

September 25, 1936.

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD
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Gentlemen:

I include herewith additional material bringing my annual report of June 1926 up to the end of the Institute's fiscal year.

The summer in the United States proved equally as valuable as that of last year, providing numerous opportunity for contacts and rethinking of problems which become vague after ten months in the field. Limited time of even shorter duration than that of the previous year prevented my seeing as many of the Trustees as I should have liked. That is the outstanding regret of the summer's visit. On the other hand chance made possible some very satisfactory conversations, especially at the Northwestern University Law School and later in Washington and New York which stand as high lights of the trip. I need not review at length the names of those persons with whom contact was made or renewed, as the Director is in possession of the general information, contained in a letter to him of July 21st.

On my return to the Soviet Union I have taken up the following program:

Language- Lessons will be continued for 20 hours each month with the same private teacher as before. Emphasis will be placed on improving grammar, broadening vocabulary, and reading of Russian literature.

Law: Lectures are being attended at the Moscow Law Institute, just as last year. Courses to be covered over the two terms are; Court structure of the Soviet Union, Family Law, Special Advanced Course in Civil Law, Special Advanced Course in Criminal Law, Private International Law (Conflicts of Law), Public International Law, Constitution of the USSR (New draft), Procedure in Arbitration Tribunals. These will amount to from 16 to 18 hours of lectures each week, and will be supplemented by consultation sessions with Professors. (weeks are five days)

Political Education- The course in the History of the Communist Party will be continued, and supplemented by a course in Political Economy. These are to be given in English at another place. It will occupy one evening of 3 hours duration five times each month.

Constitution of the USSR- In addition to the course to be taken during the second term at the Institute tickets have been purchased to attend a series of six lectures given this fall to the public by the Commissar of Justice for the USSR(Krylenko); The State Prosecutor of the USSR (Vishinsky); the Chairman of the Legal section of the Academy of Sciences(Pashukanis) and others.

Reports: It is my intention to furnish the Institute with the usual news letters, augmented by occasional monographs on points of law, and a complete report in July of all the material covered so far, in three years of study, prepared in the form of a legal reference source for problems of Soviet Law.

Travel: It is hoped that it will be possible to take a trip during the winter vacation at the end of January, perhaps to Murmansk or some place in the Arctic. This will depend on weather, travel conditions, and health. If feasible it might be advisable to return to the United States in July via Siberia.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. J. Hager

October 2nd, 1936.

Mr. John N. Hazard,
c/o American Embassy,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Dear John:

(1) I have the letter you wrote on the steamer and the one sent shortly after your return to Moscow.

(2) Being uncertain just what to do, September 1st \$200. was deposited here according to the instructions you left with Mr. Barrett and another \$50. was deposited on October 1st. When will you need further funds?

(3) Please remind Harper that he is expected to talk with Counts about the possibility of some one making a comprehensive and continuing study of educational developments. I have talked with both Counts and Harper about the subject and it was understood that they would put their heads together and perhaps make joint inquiries.

(4) Please remember that you and Harper were to talk with the man we failed to see owing to the Gorki funeral and to the immediacy of our departure.

Am delighted that you are getting underway so promptly.

Cordial greetings,

WSR/fc

MOSCOW'S LAW INSTITUTE

Gone are the days when an untrained worker was called from his job to act as prosecutor or sit upon the bench and administer revolutionary justice. In the mêlée of the early years of the revolution when an outworn government machine was in process of liquidation, when no one had been trained in law and legal procedure as needed for the new society, judges and prosecutors, lawyers and clerks could be recruited only from among the people whose class background raised the presumption that they were to be trusted as good revolutionaries. Major principles came first and faultless legal application by trained Soviet jurists had to wait until schools could prepare them.

But today's Soviet Union is far from that early war-torn country of twenty years ago. Spurred on by Stalin's now-famous words, "Cadres decide everything"¹ educational forces within the Union have increased their efforts to improve personnel. Soviet legal educational centers have not lagged behind, driving to turn out a skilled, cultured, efficient group capable of filling all of the various functions necessary in a land which has developed a huge body of law to administer the socialist state.

