

COMMENTS ON 1959 TRIP TO RUSSIA

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July 13, 1959

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(EXECUTIVE SECURITY FILE)

PURPOSE

The Federation Aeronautique Internationale held its annual meeting this year from May 28 through May 30, inclusive, in Moscow. I went as a National Aeronautic Association delegate. There were about thirty of us in the United States contingent, four of whom were primary delegates. There were also Medical-Physiological delegates and delegates to deal with Regulations for Sport Flying. Included were Fred Crawford, Tom Lanphier, C. R. Smith, and Randy Lovelace. Fred and I had our wives along. The Mexican, the Ecuadorian, and the Canadian delegates were also on our MATS airplane.

WARNING

At this point I would like to issue a warning. When visiting a foreign country, especially for the first time, care must be exercised not to arrive at firm -- and frequently erroneous -- conclusions on insufficient evidence. The tendency to do this is great in any foreign country and even greater in Russia where the propaganda program -- often deliberate misinformation -- is aggressive and very well organized. This is a serious problem in the writing of travel books and in preparing travelogues. I have always marveled at the ability of some people to tell and even write about the philosophy, people, conditions, resources, and probable future of a country after only a short visit.

Perhaps the greatest tool to assist observation in promptly

obtaining facts is personal contact and an ability to speak the language.

In my notes on the above after visiting a collective farm, I find:
"All in all, have the impression we are getting some facts and a wealth of misinformation. Separating the two is an exercise in observation, analysis, judgment and experience. The ability to do this comes only with effort and time."

Admitting, therefore, that my observations were necessarily superficial and my opinions consequently of questionable value, I will tell of our trip and dare to offer my "estimate of the situation."

ROUTE

We left Washington in a MATS C-118 on Friday, the twenty-second, after waiting one hour for our crew's Russian visas. We received ours only a few hours earlier. The delay and inconvenience were entirely unnecessary. This form of "bloody mindedness" we encountered frequently. It's reminiscent of the Irishman who said: "It isn't because I hate you that I bate you -- it's just to show my authority." It is difficult to say whether it results from consummate egotism or from an inferiority complex and the ensuing lack of self-confidence.

We flew to Frankfort via Gander. That evening some of us were entertained by General and Mrs. F. F. Everest in Wiesbaden.

On the twenty-fourth we flew from Frankfort to Moscow, picking up our Russian navigators in Copenhagen. We had originally expected to go via Berlin, but the routing was changed by the Russians, probably due to the tense

Berlin situation.

The roads across Lithuania and west of Moscow in Russia were poor -- mainly dirt, some gravel -- with very little traffic on them. There was some road building going on, more as we neared Moscow. The country was flat with farms, pastures, forests, and some marsh.

Moscow

In Moscow, which has a population of about 5,000,000, we saw the Kremlin, Lenin and Stalin's tombs, various museums, including Ostankino Palace which was built by serfs, Tretyakov Art Gallery, the opera, the concert, the ballet (the Bolshoi Ballet -- their first team -- was in Los Angeles), the best puppeteer I have ever seen, folk songs, folk dancing, the Metro, the University of Moscow, the Cinerama showing "Broad is my Native Land" -- excellent propaganda -- our embassy, some public buildings, and a sports air show at Tushino Airfield. This is a sod field northwest of town. The Chkalov Center Aero Club is located there. They did acrobatics in formation (with girl pilots), gliding, and delayed and mass parachute drops. Several helicopters flew by. One was powered with two gas turbines and had a capacity of about twenty passengers. It had a very large single rotor. We also saw movies of the previous show and each delegate got a Sputnik souvenir which "beeped."

While in Moscow I saw and talked to Anastas Mikoyan, Soviet Deputy Premier; Chief Marshal of Aviation Zhigarev; Mr. Stefanoff, who is head of the Aero Club; the Mayor of Moscow; D. G. Borisenko, who is Vice

President of the USSR Chamber of Commerce; and M. I. Bruk of the Foreign Relations Department, Ministry of Health; and Dr. V. P. Smolnikoff of the Laboratory of Anesthesiology, Institute of Thoractic Surgery. These last two individuals spoke English without an accent and were most helpful.

Actually, we had them, together with some American friends, to dinner.

"Mike" rocked us back on our heels by saying that someone would now have to be sent to America to check up on what Mikoyan said he had seen. His statement was verified when First Deputy Prime Minister Kozlov appeared within the month. "Victor" toasted Fred Crawford with the dubious compliment implied in: "To an important industrialist, but still a human being."

The most interesting character we met was Tupolev, the aircraft designer. He is an extrovert with a nice sense of humor and is reputed to be the only, or one of the very few, top-flight individuals not a Communist. This, after talking to him, I doubt, as he certainly followed the party line unless the interpreter was putting words in his mouth. Saw him again in San Diego on July 4 and had the pleasure of sitting next to him at supper. He said the TU-114 weighed about 360,000 pounds and had a range of 6,000 miles. Could not get him to discuss the future.

The opinion of most of us was that the people on the streets of Moscow were unsmiling, hurried, and dedicated. They inclined to ignore rather than resent us.

We had been unable to get off the main streets of Moscow and were very anxious to see the inner and outer suburbs of the city. Our requests were politely refused. (I should say here that polite, patient insistence

sometimes -- but not always -- works.)

