action is forced by the Japanese, and in all probability the Red information services are sufficiently good to give the advance warning of any such action. (Litvinov warned us of a surprise attack.) The principal Japanese attack could be launched only through Manchuria or Mongolia, both of which are certainly swarming with Soviet spies. If any attack is made, the initial blow would possibly be a surprise invasion of Kamchatka and the adjacent coast, to forestall American assistance and furnish a base for attack from the weaker northern flank. Kamchatka is ringed with Japanese fishing concessions and its vulnerability is unquestionable. A landing in force at the Amur River mouth would be also highly probable, with the river providing an excellent highway to the interior. The Japs carried out such an operation with great success and first class military-naval cooperation in the summer of 1938, in the advance up the Yangtze to Hankow.

The Soviets may also possibly suspect that a certain amount of our keen interest in the Far East supply route is in connection with furnishing war materials to China. It is obviously to Soviet interests to

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see China saved from Japanese domination, but not saved so overwhelmingly that the Chinese will be in any other than an utterly exhausted condition at the conclusion of peace. Not only exhausted, but also not too happy about the lack of assistance received from the Anglo-Americans.

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FIRST ENDORSEMENT  
AS/A9/165/

Office of Naval Attache,  
American Embassy, BU/hk  
Moscow, USSR.

February 2, 1943.

From: The Naval Attache.  
To: The Director of Naval Intelligence.

1. Forwarded.

DECLASSIFIED

By Authority of Navy

Dept letter, 2-14-72

By RLS Date MAR 3 1972