Under the supervision of the newly created Commissariat

1. Address to Red Army Graduates, May 4, 1935., See Soviet Union, 1935 (Moscow, 1935) p.7

of Justice for the U.S.S.R.² the Moscow Law Institute leads a group of eight Institutes and three legal faculties³ scattered throughout the Soviet Union, many of them teaching in languages other than Russian to the people of their own national republic. The cream of the students of the various republics meet together with the citizens of the R.S.F.S.R. in this central Institute. Ukrainians, Georgians, Jews, Uzbecks, Turkmen, Tadjiks, Soviet White Russians, Bashkirs, Ossetians, Soviet Finns and Esthonians to a total of thirty-nine nationality groups crowd the classrooms, all talking their international language of Russian, which is the medium of instruction in this central Institute of the capital. Both sexes are included, the girls now accounting for some 20% of the student body which is now approaching the nine hundred mark.

Years ago when engineering and then later the army were the most popular and attractive professions the enrollment of the Institute was small and the course short. But with the coming of the new draft constitution and the passing of the old period in which it was necessary to change legislation frequently to keep pace with rapidly changing conditions the public, spurred on by their newspapers, has turned a much greater interest to law. Pravda writes, "We must raise still higher the authority of the People's Courts; surround with an attention and care the Soviet court and court workers who are carrying out on Bolshevist lines the immense, responsible, and esteemed

2. Law of July 20, 1936, Collection of Laws, U.S.S.R., 1936, I, No. 40, Art. 338.

3. Moscow, Leningrad, Saratov, Kazan, Sverdlovsk, Kharkov, Minsk, Tashkent, the State Universities of Armenia and Georgia, the Baku Social-Economic Institute. See Law of Mar. 5, 1935, Collection of Laws, U.S.S.R., 1935, I, No. 13, Art. 99.

task set them by the party and government--struggle for observance of the law, the declarations of the great proletarian revolution."⁴

The result appears in the growing surge of applications for admission to a course which has grown from its modest beginning of two years duration through a three-year term to this year's four-year program. Under the new law permitting entrance on certificate to those who receive in the middle schools a grade of excellent in all their major courses and not less than good in minor ones, the majority of this year's entering class qualified without the entrance tests. Those who took examinations in Russian, mathematics, physics, chemistry and political education were numerous enough to permit completion of the planned enrollment without taking any one who failed even one examination. The year 1936 witnesses the admission of the best-trained group of students yet to start the study of Soviet law.

In a country where the average age has been continually falling it is not surprising to find that students now are much younger than even a year ago. Figures for last year's entering class showed 9.4% below 20 years of age, 38.8% between 20 and 25, and 51.8% over 25. This season the drop is marked-- there being 25.6% below 20 years of age, 44.6% between 20 and 25, and only 29.8% above 25. At the same time there has been a change in the percentage of students with party or Young Communist

4. See Leading Article, Pravda (1935) No. 305 (6551), Nov. 4, 1935, p. 1

League affiliations, due in part to last winter's decree⁵ forbidding consideration of class origin of students applying for admission to Institutes of higher learning. That this decree is being carefully enforced is shown by the jump in the percentage of non-Party and non-Young Communist League members admitted from 5.5% a year ago to 27% today.

Pedagogical methods have been revolutionized in keeping with the new decree on organization of Institutes of Higher Learning⁶. Former years saw not alone the famous two-hour lectures in vogue even in old Russia, but recitation sessions in which students were pried with questions which amounted to little more than a request for repetition from memory of material mentioned previously in the lecture hall, and in some cases printed in the text book which accompanies the course. Insufficient self-discipline in a student body which had grown up during the uncontrolled days of the Civil Wars had made this form of constant control necessary. But with the coming of a new generation, not only trained but even born since the revolution, rigid control with its resultant curb on initiative is being abandoned. The new government decree limits the number of class hours each Russian six-day week to not more than thirty in the first and second years and not more than 24 for each of the remaining two years. The decree likewise demands that these question sessions be abandoned, leaving in their stead a seminar session in which students in the advanced courses will

5. Law of Dec. 29, 1935, Collection of Laws, U.S.S.R., 1936, I, No. 1,
Art. 2

6. Law of June 23, 1936, Collection of Laws, U.S.S.R., I, No. 34,
Art. 308.

read papers and will study cases appearing in the practice of the day. Here emerges the first signs of a modified case system, of a combination of lecture material and cases to illustrate the points.

