

SECRET

DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT <small>(Use this report only in accordance with instructions in SR 100-105-1)</small>		COUNTRY OR AREA Japan; ComChina; USSR	
REPORT NUMBER R-11-56	FROM Army Japan	PREPARED BY Col W.W. BAILEY	COURSE Pers Contact
SUBJECT Notes on Lecture by Masanobu TSUJI (U)		REFERENCES R-7,8,9-56	DATE OF REPORT 9 Jan 56
SUMMARY Masanobu TSUJI, ex-Colonel and now a Diet member, met with a group of U.S. Army officers, at his request, on 20 Dec 55, for the purpose of presenting to them his observations made during a recent 40-day trip through Communist China and the present, which are unclassified inasmuch as they are substantially the same as contained in the December issue of "Asiatic Mainland Affairs" (see DAIR 11-56), and the two books forwarded by R-8 and R-9-56. <p style="text-align: right;">D423501</p>			
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DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT

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CLASSIFICATION REPORT NUMBER FROM

R-11-56

Area Japan

PAGE

2

1. Transmitted herewith as Inclosure 1 are some notes on remarks made by Masanobu TSUJI to a group of U.S. Army officers on 20 December 1955. These remarks are unclassified because they are substantially the same as an article contained in the December issue of "Asiatic Mainland Affairs" (Tairiku Kenkyu Mondai) which has been translated as Document No. 8901 and forwarded by DAIR 11-56.

2. This interview was sought by TSUJI through an intermediary who made a request to FEC that TSUJI have an opportunity to discuss his observations with U.S. Army officers concerning his recent trip to the mainland. A meeting was held with TSUJI at the Army Foreign Area Specialist Training School in Tokyo and was attended by the senior Army language students, representatives of this office, MAAG-Japan, and Security Group. G2 AFE/EA (Rear).

3. At the conclusion of TSUJI's remarks, R.O. asked TSUJI whether as a result of his trip he had concluded that his former belief that neutrality was the only policy for Japan had been changed. In a very impassioned and lengthy statement, TSUJI stated, in brief, that he was only more convinced that there was no alternative course for Japan and that there was no reason for Japan being drawn into the struggle in the event of a third war because Japan would not serve as a significantly important base for the United States. Japan is too far distant from the heart of Russia, he says, to be a strategically important area. Therefore, his sole desire was to spare Japan from the horrors of a nuclear war and, if possible, see the entire world spared from such a conflict.

"Japan must remain neutral in order to be of benefit to the West, and she must be allowed to defend her own country. As a sovereign nation, Japan has pride that she is capable of fighting for her own defense. This is the same thing I tell our Japanese veterans. The Soviets are not going to attack Japan. Their main target is elsewhere, and the launching point of such an attack is not Siberia or Asia. Japan is relatively safe from invasion. The Siberian half of the Soviet Union is barren and virtually useless, there is nothing to bomb. The heart of the Soviet Union is in and around Moscow, and the next great war will start toward Europe or the Middle East."

4. TSUJI further commented that United States policy with regard to the encirclement of the Communist bloc and increased pressure was wrong because it only served to build up counter-pressure within the Communist bloc. He stated that he felt the better policy would be to penetrate or pierce the Communist bloc at its most vulnerable point, i.e., Communist China. He feels that the United States itself could not directly do this, but believes that through cooperation with the Japanese, Japan could directly achieve such a penetration and that the United States would thus be able to puncture the Communist base of political power.

"You are making a great mistake concentrating your forces in the Far East and in training Japanese troops. Instead, you should concentrate on cementing firmer ties between yourselves and the peoples of Asia." (TSUJI expressed the same opinions in speaking to the Army Officers Association on 20 Nov 55 - see AFE IntSum 4498.) "Give the Chinese Communists recognition and give them plenty of money with no strings attached. You will find that much more beneficial than trying to fight them. Communist China is not really communist; they are likened to a red radish - red only on the outside. India is the same. Both of them can be won over to the West as specific neutral nations which will benefit the U.S. more than if they align themselves directly with you."

