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NLT

OCTOBER 26th, 1937.

JOHN HAZARD
EMBASSY
MOSCOW (USSR)

DOCUMENT MAILED STOP ASSOCIATION AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS INVITES YOU TALK
 FORTY-FIVE MINUTES ON LEGAL EDUCATION AND ADMINISTRATION JUSTICE AT
 MEETING CHICAGO EVENING DECEMBER THIRTIETH STOP ABOUT THREE HUNDRED LAW
 SCHOOL TEACHERS WILL ATTEND STOP HARPER AND I THINK PARTICIPATION WORTHWHILE
 STOP CABLE REPLY GREETINGS

ROGERS

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WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

(09)

SYMBOLS

LC	Deferred Cablegram
NLT	Cable Night Letter
	Ship Radiogram

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LC INCWA (INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS)=
(522 FIFTH AVE) NYK=

GLAD TO ACCEPT ENJOYING BOYS HALLOWEEN GREETINGS.

Hayward

October 28th, 1937

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison,
Law School,
University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wisconsin.

Dear Dean Garrison:

This is in reply to your letter of October 19th in which you invite Mr. John N. Hazard to give an informal talk on the evening of December 30th before the Association of American Law Schools.

The letter reached me only after some delay as I was away from New York. As soon as I received it, I cabled the substance to Moscow. Now I have a cable from Hazard saying "Glad to Accept."

Should you have any suggestions to make to him in regard to the content of his talk, I recommend that you send them by mail to him in care of the American Embassy, Moscow.

Another matter. At a recent meeting of the trustees of this Institute it was decided that, should sufficiently promising young men be found, studies similar to that made in Russia by Hazard be undertaken in India and Japan. Have you any suggestions to offer?

WSR/fc

Yours sincerely,

Moscow, USSR.,
October 30, 1937.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

Nominations have been the central theme of the past week, filling papers with accounts of meetings gathered to choose a candidate for either the Soviet of the Union or the Soviet of Nationalities. A week ago we were all speculating as to how this important part of the election procedure would be carried out. Now the method is a matter of record.

The electoral law permitted groups of workers or collective farmers as well as Party and trade union organs to nominate candidates. It looked as if candidates would be put forward primarily by the local and central Party organs and by each of the many trade union units. Events of the past week have showed that the guess was wrong, for the nominations are coming from the general meetings in factories, universities, collective farms, machine tractor stations, and army regiments. No candidate is labelled as the nominee of the Party, ~~nor~~ ^{and} ~~are they~~ put forward as the choice of the labor union. Many are, of course, members of the Party, and it is safe to say that all are members of a trade union, but they are standing before the country as the choice of a group whose general interest is not Party or trade union tie but a common place of employment.

Two types of nominations have appeared. There are the meetings which name well-known government leaders; members of the Polit-Bureau or Council of People's Commissars, and then there are the groups which choose outstanding local Stakhanovites or collective farmers. The government leaders first appeared as nominees when the earliest meetings were held in factories in Moscow and Leningrad, each factory choosing a single leader and there being no duplication of names in different districts. One might almost have thought that groups had met previously and arranged matters so that the leaders would be nominated without presenting the names of any two in districts where they would have to run against each other.

Although this may have been the case in the earliest meetings, it is quite certain from later events that other factory, collective farm, and university groups could have had no such predetermined arrangement. These bodies have since been meeting by the scores and their nominations have numbered famous people as well as nationally

unknown local figures. So far 129 groups have nominated Stalin, and the list will undoubtedly stretch on for several days. Other leaders have also been nominated by many groups sitting throughout the country.

Since the electoral law permits a candidate to run in only one district, the extremely popular men and women will have to choose but one district in which they are willing to stand. It is inconceivable that there will not be some sort of clearing house, for it would be obviously poor distribution of candidates if two or more outstanding leaders happened to accept the requests of organs in the same district and thus found themselves in a race against each other for a single seat.