Taking into consideration the fact that students come without previous University training and with only an equivalent of Junior High School education, the curriculum leaves the study of special branches of the law to later years and begins with more basic subjects in history and theory. Lenin's admonition to the students in Sverdlovsk University is carefully followed. He urged those first Soviet students "to cast an historical glance even though momentary on the method in which the state and law have arisen and developed."⁷

As a result of this principle the curriculum includes courses in the general theory of law, the history of the state and of law throughout the world and in particular among the peoples of the Soviet Union, with a survey course on the Soviet government apparatus and administrative law. In addition to these first year courses, there are the subjects taught in all Institutes, whatever be their field of specialization: political economy, history of the Communist Party, and philosophy. These two basic groups are filled out by Latin and one of three foreign languages (English, French, or German), together with gymnastics and military science.

The second year sees a continuation of basic courses such as dialectic materialism, Leninism (Marxism as applied

7. July 11, 1919, 24 Lenin, Sochineniya (2nd or 3rd ed., Moscow 1923-35) 364

to present-day conditions) and economic policy (the application of the principles of political economy within the U.S.S.R.). The course on the Soviet government apparatus and administrative law is continued, and to it is added a review of the state structure of bourgeois countries. Courses in the court system of the U.S.S.R., and in the general principles of criminal and civil law start the student on his first pure law study. He continues his foreign language and gymnastics, and also takes a course in statistics.

With the third year the study of law begins in earnest. There are the major courses in civil and economic law, criminal law, civil and criminal procedure, labor law, the constitution of the U.S.S.R. and transport law. With this third year students choose the field in which they intend to specialize--civil or criminal. Those who choose the civil field will later take positions as consultants of Soviet economic organs and corporations, or as labor inspectors. Those who choose the criminal field will be judges, prosecutors, and in some cases members of the Collegium of Defenders (practicing attorneys). Each group does more extensive work in its chosen field than the other, although each group must take the major courses of the other field. Thus the criminalists in addition to civil and criminal law and procedure take courses in criminology, court medicine, court psychiatry and psychology, etc., while the civilists add to their basic courses intensified study in credit law, housing laws, and advanced labor law.

The fourth year brings the course to a close with international public and private law, family law, procedure in the state arbitration tribunals and special advanced courses in the chosen field as well as the fourth year of the chosen foreign language.

But classroom work is not all that is provided by a Soviet Institute, for every higher school is required to include practical work for its students, and the Law Institute is no exception. Formerly the month of June was devoted to this phase of the work. The Institute placed every member of the second and third year classes in a court, administrative bureau, government corporation, or prosecutor's office for actual contact with the work for which the student was preparing. Now this practice will be even more frequent, being arranged to cover the month of December after the examinations at the end of the first term, as well as the month of June. From this practical work the students return full of experience with actual cases to which they point whenever it is possible. Its value is manifest to any observer in making their courses more than theoretical exercises for them.

This practical approach is brought right into the very halls of the Institute. Each year an actual session of the Moscow City Court (with original jurisdiction over very serious criminal offenses) is held in the general assembly room, classes being halted during its two to three day duration. Not only is the offense committed chosen for its instructive content, but judges and prosecutors are selected to give the

young men and women a definite idea of how the courtroom work should be conducted. Soon afterward the chief judge lectures on the procedure of the trial, pointing out defects, bad preparation, and lessons to be learned. Questions from the floor do not spare his own feelings if he has shown favoritism or departed from carefully studied rules.

Professors and Instructors come from their office or commissariat to lecture, often bringing with them the files of cases on which they have just been working. As a result lectures abound with references to concrete problems connected with the course. Once again the practical side is emphasized.

Examinations complete each term, being given in the manner familiar on the Continent. A three-man commission, composed most frequently of a Professor, an Instructor, and a graduate student call the candidates singly, giving them two to four written questions. Under the Commission's eye answers are prepared in outline. With this before him the student starts his explanation, interrupted at every turn by the searching questions of the commission. The whole affair presents much the same picture as the defense of a graduate thesis in America.