Finally Dave Marks of the United States Embassy came by in his jeep and took Fred Crawford and me on a tour of the back -- and backward -- parts of the city. It was here we learned that all Embassy cars are followed by the Russian non-uniformed police. The senior people generally have the same follower, Dave, being junior, was ordinarily followed by whoever was handy at the police pool, but frequently got the same driver. He had this man today. He followed us every place and was quite embarrassed when we repeatedly got into blind alleys -- in the less attractive part of town -- and we had to drive back past him. On one occasion he had changed his license plates and on another the second chap in the car couldn't be seen. We suspect he got down on the floor. There was a second car which also followed us and was probably in radio contact with the first. We saw this one rarely and only when we had inadvertently eluded the first one. The first one, by the way, was gray and the second, black.

I asked Dave if the senior people ever fraternized with their official shadows. He said they occasionally spoke, but it never went further. To offer a drink would arouse their suspicions and, if accepted, might result in embarrassment or punishment for the shadow.

Dave did tell of one interesting experience he had. He was driving on a muddy back street and the police car was close behind him. The police car got stuck in the mud and a few seconds later Dave got stuck. Both had to phone for help. The nearest phone was at a hospital to which both trudged. As they passed each other in the hall, the Russian said, sotto voce, in Russian:

"Was that entirely necessary?"

This was by far the most interesting and enlightening experience we had while in Moscow. We really saw what we were supposed not to see -- the primitive, sordid environs of the city. It was on this trip that we may have plugged up one outlying section. Fred Crawford gave chewing gum to some children who had never seen it before. Dave tried to tell the children not to eat it but to chew it. With this, Freddy gave out chocolate bars and voided all of Dave's careful instructions regarding swallowing gum. The parents, later, probably considered this a concrete case of Western Imperialistic eliminatory sabotage.

Oddly enough, the people in the poorer parts of Moscow seemed happier, less hurried, and more human.

At the airfield and at the Kremlin -- wherever tourists congregate -- Russian children are on hand. These youngsters don't beg, but give away very cheap, tin, pin-on badges and then make it clear that they expect something in return. Ballpoint pens and cigarette lighters are solicited, but candy bars and chewing gum are welcome.

Outside the Kremlin a group of gamins was actively soliciting a somewhat ruffled English lady for chewing gum. Unable to shake them off, she finally said, with quiet exasperation: "I'm British. We like the Americans, but there is one fundamental difference between us -- they have gum; we don't." Awed by her sincerity -- although not understanding a word -- the children left for likelier fields. It was here that they almost mobbed Audrey Crawford. She had gum!

After eight days in Moscow, a small contingent of us flew on June 1, in a Russian TU-104 jet, to Tbilisi. The country was initially flat, gradually changing to gently rolling, and finally becoming hilly. Most of the land was cultivated -- largely farms and pasture.

Tbilisi

Tbilisi is something over a thousand miles southeast of Moscow in Georgia. It is a very old city of about 700,000 population. There is also a newer more modern part of the town. The people were happier, more care-free, more leisurely, more friendly, and more curious than the people in Moscow. The streets were being swept by many women with primitive twig brooms. It was the day after the flower festival so there was a lot of sweeping to be done. Even on subsequent days, however, the "girls" did a great deal of sweeping.

We saw the opera "The Wicked One." The Wicked One was a Tsarina. She was a bitch. Clever propaganda to show the wickedness of the old regime.

Visited Stalin's birthplace, now a shrine and museum.

The Georgian language is very different from Russian, and Stalin, until his death, was reputed to have spoken with a distinct Georgian accent.

Four of us drove to Rustavi -- without escort -- and alongside the road, saw an old, abandoned oil well -- probably a dry hole -- and a fighter airfield which had about thirty jet fighters on it. Here again, as in Moscow, we had an opportunity to see the squalid outskirts of the city.

It took some doing and we made three starts before we finally got the driver to take us where we wanted to go.

We saw crop duster and crop sprayer planes on the airfield at Tbilisi.

On the evening of June 3, we left by rail for Baku and arrived on the afternoon of the fourth. The train was slow and dirty. Four people, with all their gear, were put in a small compartment. We had three ladies in our group and they had one of the compartments. No food was served on the train. They did serve hot tea, heated on a wood-burning stove. We brought along picnic lunches and made out very well. The lavatory was the dirtiest I have ever seen on a train anywhere. The stench was such that one didn't tarry. Maybe this was planned. The slow train ride shortened our stay in Baku. This, also, was probably planned. We were unhappy with the accommodations as we had paid for deluxe. There are four grades of travel: tourist B, tourist A, first class, and deluxe.

Much of the train trip, Tbilisi-Baku, was made at night. In the morning we were traveling through flat green country with a few trees and an occasional very poor village. The houses were straw-roofed adobe huts. It looked a little like old Mexico. The weather was warm and dry. Eventually, we came to a few scattered and then forests of oil wells. We saw very few cars on the road which paralleled the railroad.

There were many women working on the railroad roadbed. Their faces were painted white -- probably to protect their skin from the bright sun.

Baku

I was very disappointed that we had only a half day and a night in Baku because this is Russia's oldest and probably her largest oil production and refining center. As an ex-oil peddler, I wanted to go through a refinery or two and also see their new gas-turbine drilling equipment. Probably embarrassment was avoided by the short visit as this was definitely not to be permitted. Did see some refineries in the distance. Most of the refining equipment appeared old-fashioned, but there were two modern cat crackers.

