

New York City,
July 17, 1936.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

I am certainly disappointed that I am not going to be able to meet you on your arrival, but I am anxious to leave you word of all that I have been doing before I go on my vacation tonight.

My trip west proved most eventful. While spending the night at the Harper's I had a very fruitful talk with both of them, and came away well caught up on all that has happened on this side during the past year which has bearing on Soviet American relations. The next day I called on Dean Leon Green. He was extremely cordial, kept me busy talking most of the morning and invited me to lunch with him and several members of the faculty. We dropped in to Dean Wigmore's office and had a few words on the work he has been doing on Japanese law. Mr. Fred Fagg of the Law Faculty proved well worth while and sent me away with definite requests for information on Soviet air law. He is the editor of the Journal of Air Law and was anxious to have Professor Korovine and myself prepare him something for his publication. Whether I can get Professor Korovine to take the time still remains to be seen.

I have had so little time that I have flown everywhere and thus squeezed in a Saturday and Sunday at Skaneateles. Unfortunately my Brother has not yet come on from Arizona and my sister was in the Adirondacks. As a result I missed them both and only could attend to some personal matters at the Bank. I shall have to return later to see them.

In New York I have had a very good talk with our Mr. Simpson again and learned of all that he has been doing at Princeton. He has certainly proved that he is an able administrator. I had a very pleasant conversation with your wife and was glad to meet her after these two years. I have lunched with Mr. Riggs and his partner, Mr. Ferris. Also there was a chance to lunch with Mr. W. Lancaster of Shearman & Sterling who proved very helpful in outlining prospects for practicing as a consulting attorney. One afternoon I was lucky enough to have a conversation with Mr. Scott, President, and Mr. Muldane, Vice-president of the U.S. Steel Products Corp., which is the exporting unit of the whole company. They outlined methods of selling to the Soviet Union and gave me an idea of what kind of legal problems might arise and how they expected to see the business develop in the future. In addition I had countless meetings with all of my friends who are still clerks in most of the offices in town.

In Washington I had lunch with Mr. Kelly and Mr. Packer. The former was rather quiet this time, but Mr. Packer on the eve of leaving for Riga was very enthusiastic and tells me that he will probably be coming in to Moscow now and then. Mr. Pasvolksy, in Mr. Moulton's absence gave me a very fruitful hour talking about European politics and the future of the Soviet Union. He knows his field so well and has done so much thinking about it that I enjoyed nothing so much as that hour with him. Mr.

Mr. Oumansky was so very cordial that I was taken aback, remembering as I did rumors I had previously heard as to his being so busy that he could hardly see any one. We talked for an hour and I got the impression that he was really very glad that some one was studying over there in this way and making a real effort to understand all that is going on. Mr. Simms was not in town so that I missed him as I did Mr. Moulton.

There are still several people I am hoping to see before I sail back, including Mr. Arens, and some of the people at the Harvard Law School. But time is so short this year that it has been almost impossible to cover the ground as thoroughly as I would have liked.

I have booked passage on the Bremen sailing August 21st (midnight) which will get me in Moscow on time, provided that I go right through. Comparison of first and tourist class rates show that the difference on these long trips (New York to Moscow) is really very small being not over \$25.00. I have been so disappointed on my recent trips on these fast boats in not being able to read in Tourist due to the vibration, that I would like to go First to avoid the vibration and have a chance for some real reading and work. If the Institute is not desirous of paying for the first class fare, I can easily arrange to supplement the difference. I shall await your decision later, when we meet.

Plans call for this fishing trip vacation to end August 4th. I shall try and get to Montreal to see Mr. Parkin if possible. Then I am anxious to stop in the Adirondacks to see my sister for three days, stop at Skaneatele for another three days to have my teeth filled, eyes examined and health examination as well as see my brother, and finally come on to New York, which would probably make it around August 14th. If Mr. John Crane still wishes me to stop at Wood's Hole I could rush up for a couple of nights before sailing and spend the rest of the time here in the city seeing you as often as you could stand the long conversations.

I hope that this all fits in with your plans. If it should need changing you may reach me care Mr. Dudley Orr, Center Street, Concord, N.H.. The letter would be forwarded to this remote camp to which he is taking us.

My annual report is attached to this letter. I shall await your reactions.

All good wishes and until we meet in August,

Very sincerely yours

JNH

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

JOHN N. HAZARD

Second Annual Report

(1935 - 1936)

The Director and Trustees,
Institute of Current World Affairs.

Herewith is submitted my second annual report as agent for the Institute in the Soviet Union.

Familiarity with the situation on the part of the Director, particularly in view of his extended trip through the Soviet Union has made unnecessary extensive treatment of many problems found in the first annual report. It may be well, however, to call attention to the comments on living conditions which have been radically changed during the past year due to the liquidation of the Torgsin stores.