In the general campaign for culture constantly being waged throughout the Union, the Institute also plays its part. Optional lectures on classical Russian literature, on the appreciation of music, together with excursions to various museums form part of mid-winter afternoon programs. Students arrange and decorate study rooms to contain pertinent

exhibits and charts concerning the particular field of endeavor. Thus there is a cabinet of civil law, another of criminal law, another of political economy and so on, each one plastered with graphic material picturizing court procedure, criminal statistics, or famous trials.

For the benefit of first year students lectures are given in organization and preparation of work, followed up by hours during which any student may thrash out his problems of organization. This principle of conferences runs through all subjects so that every one may call on the Professor at least twice a month to clarify difficult problems. These sessions do not take the place of reading, but only supplement it. Outlines of each course not only describe the subject matter which must be mastered but include lists of required and optional reading.

In common with all Soviet Institutes the Law Institute pays monthly grants of money to all students, varying both in accordance with the needs due to family status and also in accordance with scholastic average. Here is a definite incentive to improve work added to the usual one of bettering one's chances of promotion on graduation. When school days are over, each student will be assigned to a definite job to which he or she must give his time usually for as long as a stipend has been received⁸. As often as possible he is assigned to an area which he prefers. He is, of course, paid the usual wages

8. See 2 Yurminium (Moscow, 1935) 55

while working on this assigned task. After this term of years the former student is free to choose work as he wishes.

A.Ya.Vishinsky, State Prosecutor for the U.S.S.R., states concretely part of the future task of the Law Institute. He writes, "We must demand that our judges be people with sufficient vital and political preparation. We must set as our task the preparation of our judges in this very direction. There cannot be good courts without good judges."⁹

9. The Problem of Evaluating Evidence in Soviet Criminal Procedure, Sotsialisticheskaya Zakonnost (1936), No.7, p. 21 at p.26

John N.Hazard

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Moscow,USSR.,
October 5,1936.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

La Passionarra-- for the Soviet Union the hero of Spain,typifying as she does the union of the Communist forces in the United Front. Her battle and the struggle of Spain's workers fill our press. Our radio sounds out Madrid's last stand as breakfast and bedtime news. Meetings at the Law Institute collect funds. Seminar groups vie with each other to lead the school in contributions. Two ships sail for Alicante with food provisions for the women and children of Madrid's United Front government. Contributions total 14 million rubles and are still mounting. 2,052,000 lbs. of butter, 5,616,000 lbs.of sugar, 648,000 lbs.of margarine, 250,000 jars of preserves, 1,000 boxes of eggs, 396,000 lbs.of smoked fish--these are a part of the food already sent.

Horror stories abound. This from Pravda: "Taking the village of Iego de los Covalleros and the villages of Uncastillo and Sos, the fascist butchers shot down pregnant women. 'Here is how we prevented new revolutionaries from coming into the world' the bandits cynically announced." And farther on, this: "In the city of Puente Henil a band belonging to General de Llano arrested 50 women,raped many of them, slashed their bodies, tied their hands,and threw them into the river."

Human interest dispatches from Pravda's popular Michael Koltsov remind Soviet readers that no local struggle is raging. Picturing the first woman to receive a package of the Soviet food supplies, he writes her exclamation when he dropped in,"Look,from your country comes butter and chocolate, but from Germany and Italy...bombs!"

Intervention by fascist states does not surprise these people. A year ago they presaged certain intervention if Spain moved further left. Today the papers show their prediction to have been correct. Stories abound with new proof of fascist intervention in the face of the non-interference agreement. From Pravda:--"These bombs are powerful,they were never made in Spain. They are bombs made in Germany,from the factories of 'Rhinemetal' and Krupp." Intervention by allied powers in Russia after the war serves as a prototype,eliminating all speculation for the Russian as to what may be expected when the proletariat takes power.

The position of the Soviet Union is clear--support of the Spanish government, the government of the United Front. Less than a year and a half ago the United Front policy was formulated at the Seventh Comintern Congress. Here is the first great test which cannot be allowed to fail.