There were a small tank farm and crude topping plant every so often along the railroad. These were probably to make fuel for the oil-burning locomotives.

Several hours out of Baku we passed a new 18" plus pipe line just being laid.

The new wells appeared to be unitarily spaced. The old wells were much closer together. There were three, four and even five rigs on the offshore platforms in the Caspian.

The harbor in Baku, an attractive city of about a million population, was extensive with many tankers, repair facilities, drydocks, etc. The surface of the water was covered with a film of floating oil. This painted an irregular black waterline on the white boats.

The people in the city, Azerbaijanis, were not as serious and hurried as in Moscow and not as happy and friendly as in Tbilisi.

On June 5, we flew from Baku to Simferopol -- in an Il 14 -- via Tbilisi and Adler. We drove -- hectically -- to Yalta. There were

snow-covered peaks in the distance between Tbilisi and Adler. Beautiful flowers were around the airport at Adler.

Between Simferopol and Yalta, there was a plethora of brown-colored military-looking trucks carrying dirt, sand, gravel or other construction materials. There were housing construction, road building and airport renovation going on.

Yalta

Yalta is a resort city of about 40,000 people. It is beautifully located in hilly country with lovely beaches.

It was hard to analyze the people as they were, in large part, vacationers and tourists. The impression, perhaps too severe, was of surly loafers.

There are many statues in Crimea as elsewhere in Russia. The difference is that most of the Crimean statues were of women. There were also statues of stags and some of eagles. These were generally perched on crags.

We visited the Tsar's Palace which was built in 1911. It was completed in seventeen months by 2500 people working day and night. It is now, appropriately, used as a convalescent home for the care of people with nervous disorders or cardiac trouble. A sign on the front says -- ironically -- "The Russian Citizen Has the Right to Rest."

President Roosevelt stayed here during the 1945 Yalta Conference. His bedroom and study are now part of the dining hall.

We also drove to Alupka Castle where Churchill stayed in 1945.

This is now an attractive museum.

Here, as elsewhere in Russia, palaces and houses of the very rich have been converted to museums and sanatoriums. Here the percentage of sanatoriums is higher -- probably due to the pleasant warm weather and suitable environment.

It is interesting to note that the Russians have carefully preserved the past, partly for historical reasons but largely for propaganda purposes, to show how bad -- how unfair to the worker -- conditions were before the revolution.

We later took a boat trip to Alupka and thoroughly enjoyed it. Two intermediate stops were made each way -- one at an old abandoned castle perched high on a cliff. The castle was abandoned and condemned because an earthquake had cracked the rock cliff on which it stood.

We wanted, badly, to go to Balaclava -- the scene of the "Charge of the Light Brigade" -- but it was not permitted. We were advised by our girl guide -- who that day was a substitute -- that not even Russian tourists could go as "the Soviet War Fleet was there." We were pretty sure that giving us this information was a slip-up as the "Party Line" was peace and friendship. Great care had been taken and subsequently was exercised to avoid mention of war or instruments of war.

In Yalta we met two American couples who were touring Russia. One couple seemed to be having a good time. The younger couple had purchased a car in Paris, driven through Europe -- without trouble -- shipped their car to Finland, and driven on into Russia picking up their

Russian guide and interpreter at the border. Every vehicle entering Russia must have a Russian guide and interpreter. For busses and private cars, these are furnished by Intourist. They were really having trouble and were very unhappy. Their Russian guide was apparently adhering strictly to the letter of the law and being properly "bloody minded." Ours gave us quite a bit of latitude, actually getting himself censured on one occasion for overlooking rules in connection with picture taking in a railroad station. Their guide -- they had two in the cities and one on the road -- let them take pictures of only statues and museums. He wouldn't let them photograph people and had actually appropriated their camera for the evening to make sure they didn't cheat after dark. They had driven all the way from the Finnish border to Leningrad, Moscow, and on to Yalta. Their most earnest desire was to get out of Russia.

On June 7, in another Il 14, we flew from Simferopol to Leningrad via Dneipropetrovsk, Kiev, and Minsk.

The country north of Crimea was again gently rolling to flat. At first it was mainly cultivated farm and grazing land. It gradually became more wooded and there were many lakes and some swampland as Leningrad was approached.

Leningrad

Leningrad, the second largest city in Russia, has a population of about three million. Originally St. Petersburg, then Petrograd, it was for many years the capital city.

We had a little over two full days in Leningrad and saw the usual

run of statues and museums. One museum was magnificent. It was originally the St. Isaac's Cathedral. It had massive bronze doors and beautiful pictures, many of which had had the pigment replaced by identically colored tile for indefinite preservation.

The Hermitage is one of the world's finest art galleries with many of the old masters represented.

We did not have an opportunity to see the antireligious museum at Kazan Cathedral.

We took a boat trip down the Neva to Petrovoretz and back. The fountains at Petrovoretz are varied and beautiful. In addition to the more or less conventional -- French type -- fountains, there were fountain trees, fountain flowers, a rotating spoke fountain, a sun fountain and a parasol jester fountain which children and some grownups loved. There were also a surprising gravel "squirt the unwary" fountain and other trick fountains which added to the fun.

As in Moscow and Tbilisi we had one automobile trip in Leningrad where we were without a Russian guide and had a chance to go where we pleased and see the country. At both Tbilisi and Leningrad we had a Russian car and driver furnished by Intourist, and Charley Tuck of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft, who speaks Russian, was along.