Once again as the fiscal year draws to a close I cannot help expressing to the Trustees my appreciation for their assistance in work which would be impossible without their sponsorship.

S.S. Normandie
June 29, 1936.

John N. Hazard

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ACTIVITIES OF THE YEAR

Language:

Language lessons were taken with a private teacher for a total of thirty hours each month, divided into three two-hour lessons each Russian six-day week. They were commenced on August 27th (immediately on my return to the Soviet Union) and continued until May 17th (date of departure to meet the Director in the South). During the Winter vacation of ten days lessons were discontinued.

The program was as follows: from August to December emphasis was put upon enlarging vocabulary, improving grammar, and polishing conversational language. This was done by allotting one lesson each week to grammar, one to literature, and the third to a combination of retelling of newspaper accounts, and writing of dictation.

At the end of each month the last six-day week was devoted to review with the final day of each month devoted to oral and written tests on the month's work.

Pronunciation difficulties prompted the introduction of reading aloud from the leading article in Izvestiya at the start of each lesson. This practice was begun in November and continued until the end of the year.

With the coming of December it became apparent that if examinations were to be passed at the Law Institute in January a special effort had to be made to improve legal vocabulary and fluency on legal subjects. As each course had a mimeographed outline on which examinations were to be based, this was used in reviewing with the language teacher every point on the outline. Thus the language was improved and at the same time the legal material was drilled into the memory, and I was prepared to face any examiner and not be frightened when a question was put.

With February emphasis was turned again to literature which had been put aside during the preparation for law examinations. Literature uses such a wealthy vocabulary that it is extremely difficult to understand. It is this field which still needs the greatest amount of work.

March again brought the realization that spring examinations were close and in three subjects. From that time on review was started in the language lessons, and it seems safe to say that this daily review and retelling of the material of the course had much to do with the results achieved in the Institute's examinations. This was continued as the main work of the language lessons until the last examination had been passed.

In retrospect it is all too clear that much was sacrificed to preparing for the examinations and improving the legal vocabulary necessary for daily work. To have gone on with a balanced course in the language might very well have jeopardized the chances of passing the examinations. In consequence my general knowledge of Russian is not as far advanced as it might have been had needs of the moment been left out of consideration.

It is still apparent that my knowledge of Russian is still far too small, and what is more disheartening, my accent is still far too foreign. There is much that remains to be done in the way of improving both of these defects.

Political Education:

A class in the History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union was attended five times each month at the Foreign Workers' Club. The teacher is a member of the staff of the executive offices of the Communist International. The class was conducted in English for English speaking workers in the Soviet Union. It took the form of a seminar group of some twenty persons.

The title of the course is misleading, for emphasis lay in reading the major works of Lenin and Stalin, giving the class a working knowledge of the doctrines of Communism and the technique of Revolution. As such it is a prerequisite not only to an understanding of developments in the Soviet Union but to their interpretation of world affairs.

The method of conducting the group was to give each member an assignment to read and report for the next meeting. In this way members familiarized themselves with a very large proportion of the general material on the prospectus.

Law:

Regular courses were attended at the Moscow Law Institute, in some of which examinations were taken. The fact that examinations were not taken in all courses attended is due to the fact that the Institute is divided into two faculties, both of which hear all courses but examinations are given to students in each faculty only on those courses deemed necessary for their respective needs. I chose the faculty which offered examinations in the four basic courses and listened to the rest. The courses were:

CIVIL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW- Prof. Amfiteatrov. Lectures and seminars--230 hours. This is the basic course on administrative set-up of the government productive and cooperative units, as well as the course dealing with the law of contracts, torts, property, patents, copyright, etc. The course covers theories of Soviet civil law and contrasts these with bourgeois theories of civil law. A knowledge of the Civil Code of the RSFSR is demanded as well as a knowledge of the principal decrees governing administration of government and cooperative units. Examination taken in January--Grade: "good"

CIVIL PROCEDURE--Ass't Professor Borisov. Lectures and seminars.-- 90 hours. An exact knowledge of the code of civil procedure of the RSFSR was demanded, together with the theories of civil procedure both in the Soviet Union and abroad. Examination taken in May--Grade: "outstanding"

CRIMINAL LAW--Ass't Professor Bulatov. Lectures and seminars. A knowledge of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR was demanded in such a thorough form that the student had to know the code by sections and their numbers. The examination consisted in the request for numbers of sections concerning different types of crime and variations in the penalties according to listed extenuating or aggravating circumstances. Examination taken in May.--Grade: "outstanding"

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE--Professor Strogovich (Ass't. Director of the Institute). Lectures and seminars-- 110 hours. Not only was the student required to know the Code of Civil Procedure of the RSFSR, but the method of conducting a criminal case in Germany, France, and England. Examination taken in May--Grade "good".