What the United Front means to the Soviet Union and to the Comintern was brought out in July, 1935 by Dimitroff, hero of the Reichstag trial and head of the Comintern. "Are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal for the time being.... In the capitalist countries we defend and shall continue to defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties which are being attacked by fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate. We want unity of action by the working class, so that the proletariat may grow strong in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, in order that while defending today its current interests against attacking capital, against fascism, the proletariat may be in a position tomorrow to create the preliminary conditions for its final emancipation."

In consequence those Spaniards who are calling themselves communists in their attack on the Spanish government receive no sympathy from the Soviet government. No stone has been left unturned to make clear to the workers of the world that these deviationists and their brothers in other countries are unprincipled seekers after power, tying up with fascists in Spain and other lands in their terroristic bid for power.

But the Soviet's desire for the success of the Spanish workers does not presage intervention by the Red Army to bring about this emancipation. Only last March in the conversation with Roy Howard, Stalin said, "You see, we Marxists believe that a revolution will take place in other countries. But it will take place only when the revolutionaries in those countries think it possible, or necessary. The export of revolution is nonsense. Every country will make its own revolution if it wants to, and if it does not want to there will be no revolution. For example our country wanted to make a revolution and made it, and now we are building a new, classless society. But to assert that we want to make a revolution in other countries, to interfere in their lives, means saying what is untrue, and what we have never advocated."

This limitation of action, however, does not prevent the Union from following every move at the other end of Europe, and from sending relief, just as America did during the Civil Wars and famine in the Union.

Greetings, JNH.

Prof. Harper arrived promptly on the first and is now settled. He seems even healthier than last summer and in great spirits, with a host of information gathered during his European tour. It is going to be a pleasure to have him to drop in on for the next two months, although this year time is so well filled up that visits will have to be fewer than during his last trip.

We have had our first snow, on the first, and the days are crisp and cold, presaging an early winter. But in this room there is heat, and no dampness, and as a result I have so far staved off those terrible colds I used to have in that first floor room built right over the ground without a cellar.

Everything is going well, although slowly, as usual. I still have so much trouble with this language, and particularly with a new course in family law, which to date has stuck on Roman family law, with millions of new words I never heard before. It is a panic to go to class, but on we go and hope for the best.

Could you have Ben send me three cheap reprints of the American Constitution. The English class wants to read it this winter.

Do drop a line some time and tell me what is new over there, and what you are doing. I am hungry for news. Also do you want Harper and me to follow up that line on the Statistical Institute which we missed last year due to the funeral. He seems to have no instructions from you as to carrying it on.

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 16, 1936

LCO

HAZARD
EMBASSY
MOSCOW

Please follow up statistical institute and any other leads greetings you Harper

Rogers

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

October 20th, 1936.

Mr. John Hazard,
c/o American Consulate,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Dear John:

Ben has sent to you copies of the Constitution.

The annual meeting of the trustees of the Institute was devoted mainly to a consideration of investments and to a discussion of my suggestions, with which you are familiar, for further activities in Russia. Unfortunately, for one reason or other Messrs. Axelson, Brown, Moulton and Bowman were prevented from attending.

In the presidential election there seems to be plenty of evidence that Landon is fading. As one of my friends put it: If Landon were a big league pitcher he would have been taken out in the middle of the second inning as having nothing on the ball. Mr. C. puts it: There are many possible charges against Roosevelt but Landon doesn't appear to be the answer to any of them.

The other day I was at Princeton conferring with Dean Eisenhart about a candidate for our show. I took advantage of being there to visit with Simpson and to inquire about his work. He seems to be happy and the authorities are greatly pleased with his zest, intelligence, ingenuity, and capacity for hard work.

Cordial greetings to you and "Sam" Harper.

WSR/fc

Moscow, USSR.,
October 23, 1936.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

Sport is creeping into the Law Institute. Less than a year ago no one ever thought of much more than the required gymnastic classes which were fitted into the schedule wherever a free two-hour gap appeared. No one ever talked of sport heroes, unless aviators can fall into this class. Volley ball used to interest a mere handful who poked around in the yard back of our building, but it was always a pick-up game among schoolmates and never a contest with an outside team.