We drove north from Leningrad for about thirty kilometers and soon found ourselves in wild, wooded country. While there was an all-out housing program going on in the city, the houses outside the town were frequently of logs and many had outdoor plumbing. We saw a new log house

being constructed less than ten miles from the center of the city.

Helsinki

After two days in Leningrad we took a Russian boat, the Baltica, to Helsinki. Upon arrival in Finland it was as though a great burden had been lifted from us -- a load of restraint, repression and oppression. The principal minor annoyances in Russia were denials, delays and getting less than one paid for. My note on Helsinki: "The people seem genuinely friendly."

Home

Home to Los Angeles June 11-12 via Copenhagen and Frankfurt on SAS and via Lagos, to Washington on MATS, and then TWA 707 to Los Angeles. We were bushed!

IMPRESSIONS

On the trip I took rough notes which have since been put in some order. This is in the interest of refreshing memory, assuring continuity, and avoiding duplication.

1. Russia is a tremendous land mass with vast natural resources.
2. The present population is about 209,000,000. It would probably have been over 250,000,000 except for the great number of World War II casualties. (One observes more legless, one-legged, and one-armed men

in Russia than anywhere else in the world. These are mostly war casualties.)

3. Russia is in many ways primitive but is making rapid progress in those areas to which high priority is given. Priority has been given, more or less in this chronological order, to:

- a. Education
- b. Science
- c. Military
- d. Heavy Industry
- e. Power
- f. Transportation
- g. Housing -- now in full swing.
- h. Farm Production -- presently their most serious problem area.
- i. Consumers' Goods -- very low priority.

a. Education

Most children go to nursery school until they are three. This is because the State "encourages" it and, furthermore, the mother usually works and does not have help. Then most go to kindergarten from three to seven for the same reason.

The entire school system is just in process of revision. Under the old system it was obligatory that a child go to school for ten years from

the age of six to sixteen in the metropolitan areas. In the back country the children sometimes went to school for only seven instead of ten years. The course was stiff and perhaps too rugged for the younger pupils. Now they start at seven and go for eight years. This is for everybody. School starts at 8:30 a. m. and goes on until 3:30 p. m. six days a week. There is much homework for every day except Saturday and Sunday.

Secondary school is for three years and is part study and part productive work. Everyone in the urban areas goes to secondary school.

Originally they wanted to give everyone a college education. It was soon found that this was impractical because of ineptitude on the part of some students and because of shortage of facilities, equipment, and staff.

Now full time in college is provided for only the few who are intellectually especially gifted. Most go to college part time and work part time. Those who do not want to or cannot assimilate the more difficult college subjects go to vocational school part time and work part time. Sometimes, if a student hasn't "found himself," he works full time for two or three years after leaving secondary school and before going to college.

Appointment to the university is highly competitive and the teachers' "recommendations" carry great weight.

The language institutes are excellent. English is the most popular foreign language. Students have some latitude in the selection of languages, but all classes must be "balanced." The new language students speak with little accent and that little is American rather than English. There is none of the old comic-opera accent, "How do you do?" Certainly

their effort to copy the American manner rather than the British -- as contrary to most of the rest of Europe -- indirectly indicates Russia's present evaluation of the two countries and is therefore flattering -- also excogitative.

Moscow University is well known. The new part is a "showpiece" with tall imposing buildings. Much of the inside is of marble with inlayed, parquetry floors. The total enrollment is about 24,000 students. Some 14,000 are at the old university and 10,000 at the new. The new covers astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, mathematics, and physics. There is adequate laboratory space and ample space for experimental work. The laboratories are well equipped. The several museum-type exhibition halls are excellent and modern; for example, the periodic chart of the atoms went to 102.

We saw the auditorium (imitation marble), the natatorium, gymnasium, classrooms, library (the library is said to have five million books and has a dumbwaiter system for transporting the books), restaurant (self-service -- food looked tasty), and several dormitories. The standard living units were two single rooms -- about 88 square feet each -- with joint shower and toilet.

The new University of Moscow is an excellent propaganda exhibit -- we don't have anything like it. They use it as an exhibit to show what the State can do. (A Chinese group was being shown through and properly impressed while we were there.)

An indirect part of the Russian educational system is the Young Pioneers. Halls and classrooms are provided in all principal cities where children from the fourth grade on -- 10 to 14 years of age -- can spend two

hours twice a week. There are entertainment, lectures, and study. There are hobby shops, exhibits, pictures, and talks so the youngsters can develop their talents and interests. Of course, there is also the ever-present Communistic indoctrination.

Almost from birth the Russian child is subject to extremely effective mass brain washing. It is difficult for us, living in a free country, to appreciate the thoroughness and the almost complete effectiveness of this constant brain washing on the minds of the young and how it later dominates the thinking of the adult. Perhaps we can understand the implications better when we recall the startling and distressing effects of Communistic brain washing on our Service people, including a Marine colonel, in Korea. They "admitted" that the United States had engaged in biological warfare and "confessed" that they had personally participated. This was obviously impossible as we had no biological warfare agents and consequently no capability to carry out biological warfare. The only ideology the child is permitted to know favorably is Communism. He is taught that religion is stupid and that capitalism is evil. Here we must explain that while we consider a capitalist as someone who owns something and uses it -- frequently money -- they consider a capitalist as anyone who profits from the labor of another. In Russia you can hire a servant -- if you are able -- but you couldn't hire anyone to work on your farm or in a store -- if you had one.