5. TSUJI was critical of the U.S. AID program for Japan, commenting that the program had been a failure in Manchuria during the 1930's. "Just as the Japanese gave the Army obsolete equipment, the Army gave the Japanese obsolete equipment. Instead of providing the Japanese with defense forces, obsolescent equipment, instead of modern arms, we provided them with modern arms."

6. TSUJI commented that there need be no fear of Communist infiltration into Japan. He stated that former members of the Pro-Soviet Association (Zaigo Bunjin) are getting into the leading civil positions in the hamlets, villages, etc. He said to observe this activity during the next year. With this control, they will be able to drive out communistic influences without difficulty.

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DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT

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REPORT NUMBER

R-11-56

TITLE

AFMA Japan

PAGE

3

COMMENTS:

1. The content of TSUJI's remarks is little different from information published in the two books forwarded by R-8-56 and R-9-56, and the document referred to in paragraph 1 above.

2. TSUJI's motives in seeking out this interview are not clear. It may be an attempt on his part to convince the American authorities of the truth of his argument that the Americans should withdraw from Japan. It may be an attempt to bolster his own domestic political strength, or again it may be an attempt to seek some form of collaboration with American authorities in an approach toward Communist China.

3. During the approximately one and one-half hours that he was talking, TSUJI's attitude underwent a small but perceptible change. It appeared at first that he was somewhat on the defensive, not knowing what sort of reception his remarks would have. As the meeting developed and it appeared that we were at least willing to hear him out, his attitude became somewhat warmer and more friendly. He is a very convincing and powerful speaker and seemed to be full of self-confidence and self-assurance. The nature of his remarks indicates that he is a very keen and detailed observer regardless of whether or not the conclusions that he draws from his observations are reliable.

4. The maps of the USSR which are referred to in Inclosure 1 have been referred to G2 AFPE/6A (Rear) for evaluation. G2 AFPE indicates that those maps are of no significant value and are routine, commercial type publications.

5. TSUJI's statement about the attitude of the Japanese guards at Pershing Heights contained in Inclosure 1 is based on a specific incident with a guard which occurred when TSUJI called at FEC Headquarters. There is something to be said for both sides; apparently TSUJI spoke to the guard in a truculent manner when his business was inquired into. The incident is under investigation because it is the desire of the authorities that proper, polite treatment be afforded Japanese guests. Later TSUJI remarked to a U.S. Army officer escorting him, regarding the Japanese guard, "I have taken the name and address of that fellow. He has not heard the last of Colonel TSUJI!"

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1. Notes on Remarks by TSUJI

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CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED

REPORT NUMBER

R-11-56

TITLE

AMIA Japan

PAGE

1 of
Incl 1

Notes on Remarks by Masanobu TSUJI

I recently spent 40 days touring Communist China and the Soviet Union as a member of the Japanese Diet, but my remarks today are made as an Army Colonel and not as a politician. During my Army career I had fifteen years experience in the study of the Russian language and Russia beginning from my Preparatory Military Academy days, and later, due to my experiences in Asia during and after the end of the war, I acquired considerable knowledge of China. The main object of my recent trip to China and Russia was to determine whether the recent Communist bloc peace offensive is true or false.

While enroute we landed in Okinawa and black curtains were pulled shut on the plane windows. This sort of action doesn't conceal anything, because desired intelligence could easily be gotten by other means, and serves only to create ill feeling among Japanese Diet members. Similarly, whenever people of high stature in Japan, such as Diet members like myself, go to places like Perching Heights (site of FEC Headquarters) we are constantly offended by the haughty and overbearing attitude of the Japanese guards dressed in their resplendent blue uniforms and white trim. It makes us wonder whether Japan is really an independent country or is still under occupation controls.