LABOR LAW--Professor Voitinsky.
Lectures and seminars--130 hours. A review of theories of labor law in capitalist countries followed by a contrast with soviet theories. Familiarity with the Code of Laws on Labor of the RSFSR together with a knowledge of special decrees covering wages, social insurance, etc. No examination given.

AGRARIAN LAW--Professor Pavlov
Lectures. 40 hours. A review of decrees concerning land and operation of collective farms, together with a study of the Land Code and Collective Farm Charter. No examination given.

HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.--Professor Korovine. 14 hours. Lectures. A review of the diplomatic history of Europe from Napoleon to the Spanish American War. A prelude to International Law. No examination given.

INTERNATIONAL LAW--Short course for beginners. Professor Korovine. 22 hours. Given at the Institute of Defenders. Lectures. A survey course of small value due to its brevity except to keep one's hand in the problem of International Law. No examination.

Practice:

Too few opportunities arise to use this accumulating knowledge. Close contact was kept with the American Embassy and its few contacts with Soviet Law, and the attorneys for the National City Bank who were in the Union most of the winter with letters rogatory were kind enough to permit me to attend sessions in which the Soviet Court acted upon these letters.

A book review by Professor Korovine was translated and later published by the Harvard Law Review.

Many court sessions were attended to familiarize myself with procedure.

Travel

In company with the Director and Mr. John Crane an extensive trip was taken through the Crimea and the Caucasus. This had the advantage of broadening my understanding of the Soviet people, and also of improving my knowledge of the language inasmuch as attention was diverted from a specialization in legal phrases to those needed in everyday life.

It is to be hoped that such opportunities will appear

in the future, for they provide far more than a lark, and amount primarily to an essential part of one's education and understanding of the Soviet Union.

LIVING CONDITIONS

On February 1st the Torgsin stores ceased operation. They had accepted foreign currency in payment for their goods, which were of a quality and assortment superior to those obtainable in the Russian ruble stores. In consequence they created a demand for dollars, which made a foreign tenant valuable to any household. In this lies the clue to a foreigner's being able to find rooming quarters.

With the passing of Torgsin and the creation of a somewhat artificial rate of exchange, not only has the cost of living risen immeasurably, but the desirability of foreign roomers has dropped. Foreigners are put on an equal basis as far as their money is concerned with Russians, and consequently it no longer remains worth while to undergo the difficulties attendant upon the housing of foreigners.

It seems highly probable that not only will the future see a need for greater outlays on living expenses because of the rise in the cost level for foreigners, but also because foreigners will be forced to pay more than Russians for rooms to offset the general undesirability which surrounds a foreign boarder. It means that for the time being at least any thought to maintain representation within the Soviet Union cannot leave out of consideration the rather extensive cost involved.

On the other hand goods available in the stores are better than a year ago, and there is every reason to believe that if absence of war permits completion of plans that the Soviet producing units will yearly increase the quantity and quality of their stock.

EXPENSES

No detailed accounts are attached as they were last year since they were quite similar. The increased cost of living was not reflected inasmuch as it was possible to anticipate the rise and pay for room and food in advance to the end of June.

FUTURE

There is no reason to change suggestions made in the report submitted last year. The long range future remains quite as before with several alternatives.

The growing restlessness on the International horizon is perhaps more severe this year, making any long range plan less predictable of completion, but in the absence of any sure knowledge it seems wisest to continue as before with one eye on the war clouds.

The immediate plan calls for a third year of study covering International Public and Private law, ^{the first} ~~the~~ extensive course which I have attended. ^{It will be} ~~the~~ International Public Law. In addition there will be thesis work and preparation of various reports which the Institute may deem fit for publication as articles. Preparation for these will demand a most vigorous application, and the coming year looks as if it would be the busiest so far.

As to the work which might be open for other students I give the contents of an interview held between the Director, Mr. Rogers, and the Ass't Chief of the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreigners (VOKS), Mr. Chernyavsky.

The following fields were listed:

(a) PLANNING-- The method of planning taking it from its first stage (compilation of statistics) to the fulfillment of the plan in the factory. Study to include an analysis of construction needs in capital goods industries and the fulfillment of these needs. Study also to include the method of training of personnel for work in industry.

(b) EVOLUTION OF LAW- A review of the development of Soviet law during the various periods since the founding of the Soviet Republics with especial emphasis on trends in the future such as the abolition of punitive measures in criminal law and the substitution in their stead of educational rehabilitative measures of correction. Study also to include a comparison with other systems of law, both contemporary and classical.