Maybe we should touch on religion here. It is said that there is freedom of religion in Russia, that you can go to church if you want to. However, the Russian people are told, from birth, that there is no power

greater than the human mind. Stalin said, "Religion is the opiate of the people." We saw the last church built in Moscow. It was built in 1913. We saw churches deserted and desecrated. We saw people living in abandoned churches. Kazan Cathedral in Leningrad has become an antireligious museum. The horrible tools of the Inquisition are shown as symbols of religious oppression. At the exit from the Museum there is a Sputnik. This is their symbol of the power of the human mind. The Russian is told: "This is what the State has given you," referring to the Sputnik. Then he is asked: "What did religion give you?" and is referred to the torture tools.

We saw a few old people -- mostly women -- attending church services, no young people.

Blaming religion for man's frailty, in Russia as elsewhere, is a sad mistake. Religion is powerless unless practiced. We should blame ourselves, not our religion -- or lack of it -- for most of our misfortunes. Sunday and the church are effective ways of reminding us of our obligation to our Maker and to our fellow man. Pageantry in the church is good public relations and in most cases is extremely effective. But going to church regularly does not completely fulfill our religious obligation. One must be "Christian" seven days a week every week.

The truly big thing in Russian education is that they have better discipline and most of their children work much harder to get an education than ours do. Indoctrination in Russia starts at birth. Serious effort -- hard work -- starts when the child enters primary school.

b. Science

The Russians are presently giving and have for some time given top priority to science and technology. They realize that their future position in the world is secure only if built on a sound foundation of basic knowledge gained through education and science.

The top scientists in Russia are the "New Aristocracy." Their recent scientific successes speak for themselves. Still, initiative and the inquiring mind are essential to scientific progress. One wonders what will be the eventual effect of "thought control" -- of complete conformity -- on creativity.

c. Military

Russia did not demobilize after World War II to the extent that we did.

They cut down and reorganized their land and sea forces. They emphasized mobility and firepower in the army and long-range submarines in the navy.

Initially they concentrated on air defense -- radar, interceptor fighters, and ground-to-air artillery and missiles. Next they started development of their air-offensive capability -- manned bombers -- and now are rapidly developing their space-offensive capability -- ballistic missiles. It is possible, due probably to technical or economic problems, that they are now concentrating on ballistic missiles to the exclusion of manned bombers.

d. Heavy Industry

High priority has been given to the development of their heavy

industry. Last year they are reported to have passed us in machine tool production. They have something over half our steel production and their rate of increase in production is roughly twice ours.

e. Power

They are exploiting their tremendous capacity for producing hydroelectric power and are also developing steam power and power from atomic energy. This they know they must have to expand their heavy industry and communications.

f. Communications

High priority is now being given to improving internal communications -- to transportation. They have established good airline coverage over most of the Soviet Union. Many old, conventional -- piston engine -- planes are still in use but the more modern airliners are jet and turboprop.

We flew from Moscow to Tbilisi in a TU-104 twin-engine jet airliner. This airplane, though heavy, had a high power weight ratio and took off quickly (in forty seconds). It is not as aerodynamically clean as our jet transports, does not carry the payload, and does not have the range. Range limitation is so critical that they are frequently towed to the take-off point to save the fuel that would be used in taxiing. The seats are comfortable. Each seat has an oxygen outlet and demand mask. The interior is practical but not ornate. The overhead luggage racks have net bottoms. Passengers in the forward part of the cabin find it quiet, but the noise level is high in the aft part of the cabin. The pilots invited some of us forward

while in flight. The "workshop" was conventional.

The landing was fast, and the brakes overheated and smoked so badly that the ground crews immediately inspected them. The landing gear shock-absorber mechanism seemed to bottom and the action in taxiing after landing was very rough.

The Il 14 is a popular short-haul plane. It looks like a small Convair. It carries 24 passengers at about 200 miles per hour.

There is presently a major program of road construction in progress. The road traffic outside the metropolitan areas is light and in the back country very light. What traffic there is is made up largely of trucks working on road construction. There is also considerable airport construction going on.

There is still a lot of pick and shovel work in road building, and much of this labor is done by husky -- and apparently happy -- women.

The Metros -- subways -- in Moscow and in Leningrad are truly Communistic showpieces. The Moscow subway carries about 2,500,000 people per day at a rate of about twelve cents a ride. Each station is different and they are all magnificent. They are mostly of marble -- some of onyx -- with huge chandeliers, statues, bas-reliefs, tile mosaics and pictures. The underground stations are very deep, meticulously clean and efficiently operated. The ventilation is excellent and the trains modern and fast with full automatic control. The Moscow trains run one per minute. There are three main radial lines leading from the center of Moscow and one outside circle. The first line was designed with British help and opened for use in 1935. The

last -- fully Russian -- has recently been put in operation.

The Moscow system is deep, the Leningrad even deeper. The Leningrad Metro is ornate but not quite as fancy as the Moscow Metro. The subway cars are similar.

These Metros clearly point up what State control can do when high priority is given to a project and cost is no object.