In Hong Kong I learned that much information is available there for the taking. Great repercussions were felt there as a result of the SUN Li-jen incident which was receiving much play in the press and attention by the neutralist factions. I knew SUN Li-jen well and had the best feeling toward him of all the Chinese Generals I have known. While in Hong Kong, I met and talked to five former Cabinet members of HANG Ching-wei's government which was established at the direction of the Japanese Army during the Sino-Japan incident. These men can neither become Communists, because of their ideological background, nor will they support CHIANG Kai-shek regime on Taiwan because of a difference of opinions. In addition, I learned from the meeting that CHIANG Kai-shek is fast losing his prestige and the support of the Chinese people. CHIANG's stock has come down perceptibly following the firing and subsequent confinement of SUN Li-jen. Li is the father of the reorganized Nationalist Army on Taiwan and is a man of trust and true ability. The Li incident, and the subsequent execution of more than 10,000 Taiwanese and officers of the Nationalist forces for non-cooperation with the CHIANG regime, has alienated Taiwanese and pro-Nationalist Chinese throughout Asia from CHIANG Kai-shek. Continued United States support for CHIANG without looking into the true existing situation is tantamount to a complete alienation of Chinese people from the United States. The opinion of this group was that CHIANG Kai-shek could not hold out for more than another year.

The United States puts too much trust in CHIANG Kai-shek at the expense of other areas where her interests would be better served. There are very extensive Communist interests in Hong Kong and they leave it untouched only because of the profit they get from smuggling. If this source of trade were lost, they can take Hong Kong easily. I noticed no fear of the English among the young people. The Chinese believe that England doesn't want the U.S. to recognize Communist China because of the profit they derive from the "secret trade."

I noted the difference in defense posture on both sides at Hong Kong. The English fortifications, barbed wire, etc. are easily visible and their soldiers sleeping in the open. Chinese fortifications were well concealed. To an experienced military eye the contrast provided an interesting contrast. The Chinese troops conceal their positions by wearing rags and looking like peasants, but carrying heavy arms.

Near Shanghai I noticed a complete absence of shops, buildings, etc. The shops were eliminated because of the fear of the Japanese. Also noticed that the Japanese shopkeepers that they were all cashiers. They were not allowed to give them anything. There is always some sort of war on.

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CLASSIFICATION
UNCLASSIFIED

REPORT NUMBER
R-11-56

FROM
Arma Japan

PAGE
5 of
Incl 1

Beginning in September there was to be a country-wide control of food for three years duration in order to control distribution. The people were to be divided into six classes with a separate ration to each class. Even animal food was to be placed under control. The amounts of food given each type of animal was specified. The reason for this should be examined. It is because of the shortages of food in the Soviet area. China is shipping food to the Soviets to pay for the obsolete machines being shipped to China. The big attention is being given to urban development at the expense of the farmers. Although new apartment buildings are going up, I noticed no new farm houses. The ones I saw were in very poor condition - rotter timbers not being repaired, etc, the peasants were dressed in rags and their ribs were visible (i.e. starving), and there were very few farm animals. The common expression was that the laboring class should have been taken care of yesterday and the young people from tomorrow. The only people who seemed to have any degree of prosperity were the soldiers and police.

Later in Peking, a merchant told me in great secrecy that there is no longer any profit in business and he wished the Japanese Army were back. The Chinese women dress very plainly and simply without cosmetics. My guess is that they are influenced by and imitating the frugality of the politicians. For example, LIU Chao-Chi wears threadbare shirts and pigskin shoes. The officials even wear simple cotton garments. This despite the fact that there are no anti-luxury laws. Despite the Cooperative Associations (Gassokusha 合作社) there is no improvement in methods of farming. There are no longer any large land owners with surplus money to provide for necessary repairs such as roads, bridges, etc.

Peking was an interesting place to notice the attitude toward Soviet-Chinese-Japanese relations. I met for three hours with three Soviet Embassy people. The first thing they asked me was, "Are you Colonel Tsuji?" They said this was because of my appearance and because I can speak Russian. I told them I was not Colonel Tsuji but Diet Member Tsuji. The next thing they asked me was "We hear you have 50,000 friends in the Soviet Union. Is this true?" I said yes, that I had met them at Honman (site of Japanese-Soviet border conflict in 1938). The next thing they asked me was "Are you responsible for the plan for the attack on Pearl Harbor?" I told them no, that this had been a Navy plan. This question indicated to me that the Soviets are thinking of a second Pearl Harbor - the problem is whether it's one of their own, or the other side. From my observations, there appeared to be a fine line of distinction between the attitude of the Chinese toward the Japanese and that of the Chinese toward the Soviets. The relationship between the Chinese and the Japanese is the same as that between an older and younger brother, whereas the Chinese attitude toward the Russians is that of complete subservience. The Chinese appeared to have a much warmer feeling toward the Japanese than toward the Soviets.