(c) ADMINISTRATIVE LAW- That law made necessary in the administration of government, with emphasis on the new constitution. A study of the centralization of the state apparatus with the simultaneous development of greater rights in outlying districts. National minority problems and their reflection in administration of the Union.

(d) SOVIET EDUCATION- the system of Soviet education with emphasis on the return to many former methods together with a study of the reasons for this return. The growing stabilization of educational methods. The national minority policy and its reflection in educational methods, particularly in regions where no education of any sort was previously attempted and where the language has only been written since the advent of the Soviet Union.

(e) NATIONAL MINORITY PROBLEMS-The reflection in administration, education, law etc. within the Soviet Union. A comparison of national minority treatment under the Soviet leadership and abroad, together with the reasons for this.

(f) FAMILY-MOTHER AND CHILD--Laws governing the family, their development and change, together with the reasons therefore, such as the reversal in the policy on abortions. The relationship between the personal life of an individual and the social problems of the community. The difference between collective and individual psychology.

(g) GEOGRAPHY-Study of problems of the Arctic and the sub tropics, with emphasis on sharing information with other areas of the earth which are subject to similar climatic conditions. The economics of geography with special reference to the problems involved in lifting the feudal principalities of Central Asia and taking them directly from a nomadic state to collectivism, without an intervening stage of capitalism.

(h) COLLECTIVIZATION- The collective farm as an economic structure, with emphasis on it as a phase in the agrarian policy of the Soviet Union. A review of Lenin's offered choice between the American and Prussian systems of farming and a comparison between the development of these two systems contrasted to the collectivization of the Soviet Union.

(i) CITY PLANNING- A comparison of the methods made possible within the Soviet Union due to the absence of private property (making unnecessary condemnation proceedings etc.) and abroad. Special reference to methods employed in acquiring land for the Moscow subway as compared to those methods needed in building American subways.

In connection with planning the Director had an interview with Miss Paul Sacks of the Gosplan. She outlined the work of the Gosplan's institute for training statisticians who already have an advanced knowledge of mathematics. Any student sent by the Institute would have either to take an examination in higher mathematics or present adequate credentials, must have read all material available in the United States in English on the subject of planning, and also have an adequate understanding of Russian.

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

JNH...WSR..70

On Board--S.S.Bremen,
August 27,1936.

Dear Mr.Rogers;

On the way back again after a thrilling six weeks! With last year's reactions to my summer at home a matter of record there is little need to add to what I wrote then as changes have been few. Perhaps most noticeable was the feeling of prosperity and that America had started back to a **more conservative outlook**. Many a person seen last year seemed to have done a world of puzzling over arguments to batter against the fundamental principles of Marxism which I tried to present as a Russian would set them forth. That I failed in many ways to make them clear is in part due to my as yet inadequate training, but also to the fact that in the optimistic spirit of America any ideas which foretell change and perhaps disaster for some sound like a crying in the wilderness. To talk in Europe is to talk on a charged ground, but not so back home.

Fortified with the experience gained on our unforgettable trip through the Crimea and the Caucasus this spring it seemed easier to face questioners. I am reminded of a table mate's conversation who tells me why he has decided to go to Russia. At a luncheon meeting this spring the speaker on some social problem was bowled over by the question hurled from the floor, "Have you ever been to Russia?" In the silence that followed my acquaintance decided never to be put in a position where he could not yell back, "Yes, and what of it?" Too often people last summer would turn to me with a smile and say, "...but what of the country districts?" in a way which puts one in an uneasy seat. Now we have seen the provinces, towns, farms, dairies, mountain settlements and summer resorts. The Union is no longer just its capital for me.

Again and again on my trip I was told by people definitely opposed to communism, even in the Soviet's present stage, that they considered the Soviet Union as the country together with the United States which would command the greatest attention within the next fifty years, no matter what its form of government. We who live there may perhaps be excused for being even more certain of it, and there is quite a feeling of satisfaction to have our own

judgment corroborated by the reputedly and historically hard-headed American business man.

To hear Germans on this ship foreseeing in France within the next five months a division like that in Spain today and saying that a red France could never be tolerated makes it all too apparent that an understanding of these major social and economic issues is going to demand the most careful attention in evaluating future events. Transfer of Mr. Bullitt from Moscow to Paris may be considered a thoughtful change in view of the fact that an understanding of what is going on in France may very well be easier for a man who has come in contact with revolutionary and post-revolutionary Russia. Whether that was an issue in the transfer I cannot, of course, say, but in any event it may be a result of the change.

It is with the greatest enthusiasm that I return for this third year. To finally conquer the worst troubles of the language and to really feel at home in the Law Codes will be a satisfying achievement. During my past two years I have seen the Soviet Union go forward so rapidly physically that I have no qualms as to comfort and nourishment. It will be fascinating to study a new constitution and the steps toward a new democracy which will be the first test of the present government's ability and willingness to follow the program Lenin outlined, a program which is to lead up to a broad democracy, both political and economic. In a footnote to this letter I have added the comments you have asked for as to the stages in this program insofar as they differ under socialism and communism. The outline is lengthy, but the subject is not one which can be written on an acorn.