Our poorer subways, comparatively, are not an indictment of the free enterprise system. We do not want anything as ornate as the Russian Metros. They would not pay their way here. The capital investment required would be great. We do, however, penalize ourselves in the eyes of the world when we endeavor to impose partial socialism on the normally smooth working of the free enterprise system by control of fares and undue regulation and regimentation. We would have more, better looking, more efficient and safer subways if the operating companies were permitted to charge a reasonable fare -- a price which would pay for safe and efficient operation and permit the capital accumulation necessary for the timely purchase of replacement equipment. This, by the way, is equally true of railroads and airplanes. There is today too much State control of industry in the United States. This form of creeping socialism is gradually stifling free enterprise.

g. Housing

A major problem in Russia is that of housing. A vast housing program is in full swing. In the cities whole sections are being razed and new apartments erected. As a result, there is very little renovation of old

buildings which are eventually to be torn down and many are in a very bad state of repair. Almost all need paint, windowpanes, and general repair work.

The new housing is of several types. Twenty per cent can be over five stories high and these must have elevators. These more ornate apartments are all on the main streets of the metropolitan centers. The apartments out of the "showcase" area are of five stories or less and have no elevators. A concrete prefabricated type of construction is popular. Some are plain and some have a tile outer covering. Very little steel is used. The construction, by our standards, is poor. Some few have had to be condemned -- due to settling -- before occupancy. This has been mentioned in the press. In the press reports the builder is criticized but never the State or the system.

Many of the large apartment-building complexes house complete communities with stores, etc. Each family has one or more rooms but, except in rare cases, two families share the bath and kitchen facilities. This leads to problems, as might be expected. A recent theatrical production dealt with the subject and indicated how people should act and get along. Propaganda, but good. If a family is very dirty, they are reported and the local party representative "helps" them be better Comrades.

The apartments don't sound very attractive to us, but they are heaven to the Russians who, due to crowded conditions previously, frequently lived one, two and sometimes more families in one bedroom. Our first guide, who had two small children, 5 and 7 was very happy to have a two-room apartment and share the kitchen and bath with another family. When she was married, she and her husband were obliged -- due to the critical shortage of

housing -- to move in with her family in their one-room apartment. They were on the waiting list for over five years before they got their own apartment. Because she worked, she saw her children only occasionally on week ends. This latter was also true of the second girl guide we had. Incidentally, our guides were all well-trained and carefully indoctrinated. We were quite sure that at least two worked for the secret police.

h. Farm Production

The greatest problem in Russia today is the low productivity -- by our standards -- of their farms. This is due, in large part, to lack of mechanization and the consequent large amount of manual labor required.

We visited a collective farm about 90 kilometers northwest of Tbilisi. We passed many farms enroute, so suspected that the collective farm had been "prepared" for us. After looking it over, we were sure. It was located in very pleasant rolling hill country. It was organized in 1929. There were about five hundred families in the commune which contained about 1600 hectares (4000 acres). It was run by a committee of nine. The chairman of this committee is boss. Another committee of five checks on the manner in which the farm is run -- on the administrative capability of the nine and particularly of the chairman. The chairman is "elected" every two years. If he doesn't do a good job, he is not re-elected. Each family can have up to 1 hectare (2.471 acres) for themselves to do with as they see fit. On the main farm they were growing grapes, fruit, vegetables, wheat and corn. About half was in grazing land and they had five hundred head of cattle, three

hundred pigs, two thousand sheep, and two thousand chickens. There were a primary school and a secondary school -- government furnished, equipped and staffed -- for the four hundred school-age children.

The total farm income was said to be about 6,000,000 rubles/year and the investment in equipment about 14,000,000 rubles. This consisted, in addition to barns, houses, and other facilities, of 30 trucks, 10 tractors, 2 combines, etc. We were told that the norm or work-day unit paid about 30 rubles (\$7.50) per day plus food. I suspect the 30 ruble figure to be high. Some people work harder and get more. The most ambitious and competent were making up to 2 1/2 work-day units per day.

Each farm family on a collective farm owns their own house. They must have or must borrow enough money to build it. An individual farmer can also own, for himself and his family, a cow, two pigs, ten sheep, etc. They were very proud that the 500 families owned thirty-five cars. Here, in the United States, it is a poor farmer indeed who doesn't own at least one car. We must remember, however, that Russia, as a whole, has only about two per cent as many cars per capita as we in the United States.

We went through the chairman's (superintendent) house and it was very spacious and neat with good furniture, radio and television. (It was an obvious showpiece.)

We wanted to see as much as possible of the farm layout but were promptly directed to the wine cellar -- where we spent the next hour or so. The wine was good.

Checking back, if 500 families lived on 4000 acres, there were only eight acres per family. If half was in grazing land, then each family, on an average, cultivated only four acres. It appears that either I slipped a decimal point or Russian farm production is really low compared to ours.

On the State farms nothing is owned by the individual. The State furnishes land, housing, barns, equipment, and stock. (I pointed out that the collective farmer was a capitalist because he had to have -- or borrow -- capital to get started. They reacted immediately expounding their definition of capitalism.)

Actually, the Communists do not like the collective farms. Originally, after private ownership, almost all farms were collective. Today about 60% are collective and 40% State owned. It is the ambition of the Communists to convert, as quickly as possible, all agriculture to State ownership and entirely eliminate the collective farm.

Most of the trucks in Russia are owned by the State and private ownership of trucks is on its way out. The trucks are uniform in size and appearance. The capacity is about one metric ton and almost all are painted OD brown -- most unattractive.

Ownership of privately owned cars, on the other hand, is on the increase.

i. Consumers' Goods

Consumers' goods are scarce and are high priced. Despite the high prices, commodities, when they become available, are quickly sold out.