One interesting part of the Chinese scene is the probability that LIU Chao-Chi and CHOU En-lai will fight for the succession to power when KAO Tze-tung passes from the scene. I talked to some of the Communists' leading officials such as LIU Chao-Chi, CH'EN Yu, CHU to, and LIU Pai-Chen, the one-eyed general. I have known LIU Pai-Chen since the Sun Ritsui Jin incident when LIU was Commander of the 16th Army in Shanghai and had an intimate conversation with him. He is now a member of the Military Commission. He boasted of the fact that they had beaten America with one finger in Korea. He said that America is like a paper tiger and why don't you chase the Americans out of Japan? He spoke very frankly and has a very strong anti-American feeling. I asked him why one sees very few posters on the street advocating the attack on KAO Tze-tung, and he said there was no need to anymore. CHIANG will fall naturally so there is no need to attack.

We went from Peking in two 21-passenger airplanes via Ulan Bator to Irkutsk. Despite the expensive plane the accommodations were thoroughly frugal. For example, there was only one drinking cup. When I asked why there was only one cup on such an expensive plane, I was told that there was no need for more since only one person drinks at a time.

We flew along the rail line into Ulan Bator and I noticed for a long distance as we went into Ulan Bator a peculiar pentagon-shaped building located along the rail line at extremely regular intervals, of approximately 8 kilometers each. I guessed that these must be barracks capable of housing about 200 men each or something for

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defence. Just before arriving in Ulan Bator, I noticed an excavation or digging of some sort. The dirt spoil was a peculiar color, not brown but a lightish, almost green color. This might be fluorspar (hoterudshi) and could indicate uranium deposits, I thought.

There was quite a bit of traffic of Soviet personnel through Ulan Bator to the East. The greatest number was going to Peking; the next greatest to Khabarovsk. The smallest number was going to Magadan. These people were all extremely well dressed. The ladies, for example, were dressed in grey fur coats and I believed that they were the wives of officials. Only high-ranking people seemed to be going to Magadan which leads me to believe that it may be the center of some important activity.

There is a large hydro-electric plant, 700,000 KW capacity, being built on the West Coast of Lake Baikal. It has a 150 meter dam and is due to be completed year after next. The workers at this plant have no facilities worthy of the name - no amusement, schools, decent homes, etc. They are almost black from working exposed to the elements but are happy because the minimum pay is 1,000 rubles per month.

The Soviet treatment of us was quite different from the Chinese. In form they were much more correct and complete in the reception they gave us but inwardly the atmosphere was quite different. They were not warm and hospitable but rather looked on us as spies.

In the USSR we had a very tight schedule. They took us to nice places only and every night there was a party with drinking. I had a chance to talk to a great many individuals in the USSR. One reason is because I avoided official entertainments in the evening as much as possible and would walk around the streets talking to whomever I could get to talk to.

At one time I was talking to an Infantry Colonel who was quite friendly and talkative. But when a Lt Colonel of GPU came up and joined us, he shut up completely.

Another time I was talking to an ordinary laborer who was wearing a badge. I asked him what it was and he said he received it for participation in the German war. By wearing it his influence over the others was increased. This man told me that he didn't want another war, but if one came with the United States, he was ready to get two or three more badges.

I saw quite a number of disabled veterans. I noticed that those who had lost legs did not have artificial legs but only wooden peg-legs.

The cleaning of public places like parks was done by women who were war widows.

Novosibirsk is a seat of heavy industry, judged by the great amount of smoke visible. There are troops there of an estimated division equivalent in size but they are for anti-aircraft, not ground defense. I also saw a large number of jet planes there.