That those days are over was never clearer than when the Komsomol organization called a general school meeting to announce that the Law Institute was to take its place in the Moscow campaign to increase sport events among schools. Every student was more than urged to come to the stadium and try his skill in a special track meet, organized on the spur of the moment without previous training. Students were just back from summer vacations at rest homes in the south or work on collective farms throughout the Union, and their health was at its peak.

Times were surprisingly low, such as 11 seconds for the 100 meter dash, not to be compared with our highly trained American college boys, but good for beginners. Distance events brought forth unexpected stamina, and not alone from the men's group, for the girl's division did themselves proud as well. Field events lagged far behind American marks, but in these health and fitness play a small part in comparison with technique and practice. The mere fact that some students knew how to hold a discus and put a shot evidenced some sort of back yard practice, to which few would own up when pressed.

Our wall newspaper carried pictures of the winners and the results, together with pithy cartoons, showing that all the world's humor is not bottled up in the Western hemisphere. Lawyers the world around are apparently cynics about their athletic prowess, and these cartoonists were no exception. But now winter is fast settling down with temperatures falling below centigrade's zero, so that no more track events can be scheduled until spring. Meanwhile volley ball will draw attention together with gymnasium work. The Komsomols demand that a team be organized and that outside games be planned. And then our Director writes in the All-Union Law Journal, Sotsialisticheskaya Zakonnost that we must have greater gymnasium facilities. From the crowded state of our former theolo-

gical school building it would seem that this would have to wait until the construction of the palace which is promised us for the future, a palace of school halls, dormitories, dining halls, and libraries to be put up as a unit on the outskirts of the city, much like the Harvard Business School group on the other side of the Charles.

Before this season sport had taken the form of small long-distance grinds by groups of students. This summer took five of the boys on a bicycle trip from Moscow to the Crimea, well over a thousand miles. Representing officially the Institute as an educational group commissioned to inform the populace along the road of the work of the Institute and the importance of recent decrees, they bicycled to the C.E.C. rest home on the shores of the Black Sea. After ten days of relaxation they were sent home by train to receive 500 rubles each from Commissariat of Justice and Trade Unions, and an engraved watch from the State Prosecutor of the USSR. Most of the group had travelled on skis and by foot to the Donetz Basin last February and had also at that time been premiated for their success. Any one who reads the Soviet press has seen other stories about similar long-distance trips whether they be by kayaks along rivers and canals from Central Asia or Canoes from Siberia. It is the sport of the day.

Nothing brought out so clearly the difference between American interest in sport and that of Soviet students as the absence of comment or interest in the All-Union championship boxing matches of two nights ago. In the colorful setting of the indoor circus building in a ring made to conform to international rules the heavyweight and light-heavyweight champions fought it out in a six-round battle for the "absolute" championship of the Union. A series of preliminaries proved rather uninteresting, except for the fact that the Doctor stopped one bout because of a cut eyelid, and the referee called another when it became clear in the first round that a knockout was in the offing. This may have been an illustration of the non-commercial aspect of Soviet boxing, on which the announcer commented in his speech before the main bout, telling the history of boxing and pointing out how the sport had been abused in America.

The championship bout was clean and active, although lacking the technique seen abroad. But after all boxing is a rather new sport in this country, and was borrowed almost entirely from America as the American terminology shows, with words such as break, round, stop, etc. An enthusiastic public were constantly warned by the announcer not to shout or applaud. Youth and drive conquered over technique and experience, and the crowd went wild as the press photographers rushed into the ring to snap the victor. Thus begins an annual series to "discover the really best boxer of the Union".

All good wishes, JNH

Your letter and cable arrived about the same time. Prof. Harper was about to leave for the Ukraine, and so we are planning the interview when he arrives in November after his trip out to some of the Ukrainian collective farms.

Professor Counts is now in transit to Vladivostock and back. I will try and get ahold of him when he gets back and see what is to be done about study of educational developments. Both of them rather pride themselves on following these themselves, and I am not so certain that we are going to see much effort to provide us with some one who might grow up to replace them, but we shall see. Meanwhile a young Barnard girl has come to study in the Institute of Education, and seems to be having phenomenal success. I do not know what you had in mind, but I rather think that this very busy determined girl is going to cover the field thoroughly.