The price, even on the scarcest items, is not as high as it would be in a free, uncontrolled market.

The clothing appears serviceable but is generally of poor quality in both material and workmanship. Even so it is costly by our standards. Fur coats or wraps were never seen -- it was summer but cold -- and woolen overcoats rarely. Both men and women usually wore trench coats or rain-coats. Sweaters were quite universally worn, particularly by the women. The only good quality, reasonably priced clothing seen in the stores was for children. We frequently heard the statement: "The children are our future."

Radios, previously in short supply and which they tooled up to produce in considerable quantities, are now in over supply. This is in part because television has come in and most people now want television rather than radio and many feel they cannot afford both and in part because of the difficulties inherent in following the market trend in a controlled, inflexible system. They are now, particularly in the back country, trying to move the surfeit of radios by installing a credit system -- twenty per cent down and six months to pay.

The rate of exchange for Russians is 4 rubles to the dollar and for tourists 10 rubles to the dollar. Even at the 2 1/2 to 1 advantageous exchange rate there are few things in the stores which intrigue the tourist. There was some antique jewelry that looked fairly good. Mrs. Doolittle bought some onyx owls and Fred Crawford a near fur hat. I brought home some technical books printed in English and some missile charts.

As they complete or get farther along with their higher priority

programs, it is to be expected there will be more consumers' goods. It will probably require only a very gradual improvement to keep the people happy. When one has little or nothing, a very little more looks like a lot. The people, for example, are extremely happy with the new housing of which we would be very critical.

PEOPLE

Their condition is improving and they have been told that in another ten years the Russians will be the most contented people in the world. A large sign on the road between Yalta and Simferopol depicts the Russian concept of the growth of Communism and the decline of Capitalism. The caption says: "By 1965 the Communist Block will account for more than half of the total world production." That is to say, Russia, her satellites, and Red China by 1965 expect to produce more than all of the rest of the world put together. The main race is obviously between the United States and Russia with Red China increasing in importance with her developing industrialization.

Everyone -- men, women, and children -- is working and working hard. There is an attitude of dedication and determination and everyone, especially in Moscow and Leningrad, seems to be hurrying.

The standard workweek is 46 hours. They frequently work more -- on their own time -- on State projects. There is the continual promise of a shorter workweek for all and some steps have been taken in this direction.

Household help is obtained through the Central Agency. The senior

people in our embassy pay \$90.00 per month and the others \$80.00. We were told by the Russians that the going rate for them is 300 rubles or \$75.00. This is pretty close. Incidentally, household help works 46 hours per week -- no more, no less.

In the South, as previously stated, the people were more relaxed, friendlier, and more curious.

Frankly, the people (outside of Georgia) didn't appear happy. This was probably due, in large part, to the lack of consumers' goods, but the iron control and regimentation probably had something to do with it. However, any thought that the people of Russia will rebel against Communism in the foreseeable future is unrealistic. This is because of the control, the indoctrination and the fact that living conditions actually are gradually improving.

SYSTEM

Russia exemplifies the control of many by a well-organized few. There are 209,000,000 people and only about 6,000,000 Communist Party members. This is just under 3%. The 6,000,000, however, run everything and completely dominate the country.

Their monolithic centralized system is not efficient, despite the fact that decisions can be made very quickly at the top. One man has the authority to act and his word is law. They do not have the checks and balances which characterize our system. These checks and balances are necessary but do cause delays. Their system is, however, so highly centralized that it is difficult to get quick action at the lower levels. No one wants to

assume responsibility. There is a tendency to say "no" rather than take a chance -- which might prove fatal. The system doesn't develop initiative, and causes much delay and confusion. Many things are accomplished by main strength and awkwardness. Accomplishments are in spite of and not because of the system which is, in general, very unwieldy. Furthermore, there is still an inordinate amount of manual labor because the Russians are not yet adequately mechanized. Their mechanization and automatization are progressing rapidly.

While in Tbilisi we met and talked to the Georgian Prime Minister, Mr. Dzhavakhisvili. We also met Professor Nicholas Miskhelischvili, a mathematician. The most interesting thing we heard during this visit was a statement by the Prime Minister that Georgia was now largely autonomous. If this is true, Russia may be starting geographic decentralization as a partial solution to their problem of over-centralization. The success of this would, of course, depend primarily upon the attributes, loyalty and indoctrination of the personalities involved.

It is interesting to note that there have been many changes in Russian Communism since the 1917 Revolution. They still say: "To everyone according to his need -- from everyone according to his ability." While they preach this Marxist philosophy, they no longer practice it. They soon found that the twin human traits of selfishness and laziness just wouldn't let it work. Immediately after the 1917 Revolution, all soldiers were "comrades." The theory was that no one had to tell anyone else what to do. Everyone would do what was right. The fallacy of this became immediately apparent and

Russian military discipline then became -- and still is -- the severest known. Civilian control, also, in Russia is absolute. But to get the most out of even a regimented people, they must have something to hope for. The new Russian rulers realizing this, adopted the double incentive system. High reward is given for excellence and severe punishment for poor work; maybe even death or Siberia.

Certainly great responsibility and outstanding effort and competence in carrying out that responsibility justifies reward. This is the basis of every incentive system. In the military RHIP -- rank has its privileges, as well as its very considerable responsibilities. However, the incentive system must not be abused.