May you have a pleasant and profitable winter, and rest assured that those hours of conversation with you during the summer have given me a firmer background of ideas on which I am planning to base my winter's work.

All good wishes to the Staff, and thanks to them for helping me in so many ways during the summer.

Very sincerely yours,

JNH

You have asked me while on the boat to trace through Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin the comprehension of socialism and communism and their differences and relative importance in history. Would that I had in my luggage the various references needed, but I will try and give a summary from memory.

At the very outset it may be well to point out that there are two different phases, the economic and political. Under the Marxian conception of history both are so definitely intertwined that they cannot be separated but to explain them it will be necessary to follow each separately.

As to the economic form:--The fundamental difference between socialism and communism is pointed out dramatically in the two slogans (1) that of socialism "From Each According To His Ability, To Each According To His Toil", and (2) that of communism "From Each According To His Ability and To Each According To His Needs." It is at once apparent that the slogan of socialism looks to a system of differentiated wage payments, for people work not only at different speeds but are engaged in occupations on which society places different values. The relationship between work done and amount received is to be direct.

This is not to be so under communism, for then there is to be no direct relationship between the amount of work done and the distribution of wealth. This does not mean that all will receive equally. There will, of course, be differences in the amounts of goods received, for the needs of persons differs. No one claims that a parent of one child needs the same as a parent of ten or that a composer whose productivity may depend upon three months of seclusion at the seaside needs as little rest as a worker operating a thumb tack machine whose productivity remains about the same whether he gets one week or three months at the shore, since he cannot run the machine faster than it automatically goes.

The society pictured in the slogan of communism necessarily depends upon a level of production adequate to care for the needs of the entire population. It is of necessity a long way off. It can be reached only if production can be speeded up and increased, and this is thought to be possible only when every inducement is offered to the worker to cause him to increase his productivity. Such inducements take the form of variations in the amount of wages as that is the inducement which has long been customary for mankind and has particular appeal in a society still bothered by scarcity of production where money has a definite scarcity value. Thus socialism as pictured by this slogan is deemed to be a necessary forerunner of an economy of abundance which is essentially for the successful working of communism.

Marx outlined the slogan of communism in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" and defined the situation under socialism which later led to the slogan for socialism. A reading of that critique leaves one with the impression that the slogan of communism is given the greatest emphasis, whereas socialism is not so extensively treated, perhaps because if considered alone it did not represent a change from existing methods of wage distribution and was radical only insofar as it amounted to a step towards the communistic method of distribution of wealth according to one's needs.

Lenin even further elaborated the idea in his "State and Revolution" and went on to say that the stage of socialism as a transitional stage to communism must of necessity be long. His book was written on the eve of the revolution and ends with a note that it is more thrilling to fight than to write. Thus it does not lay out the program for socialism in detail. But one gets the impression that Lenin was more of a realist than Marx and foresaw socialism as a definite long period of history rather than as a step of merely hazily defined duration.

Stalin has gone even further in emphasizing this economic difference between socialism and communism. Most recently in his interview with Roy Howard last March he pointed out the difference, emphasizing that communism does not come without a transitional period of socialism. He went further and indicated that there was hope that the promised stage was an eventuality in view of the index figures testifying to the Union's extensive industrial growth.

This same understanding is brought out in the new draft Constitution which talks only of socialism in accordance with the Soviet idea that a constitution should do no more than set forth the relationship of the citizen to his government at a given period of history and not set forth a program for the future. There may have been Russians who would have liked to have seen some mention in the new draft constitution of the promised communism, but they might find solace in the fact that Stalin only three months previously had reiterated the oft-repeated program, and it was this same Stalin who was chairman of the committee which drafted the new constitution.

It would appear that the difference economically between socialism and communism as mirrored in the method of wage payments and distribution of wealth has been clearly put from Marx through Lenin to Stalin. It may be that the emphasis has fallen more extensively on a definition of

socialism, but that is only natural in view of the fact that now socialism has been declared as an existing reality, and the reality demands greater exposition than the eventuality. With Marx both were as yet unrealities, and he may have emphasized the more radical of the two stages since the first step would hardly have attracted his readers who already knew wages differentiated on a piece work basis*.