Funds have been received through London. I am afraid it is to be a bit more expensive than I at first thought, but not much. I think that by December you should have Mr. Barrett send along \$65.00 and then I will inform you how much to send in January for my vacation excursion north to Murmansk or wherever I go. That will have to be paid through Open Road as was my trip last spring.

Everything goes well with me, although there is more than enough to do. I fortunately ^{again} just passed the exam in House and Leasehold Law, the most complicated bit of work I ever did, not having had a first hand familiarity with how the various types of houses are being run. I now hope to put it on paper and send it along when it is finished and typed.

All good wishes to you and John, and let me have another letter before long. Mr. Bess, and many others have asked about you and sent their greetings.

As always,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J.H.', written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline.

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October 29, 1936

LCC
HAZARD
AMCONSULATE
MOSCOW (USSR)

CALL HARPERS ATTENTION SCIENCE CLIPPING MAILED YOU RECENTLY
CENTER PHOTOGRAPH LAST FIGURE TO RIGHT CHASCRANE WOULD WELCOME
INFORMATION ABOUT HIM AND FAMILY STOP PERHAPS HARPER MIGHT TALK
WITH HIM ABOUT ARCTIC STUDY POSSIBILITY GREETINGS

ROGERS

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

November 2nd, 1936.

Mr. John N. Hazard,
American Consulate,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Dear John:

You may recall my speaking to you about a small boy in Leningrad who asked me to send him some American stamps. Enclosed is the card he wrote. Please pass the enclosed stamps on to him with a suitable note. He does not read English.

Mr. and Mrs. Crane left last evening for California, where, as usual, they intend to spend the winter. John now plans to leave here for Italy in two or three weeks.

Major Tolman, editor of the American Bar Association, has been away from his office for several weeks, but I expect action to be taken on your article some time this week.

Cordial greetings to you and "Sam" Harper.

Sincerely yours,

WSR/fc
encls.

Moscow, USSR,
November 5, 1936.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

Huddled around the colony's best radio-- a twenty-four tube giant--most of us tried to catch the results of the elections at home. Six-thirty it was in the morning and still dark, while with you it was only 10.30 the night before. Fate was against us, for Europe had one of its worst storms breaking telephone connections beyond Berlin. Nothing came through until later in the day, and then only a short cable.

The results, at least insofar as their sweeping nature is concerned, have caused great interest over here. Departing from my usual procedure I am going to translate Lapinsky's front page article on the results, so that you may see how the Soviets interpret them. Nothing could better explain the comments on every side today.

"The results may be explained by many both small and large reasons....The Republican Party definitely had nothing with which to lure the broad masses. Their candidate, 'chosen' by Hearst, proved himself to be an unusually grey, colorless figure scarcely suitable for the stormy times of today. The hastily assembled patchy electoral platform of Landon inspired confidence in no one. Even in August his chances somehow seemed to be wobbly. Even in September the managers of finance capital began to look very carefully about, not wishing to spoil their business with the future administration. The leading stock exchange paper, the Wall Street Journal, during the final weeks surprised everyone with its moderate tone about Roosevelt. The meetings of the Bankers' Association carefully avoided raising sharp political questions.

"But the extent of the Roosevelt victory has as its sources a much deeper cause. There is no doubt that Roosevelt had attracted to his side the broad masses--and not alone in the countryside but also in the cities. Not long ago the opinion was current that the agrarian policy of the New Deal and the doubling of agricultural prices would guaranty Roosevelt a majority in the farming states. But it was supposed that the opposition of the business circles would carry along with it the more populated Eastern districts, the industrial states. The results of the elections have not supported this hope. On the contrary, apparently Roosevelt received the great majority of votes in all industrial centers--in New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. He even received not a small support in the State of Delaware, at the home of the Duponts, the Kings of the chemical and military industries, the patrons and allies of Al. Smith. In 1932 Roosevelt came to power on the wave of the masses' broad displeasure, born of the terrible economic crisis. The present election shows that this dissatisfaction and excitement of the masses has not faded, that this continuing

dissatisfaction has not thrown these masses either to the side of the Republican reaction or to the side of the semi-fascist charlatans. The results of the elections have shown also that these displeased masses, in spite of all the disappointments and disillusion of the New Deal still keep their faith in those who now hold power. In Roosevelt and his political party surroundings the masses still continue to see representatives of something 'new' and real as opposed to the ossified and hated Hoover reaction. Only two weeks before the elections the old liberal, Villard, wrote concerning the election campaign, "We are witnesses of the clearest most definite class struggle in our history." This, it goes without saying, is not an accurate formulation. The elections were only a very weak and indirect reflection of the class struggle. But it is true that the division between the Republican and Democratic voters was this time on a somewhat new basis: more definitely than ever before, on one side appeared almost all the business circles and on the other--the masses. This fact cannot help but have results on the whole future political development of the country.