Belgorod is a large rail center, but I made no detailed survey. I saw about 4-5 trains with iron material, lumber, and cement. There seemed to be military installations in open fields, and I noted several scores of anti-aircraft artillery in the area. It appears that this is the production center for large caliber guns.

Belgorod is surrounded by several airfields. We landed at the international airport which was set by the usual guards and escorts. A beautiful Russian girl acted as our interpreter. When I told her that I did not speak Russian she said I could use the English language. This indicated to me clearly that the communication system is very complete and thorough and they know at every point where we are and everywhere we go. The interpreters and the guards are all very capable and efficient. The same was true of the interpreters at Moscow.

I made several interesting things. I made one excursion into the country to see the daily and nightly schedule of sightseeing and parties which our hosts arranged for us; and for 20 days, I made an independent tour of Moscow.

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DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT <small>(Use this form only in accordance with instructions in DA Form 1048-1)</small>	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	REPORT NUMBER R-11-56	TICOM AIMA Japan	PAGE 4 of Incl 1
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talking to persons from all walks of life. I knew that the radio set in my room was tapped and the maids and houseboys assigned to us were given strict orders to watch over our activities. Everytime I left the hotel, I was followed, but on several occasions I successfully evaded my surveillance. I went to the blackmarket and after some bargaining sold my Japanese Seikosha watch for 1,200 rubles (about the equivalent of 90,000 yen, or \$250) and as a result, I had more than ample funds to spend during the rest of my tour through the Soviet Union. I went out and talked to students, soldiers, and laborers. I did not buy any souvenirs because there is nothing worth buying.

In an attempt to find out which Soviet leader has the greatest influence among the people, I would ask, "How does Khrushchev rate?" "He's No. 1", was the answer. Similarly for the four other important leaders - Bulganin, Malenkov, Zhukov and (another whose name R.U. has forgotten), each was "No. 1". Although I asked over 100 people, no one would say which of the five No. 1's was most important or which he liked the best. In my judgment there is no single successor to Stalin yet apparent. It is my estimate that in such a weak situation, the Soviets cannot start a war.

I bought several children's textbooks to examine them because in a controlled state like the U.S.S.R. the type of education given the children is an important indication. Over 30% of the contents are warlike teachings, praising military leaders, accounts of the army's accomplishments, and the inevitability of the Communist Revolution. Comparing them with Chinese textbooks, in the Chinese ones there are pictures of Soviet leaders, but none of Chinese in the Soviet books. The feeling one gets from the Chinese books is that of hero worship but not that of a Communist state like Russia.

In Leningrad, there were about 300,000 widows, most of whom did not know where their husbands were. These women did much of the manual labor in Leningrad as they do in other Russian cities. I talked to some of them and was told that they have no news of their husbands - where they died, under what circumstances, etc. These people say that they are "like a broken cup", something to be discarded as useless. Food rationing was very strict, each person being limited to 75 grams per day. The only food item on free sale in Leningrad is watermelon. However, it is so expensive - one kilogram, 2 rubles - that it is sold by the slice, something which I haven't seen elsewhere. I had the experience of talking to a drunk party member as well as a young soldier in a torn uniform who had not been home for several months because his meager 50 rubles pay would not permit him to make the trip. I also had the opportunity to stroll around the alleys and byways, and I found that many of the buildings were marred by bullet holes and broken windows which had not been fixed since the war. Many people of the laboring class live in places which are little better than caves and their clothes are very threadbare. I talked to many people there and the general feeling is that they are appalled at the thought of any more war. I also tried to engage in conversation a GPU officer, but as expected, he would not talk. I asked a driver whom he thought was the most important man in Soviet Russia and he mentioned General Zhukov. Apparently Zhukov is the only important official who is well known among the younger people in Russia. My vivid impressions of Leningrad typify my feeling of life in Russia in general. The war widows, the drunken laborer, the soldier in a torn uniform and the squalid slums behind the facade of beautiful public buildings, can be found throughout the country. Everything has an air of severity.