In Tzarism and Feudalism, gravely disproportionate reward was given to a few and many lived in misery. Our own capitalistic system was once very unfair. Serious inequities led to ensuing dissatisfaction and eventually and inevitably to change. This change came violently or gradually -- through revolution or evolution. In France and Russia it came through revolution. The museum in the Kremlin and the Ostankino Museum showed the abuses of the "lords" who set themselves up as God. (There were actually halos on the heads of some of the pictures of the deceased Tsars in the burial chapel.)

In our own country abuse of capitalism caused change which came through evolution and proper process of law. Actually the pendulum has swung too far and we have new abuses of our system, good as it is, which must be corrected-- but by legal processes. Once many worked hard -- too hard --

and a few profited, unfairly, from their efforts. Today a relatively few top people, in government and out, work very hard and the many -- taking it easier -- profit from their efforts, their genius and their sacrifice. This hard-working few, due to fatigue and often frustration and disappointment, have a disproportionate share of premature heart failures and nervous breakdowns. A more equitable distribution of effort is necessary. We must produce more -- work harder as a nation -- if we want our system to survive. The alternative -- unless they slow down -- is that Communism will prevail.

It is interesting that Communism has again led to despotism in Russia. The principal difference is that now a new group has become the tyrants. We had an interesting illustration of this in Moscow. A police car pulled up alongside our car, which was blocked fore and aft at the curb, and arbitrarily held us there for fifteen minutes while he waited for the cars which he was to escort to be brought up and loaded. The people to be loaded were not yet on hand. This secret police officer would not even listen to or answer our driver who tried to tell him that all we wanted was to get out of his way and away. (Our guide discreetly disappeared.) Was he impressing us with his importance? Was he making greater VIP's out of the group he was to escort? His actions certainly indicated a complete disregard for the desires of others. Until people change for the better, no political system will improve their inherent traits. This is particularly true in the case of a system -- an ideology -- the Communist philosophy -- which denies the spirituality of man and, therefore, retards his moral improvement. There will always be some people who are smarter and more aggressive. They will be

the leaders. There will also be some who are less humane and more ruthless. One recalls the old Spanish proverb dealing with the big and the little fishes: The little fish decried the practice of the big fishes eating the little fishes but hoped he might become a big fish -- so he could eat the little fishes.

Theoretically tipping is not permitted in Russia. Actually, perhaps because of the recently authorized -- and now encouraged -- tourism, tipping is common practice and is expected. Graft is also usual. One of our compatriots wanted a phone installed in his hotel room-office. It was not possible to get prompt service until he greased the proper palm.

(I used to deplore the, to me, un-American practice of tipping. But now that pride of workmanship and pride of accomplishment have been largely lost in our own country it frequently requires the expectation of an additional -- and unearned -- reward to assure reasonable service and, sometimes, even civility.)

Russia has a clear-cut, a definite objective -- world Communization and domination. She has a long-range, consistent but flexible plan for the achievement of that objective. She lives wholly by the law of expediency. "The end justifies the means." Murder, theft, subversion, lies, dishonesty of every type is good, in the Communist mind, if it advances Communism. When we make an agreement with Russia, we must be sure that it will continue to be in Russia's interest to keep the agreement or we must have a means of checking on and insuring compliance. Their basic philosophy makes them completely unreliable and undependable. An indication of how they warp history to meet their own needs was given by their interpretation of Churchill's

"Blood, sweat, and tears." One of our guides told us that Churchill's great statement that "Russia furnished the blood, America sweated a little, and England cried" was the true story of the Second World War.

Sometimes it seems that Russia is coming nearer to our viewpoint -- adopting the incentive system -- and we closer to Russia -- becoming more and more socialistic. However, it is going to be very difficult to reconcile our basic differences with Russia as long as she continues to prosecute her program by the methods she uses -- as long as she operates by the Law of Expediency and ignores the Golden Rule. We can only hope that, in time, Russia will adopt a less-objectionable objective and less-objectionable methods. In the meantime, we must develop and maintain a high level of military, economic and moral strength.

CONCLUSIONS

Russians are not ten feet tall, neither are they four. They are about six. They have tremendous natural resources, an objective, a plan, determined leadership and everyone is working -- hard. Individuals or nations progress in direct proportion to what they know and how effectively and energetically they exploit that knowledge -- what they do with what they know.

Whether we like it or not, we are in an all-out ideological struggle with Russia. Russia considers it a life or death struggle. We, as a nation, do not yet appreciate its full import. It has already led to keen scientific and technological competition. It will, at the very least, lead to intense economic competition. It may lead to war. We, as a nation, must think

clearly, understand thoroughly the seriousness of the world situation, plot a steadfast course, work harder, and, if necessary, be willing to make required sacrifices. The alternative is the loss of our precious heritage -- our freedom.

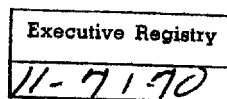
All in all, our trip was interesting, educational, and worthwhile.

As a result of the trip, I believe we who went understand the Russians a little better. We also had an opportunity to observe the accomplishments and sense the intentions of this regime. These are sobering, if not frightening. We enjoyed our trip, but do not wish to go again -- at least not for a while.

August 20, 1959

Attached is a revision of my
"Comments on 1959 Trip to Russia"
dated July 13, 1959.

Would appreciate your destroy-
ing copy previously sent to you.



J. H. DOOLITTLE