"The victory of Roosevelt-- it is the victory of the moderate liberal, under present conditions inescapably linked with the tendency to extend government interference in all spheres of economic life. From the days of the Civil War in the '60's of the last century the Republican Party has held almost a monopoly of power. Wilson in 1912 was elected president only as a result of a temporary split in the Republican Party. His re-election in 1916 occurred in a special war atmosphere. Therefore the election of Roosevelt a second time shows that there has occurred a basic change in the political life of the huge country. The Grand Old Party--as the Republican Party is called in the United States-- has already lost apparently its ability to live in its old form. The unprecedented economic crisis has dealt it an irreparable blow. It clearly needs some sort of restoration, the exact character of which is not yet clear. It is possible that the future development of the USA will follow along the same line as that of the post-war period in England, where one of the two decisive and traditional bourgeois parties has gone under. It is possible that the broad party of the American bourgeoisie will become the Democratic Party, just as the Conservative Party in England has become the broad party of the bourgeoisie.

"To reiterate, Roosevelt has once again come to the Presidency with the support of the masses. But this also means that these masses will bring pressure to bear on him and expect of him the realization of their hopes and elementary needs. The central fact of American economic, social, and political life is clearly this--that in spite of the extremely substantial betterment of the whole economic situation, the country still has 11 million unemployed. This presents a colossal still unsolved problem. Along with the question of wages and the aggravated increase in

the indices of living costs, the more noticeably do the questions of labor unions and collective contracts force themselves to the front. This question has been directly presented to a decisive section of production in the country--in the steel industry. There can be no doubt that these questions will occupy much space in the policies of the new presidential term. New disillusionments at the end of this term would then make the masses search for some sort of a new "third" party. It is possible that also in this matter the American development would follow closely the English type, where the old liberal party's place as the claimant for power in Parliament was taken by the Labor Party. It goes without saying that a stormier world development, as for example a war's shaking up, would in general change the whole picture.

"In the field of international relations the re-election of Roosevelt means that he will strengthen the policy, denying the possibility for the complete isolation of the USA from the whole foreign world. But Roosevelt must also think of the strength of "Isolationist" tendencies, which are strong enough in his own party and which doubtless find supporters in the partially newly elected Senate and wholly new House."

Greetings to you all,

JNH



16, AVENUE DE BRETEUIL
PARIS (VII^e)

9 November 1936

Mr. Benj. Lloyd David.

Institute of Current World Affairs.

522 Fifth Avenue.

New York.

Dear Sir.

I have just returned to Paris after my Summer's villégiature during which my correspondence is forwarded every evening to me no matter where I may be. By some inadvertence your letter enclosing the correspondence of my highly esteemed friend John Hazard, seems to have slipped under an ^{avalanche} of newspapers etc. which I do not have forwarded when absent from Paris. This will explain the delay in receiving my very sincere thanks and appreciation of this collection of letters which I read at once and enjoyed beyond expression. I thank you for having them copied and forwarded and I hope it may be my privilege to receive more as the occasion may present itself. John and I keep up a desultory correspondence but understanding that he is in Russia for work and cannot have much time for any private correspondence my interest in his work inclines me to wish to learn about his reserches which he cannot have time to write twice. Believe me I appreciate deeply the work you have done in my behalf and I regret I cannot find words to show you my appreciation. Living here for more than fifty years has created an interest in what happens and the cause of it, in all that concerns these European countries. If there is anything in my power or means to serve you, please command me. Again with reiterated thanks for this kindness shown me believe me to be

Yours very truly

Charles Holman-Black

Charles Holman-Black