As to the political difference between socialism and communism:--- Marx and Engels both pointed out that the State is an organ used by one class to govern others. How this came about is the subject of Engels's "History of the Family, Private Property, etc." With this basic principle in hand it became clear that when classes (in the Marxian sense of exploiter and exploited) no longer exist there will be no necessity of a state apparatus in the form of an oppressive organization. There will be needed only an administrative bureau like the post office department. Engels in his Anti-During (I believe) tells of the first time he realized that with this hypothesis envisaging the state as an oppressive organ used by a governing class there would be no need of a state organism when there were no classes under communism. He tells of rushing to Marx and finding out that Marx had independently reached the same conclusion. From then on they continued to develop their program for the organization of a government under communism and during the stage leading to it, i.e. during the stage of socialism. They did not, however, go into great detail and in fact Engels even in part overlooked the importance of the state as an instrument of the proletariat in the class warfare of the transitional stage of socialism. This later was the starting point for the so-called deviationists who have shouted for the doing away of the state from the very first days of the revolution, refusing to agree with the Leninist-Stalinist group who argue that the state must keep control until all class enemies are abolished.

Lenin pointed out this variation in Engels's writings as a lack of emphasis on what must exist during the period of socialism rather than as a definite error on Engels's part---an explanation which may be well founded in view of the enthusiasm Engels shows throughout his writings which in several instances causes him to overlook practical administrative problems. In his "State and Revolution" Lenin

* Piece work wages exist under capitalism, of course, but the Marxist would not consider piece work wage systems under socialism as being of the same type. He would point out that under capitalism the worker receives a wage from which the employer-owner's profits have been deducted. Under socialism the wage more nearly resembles value of output, and exactly is equal to it when considered with social benefits furnished (continued next page)

puts the program very definitely, showing what the form of the government must be during the stage of socialism. He makes no bones about the fact that the state cannot for an instant relax its guarding of the proletariat who alone are pledged to a bringing about of a classless society.

Stalin has stated this most clearly in his speech before the 16th Party Congress, held in the early 1930's. He tells the party that the state must continue as a mighty weapon of the proletariat, for only by serving as a tool to assure the bringing about of a classless society can the period ever come when a state will no longer be needed. But he envisages a gradual development in this direction.

It is this development which many see unfolding today in the new Soviet constitution, granting to all the right to vote whereas formerly certain classes such as Czarist officers, priests, and gendarmes were denied the franchise. Classless society in the Marxian sense is now said to be practically here. But it does not mean that the enemies are all either exterminated or won over. This recent trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev will be pointed to as proof of enemies within the camp. Consequently the state must go on, but never to the exclusion of the plan which calls for its eventual withering away.

Again it appears that with the possible exception of the hazy deviation of Engels we find Marx, Lenin, and Stalin all with the same understanding of the essential differences in the political set-up under socialism and communism. But it is also true again that this difference has been emphasized of recent years, perhaps in view of the fact that the deviationists within the party have not seen fit to hallow the state during the present stage of socialism; and perhaps because once again it is most necessary to emphasize and explain a stage through which one is living rather than one which is still perhaps generations away.

(footnote continued from previous page) --by the state together with protection, and the fact that the worker owns through his government the very machines whose cost price is being amortized by deductions from his wages.

522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

August 30, 1936.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers,
Institute of Current World Affairs.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

During the summer we had occasion to talk of some young men who might be candidates for membership in the Institute. At that time I mentioned two men, and since then we have talked of a third. To acquaint you with them I am enclosing short biographies.

1. Robert R. Bowie-- Born in Baltimore in 1910, the son of a successful Baltimore attorney. Attended Gilman Country Day School in Baltimore and Princeton. While at Princeton he ranked very near the top of his class, taking his major in economics. At the Harvard Law School he ranked second in the class for the three years, being second to a young Jewish boy also from Princeton. After law school he declined several offers to practice in New York to return to Baltimore and practice with his father. He has by now taken over a very large part of the responsibility in the office.

He is an extremely active person, of definitely liberal, although not radical inclinations. I need say little about him except to add that without question he ranks at the top of people I have met as the most alert, most engaging, and most likely to make something of his career.

2. Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes-- Born in 1907 the son of the present Canon of the Washington Cathedral he attended St. Paul's school and Yale. At Yale he was a Phi B ete, and also a member of the Yale Daily News and took a very active part in the social life of the campus. He attended the Harvard Law School after a year travelling around the world, and while at Harvard won a place on the Review. He later went to Washington as Mr. Linds's legal secretary and after a year stayed on as assistant to the legal adviser of the Commission. He now returns to New York to enter private practice, feeling that he will thereby prepare himself better for the needs of Government service.

He is a quiet thoughtful person with a real personality, being rather liberal in his ideas, partly as a reaction to the conservatism of his family. He looks to New Deal policies as inevitable in the United States.