While I was in Stalingrad I went to a movie and saw some movies of the new Soviet Army with its modern equipment and well trained, large number of troops. I considered whether they could make armed forces like these.

At Saratov, I found to be a fishing town of 200,000 people. I noted with interest that their fishing techniques were 20 years behind the times. Another thing that I did notice was that the people were much more friendly than those in other cities. I made one of my spontaneous speeches before a gathering and one of the main points was change of my level. I later found out that this was a Youth Communist League bridge. In the outlying areas there is no racial discrimination and generally the treatment of foreigners is much better.

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DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT <small>(Use this form only in accordance with instructions in SR 580-507-3)</small>	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	REPORT NUMBER R-11-56	FROM Arma Japan	PAGE 5 of Incl 1
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In Baku I tried to investigate the extent of the oil facilities there but wasn't able to find out all I wanted to know. I was shown the new oil fields recently discovered beneath the Caspian Sea. The oil is 5,000 meters below the level of the Sea. I was told that 28% of the oil production of the Baku area comes from this new field. I was also told that the Caspian Sea field now has over 300 wells producing from 15 to 20 tons each per day. From this you can see that the Caspian Sea fields produce between five and six thousand tons of oil per day. If the Caspian fields produce 28% of the Baku oil, total production in the Baku area can be estimated. They intend to raise the Caspian Sea field production to 30% of total Baku production next year, and to 50% the year after. There also appears to be development of new oil fields in the Altai Range. I snatched a sample of the catalyst (shokubai) used in their refinery and had it analyzed by a friend in Japan who said that it is ten years old compared with US standards. (I hope this incident will not be revealed because of its effect on the faith the Soviets will have toward the Japanese.)

In the Baku area I noticed a large number of T-34 tanks and anti-aircraft guns. I asked the Governor of the Province, around whose house I noticed a large number of weapons, if this was an evidence of the new "Peace" Army, which made him angry and left him without a reply.

We next went to Georgia which is, of course, the birthplace of both Stalin and Beria. In this border area there are large numbers of soldiers. I saw anti-aircraft emplacements, tanks and jet aircraft in large numbers. One interesting thing I noted were the large number of excellent roads built into areas of little population.

In Tiflis I saw a seamless steel tube factory, employing 10,000 workers. Its machines bear labels indicating they were made in Germany during 1940-43. The guide stated that they were purchased in Germany, but when I asked if there were free trade with the Germans during the war he just grinned.

The presence of a large number of troops here suggests the possibility that Russia may be considering this as the next vantage point from which to launch aggressive warfare. The things I observed there were not for defensive purposes; they were definitely for an offensive movement, possibly toward Iran and Iraq. Their activities toward the civil populace appears to be preparing them for action in the area. I believe that their next target will be in the Middle East, not Denmark or Poland. Another indication that this is not a defensive posture is the fact that they have located heavy industry so far forward toward what would be the front line if the Soviets assumed the defensive in this area. This all can be related to the recent swing of the Soviet leaders through India and the Egyptian arms deal.

In the USSR there is nothing worth buying as a souvenir item - clothing, etc, so I bought textbooks, maps, etc. They wouldn't sell the maps in Moscow but I was able to buy them without difficulty in Tiflis.

My overall conclusions as the result of my trip are as follows:

- a. The Soviets at present lack a single leader. Without one they are unlikely to start a major war.
- b. Soviet farm policies have utterly failed. There is not enough food and their land rehabilitation program is entirely out of balance.
- c. The war damage to the Soviets was very great. About 90% of the produce is gone.
- d. There is too great an imbalance between war and peace industries in the Soviet Union. This indicates a long range preparation for war.
- e. For the next five to six years the Soviets will be unable to start a war. This doesn't mean they have discarded the idea of using war to achieve their ends. Their overall objective is to overthrow the United States and they will be preparing to do this.
- f. The Soviets won't take a chance on the big war but this doesn't mean peace. They will next start to work through the Middle East on down through to India, and fighting is likely next year in Indo-China spreading to Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Pakistan.

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