3. Ross McFarland-- Age around 33. His Ph.D is from Harvard. Since receiving his degree he has been at the Psychology Dep't of Columbia. He has pioneered in the study of the effect of high altitudes on the mind, and has also worked on the study of the relation of psychology of peoples to international relations. He has lectured at Sir Alfred Zimmern's School in Geneva on the

latter subject and at the present time is engaged in doing research for the Air Division of the Department of Commerce. He has just returned from a trip to South America for the Carnegie Foundation to study high altitudes and their effect on fliers and at that time did research for the Pan American Airways in studying the problem of deaths on the commercial air routes across the Andes due to high altitudes. He has spent a summer in the Soviet Union to determine the effect of the new type of social set-up on various types of mental disorders.

I have asked all three of these men to communicate with you when they are in New York.

Sincerely yours,

JNH

Moscow, USSR.,
September 12, 1936.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

Back in the press of life of this capital with every one wondering from day to day what new surprises will turn up with the morning paper. An odd combination it is of a place where individual tasks move slowly but where new laws and new disclosures may change a whole phase of daily life or thinking within a few weeks.

Russians are still rocked by the recent trial. Prosecutor Vishinsky's summing-up speech is being read and discussed in every evening study group. Speculation is rife as to who may be next, but satisfaction genuine that intriguers were caught before they could do damage.

Abortion and its prohibition were much mooted questions when we left in mid-June. The project for its elimination except when needed to preserve health had been presented to the people for discussion. The press printed generous batches of letters, praising and criticizing the law. Mothers wrote in pointing out that conditions were not yet those needed for adequate care of children under the present birth rate, and to remove restrictions on births would crowd facilities even more.

With few changes* the project became a law on June 27th, and the matter is already closed. Decrees have come to remake the face of Soviet medicine with an eye to providing those conditions for which mothers had hoped. 95,000 nurses for the care of children and operation of children's creches are to be enrolled by next fall in special schools. A Decree of September 8th enlarges all medical schools, raises requirements, expands courses.

Replanning of Moscow goes on with increased speed. Former laws governing ejection and requiring in such cases provision of similar quarters elsewhere have been partially superseded by the law of June 21st, permitting ejection by the city soviet when needed in accordance with the new plans without provision of new similar quarters. In their stead each person is to be paid the sum of 2,500 roubles and assisted to move to the suburbs and build new homes. For many it will mean moving to new industrial areas in other parts of the Union, for houses are not to be built out of this sum alone unless the family is huge enough to pool per capita awards to provide adequate funds.

*The single change in the section directly concerning abortion was the addition of an added reason for abortion-"in cases of the transmission by inheritance of serious illnesses of the parents."

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In the American colony there is regret that Ambassador Bullitt has been transferred to Paris, and speculation as to who will succeed him. Whoever it may be will come to head a staff already operating smoothly and quietly without fireworks and without unusual expectations. His start will be easier than that facing those who opened up the Embassy two and a half years ago in a blaze of publicity both here and abroad. In the meantime Mr. Henderson carries on in his quiet but reassuring way.

Intourist estimates that the summer will have brought some 50,000 tourists to this country, with 600 booked for the recently completed Theater Festival. Washouts on the Georgian Military Highway in July and August provided the chief unexpected event and left many a disappointed traveller, crowding Yalta to the bursting point as a substitute station. Now the rush is over, most of the foreigners have left, and we settle down to a more quiet winter.

My own work goes on according to program. Comfortable living conditions have made possible increased application. Lesser hours in the Institute as required by the summer's Decree on Higher Educational Institutes makes time for more outside reading and study. This comes as a much welcomed relief from repetitious discussion groups of former years which the new decree has abolished.

Language lessons will be more concentrated, with what already appears to be greater results. Language still is a burden, but it is slowly sinking into my subconscious mind and correct phrasing is beginning to come more automatically. Complete victory is still rather distant in the future.

Plans are now already on foot to provide you with more comprehensive monographs on subjects of interest. You may look for some before the end of the month in addition to an occasional news letter.

Greetings to you all and a pleasant Autumn. Ours already seems to have gone as early frosts settle down.

Sincerely yours,

JNH

71 PERSONAL(no Copies)

My room is small and quite comfortable on a court so that the noise is practically eliminated. Russian is a constant medium of conversation as practically all employees know nothing else, and those that do obligingly speak Russian with me. The newest hotel was out of the question as they have no restaurant, and do not plan for one in the immediate future. Here I can get breakfast and supper in my room, eliminating the wasteful delays attending ordering in the big dining hall. It is a great help. Needless to say three meals a day are great additions to my health factors.

I have made an arrangement with my teacher of Russian to continue with two evening a week instead of three. It cuts my hours from 30 to 20 with her, but is what I had originally planned now that the language is going more smoothly and I wish more time for the law. The cost is much higher than under our old system, but at the regular hour rates for the city.

Transfer funds will be necessary for October. According to present plans \$50.00 will be adequate each month, and will cover the lessons with an occasional theater. It will not make possible any trips around, so that I will have to ask for more when the vacation period makes possible some travel. Please have Mr. Barrett transfer funds as explained in the letter I left him.

Habicht has been most helpful as usual and had everything arranged when I arrived. He sends you his greetings.

The Besses are here and planning to stay indefinitely much to my relief. They have asked about you and send their greetings as well, as do the Hendersons.

I will soon provide you with a program for my year for the fall meeting of the Trustees.

J. H. H.

Moscow, USSR.,
September 21, 1936.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

A drop in divorces from 4,300 to 785 during the month of July is the startling figure published as evidence of Moscow's reaction to the new divorce law. No less surprising is the reduction in Leningrad from 3,415 in last year's July and August to 703 in this year's summer months. The same figures run throughout the country with a drop in 26 provinces of the R.S.F.S.R., the average monthly figure falling from 22,740 to a July low of 5,690.

During our May trip through the Crimea papers published new provisions concerning divorce, formulated as a draft law to be enacted after country-wide discussion. The old law, evolved after several changes during the first nine years of the country's existence, made divorce a simple matter of recording at the local registry of vital statistics. Either party to the marriage had the right to appear alone and notify the clerk that life together had been terminated. The absent spouse was mailed a postcard. In no case was there a right to a hearing.

Those who looked for discussion of the new project were rewarded when letters of praise began to pour in to newspapers. Mothers welcomed a restriction of easy divorce as it had formerly existed, costing but three rubles, a sum no greater than the price of a dozen good apples. But it was not so easy to determine whether the people favored the particular form of regulation adopted by the new project. To some it appeared to be a return to a money criterion, for the new project provided that the former three-ruble fee be jumped to 50 rubles for the first divorce, 150 for the second, and 300 rubles for the third and subsequent ones.

On the other hand few criticized the provision requiring both spouses to appear at the registration bureau when recording the divorce as all admitted that this was the best way for settling problems of care for the children. None seemed to object to the provision that the fact of divorce be registered in each of their internal passports. Discussion centered on the percentage of wages subject to attachment under the new project for alimony arrears. It was proposed under the new sections to permit attachment of wages up to 1/3 of earnings for one child, 50% for two and 60% for three or more. The remaining 40% looked like slim pickings to most prospective delinquents.

With the final enactment of the project on June 27th, changes in the sections concerning divorce and alimony were found to be few. The originally specified fees were kept as published in May, and the requirement that both spouses appear at the registration bureau remained. The sole change was to lower the percentage of wages which might be attached for the care of children, the law permitting the attachment of only $\frac{1}{4}$ of each month's wages for the care of one child, $\frac{1}{3}$ for the care of two, and 50% for the care of three or more.

On all sides it was believed that the number of divorces would decrease. Whether or not the people would not register but would remarry, taking advantage of the existing marriage law was a question. The existing code recognizes factual unregistered marriages as well as registered ones. Such tactics might seem safe to the persons wishing to remarry for a second time without paying for a divorce, especially if both spouses agreed to the separation and one were not left to complain to the Prosecutor. Some legal support might be found preventing prosecution for bigamy, for the People's Commissariat of Justice in 1934 issued a circular explaining that no prosecution for bigamy would result if a married person married a second time while concealing from the registration bureau the fact that he had not yet been divorced. The Commissariat announced that the only actionable offense was perjury in telling the bureau on the occasion of his second marriage that he had not been married. Likewise property complications are obviated by a decision of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. in 1927 awarding to a second unregistered spouse the husband's property even though his first registered wife still lived and no divorce had ever been recorded.

That this divorce dodging with unregistered remarriage is possibly not what has happened appears from the only figures as yet published on marriages during the past two months. Orenburg which reports a decline in divorces also reports that marriages have ~~also~~ almost doubled during the same period. These same figures also serve to silence those Russians who expected to see marriage recording decline on the theory that young Russians would think twice before entering a status from which it was not so easy or so inexpensive to depart. We can but wait and see whether preliminary statistics are supported by those of later months.

All good wishes,

JNH

72 PERSONAL(No.copies.)

I will soon finish typing the story on the school which I promised you. When it is done, I will send it off in installments.

Prof. Eldon James of the H.L.School suggested that the Am. Bar. Assn.Journal might be interested, and that the manuscript be sent to Major Edgar B.Tolman, 1140 North Dearborn St.,Chicago. Stamps should be enclosed in case of refusal.

I put it in your hands. If you do not like, you have authority to scrap it. Also I give you authority to submit it anywhere you think advisable.

All goes well with me, although it seems busier than ever before, which makes letter writing less easy, but I enjoy it and will keep it up as often as possible.