The exact method of nomination had for some time been a matter of speculation. Guesses were based upon the fact that in the spring elections within Komsomol, Trade Union and other groups the secret ballot had been used extensively to elect new governing committees. Although the electoral law set no procedure for nominations for the elections to the Supreme Soviet, it seemed likely that the procedure would follow the lead set by the internal balloting within these organizations. This has not proved to be the case. In large factories and collective farms meetings of all of the workers are called by trade union committees of officers of the collective of the factory or by the executive committee of the collective farm. Members gather in a body to hear speeches made by the Director, or President of the collective farm, or in some cases by the outstanding worker to whom the honor has been given by the committee which called the meeting. This person names a person suggested as worthy of the nomination, and follows with a long speech on his or her merits. The general assembly is asked for a show of hands of those for the choice and those against. Every notice yet to appear in the press has recorded that the vote was unanimous.

The next step is defined nowhere in the electoral law, but it is everywhere being used. The meeting chooses several delegates to be sent to a meeting of representatives of all nominating organs in the electoral district. Names of the persons to perform this function are also presented to the assembly, and the workers or peasants are once again asked to express their wish by a show of hands. A few days later this assembly meets and each delegation presents the name of a candidate chosen by its general meeting. This body then names some 150 to 250 persons entrusted with the task of carrying out pre-election campaigns for the candidates selected.

Lists of candidates drawn up in these district meetings have usually from three to eleven names presented by the various large factories and institutes within the district, as nominees for the seat in the Soviet of the Union, while in most cases only one or two names appear as nominees for the seat in the Soviet of Nationalities. On many of the lists there are the names of several of the leaders followed by the pick of the local talent. In all probability when the leaders make their final choice as to the single district in which they will consent to run, the crossing off of their names will leave an election contest only between locally prominent persons.

When one looks at this procedure, he must always bear in mind the real difficulties faced in working with a people who have never done this sort of thing before. I am constantly finding occasions to recall this caveat. In some conversations I have found people who went to the general meetings and did not even remember who was chosen as the meeting's candidate. Even after all of the educational campaigns they seemed completely oblivious to the fact that this was an event in which they were supposed to take an active part.

Even now much must be done to educate people before the elections on December 12th. This training is needed not for the less-educated alone, for the soviets and electoral commissions have been making blunders in the administration of the rules. These blunders suggest that they are not themselves conversant with the rules. This is not the American people going to the polls in December, and any American who loses sight of this fact is going to have many a surprise as he watches the conduct of these much heralded elections.

Greetings,

JNH

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS

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November 1, 1937.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Rogers:

I'm delighted about Hazard. I have written him pursuant to your suggestion. Could you send me a few biographical items about him to print in our program?

If I get any inspirations about India or China I'll send them along.

Sincerely,



Lloyd K. Garrison

LKG:L

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

JNH...WSR..107

Moscow, USSR.,
November 29, 1937.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

I am enclosing a list of periodicals which I shall need in my work during the coming year. Would you be good enough to have Ben take the list down to Bookniga, Inc. 255 Fifth Avenue, and order them. The cost will be high as it always has been on these, but the material is invaluable if I am to be able to keep up with the profession. I suggest having things sent directly to the Institute in New York, since the changing of an address is tedious, and I shall not be in Chicago throughout all of 1938. Ben can forward the magazines on to me when they come to NY.

I have asked my booksellers in London to send the Institute Kluchevsky's five volume History of Russia. This is the standard pre-rev history, and is now being republished here as the best available text. I thought it a good idea to have it in my library. I have also asked them to send some Eng. translations of the new histories being published here. Please have Ben save them all together with the packages of books mailed from here. By now I have sent more than half, and I hope that you have been getting them all right.

When the boys leave next week, I for one am going to be very sorry to see them go. I have had such good fun with them, and I thank you for bringing them into such close cooperation with me in my work. They are a real addition to the staff.

Things are going well, although ~~they are~~ ^{I am} more than busy with the boys here. I am trying to make the outlines for my lectures and now I shall prepare a talk on Soviet Legal Education for the Dec. 30th meeting. That is one subject I feel confident to talk at any length about. I hope they can stand it as well as I can.

Greetings to you all for Thanksgiving.
It is hard to believe that I shall be there for Christmas.

Yours,

JNH.

November 2, 1937

Dear John:

Your letters up to 105 have been received. All very satisfactory. I am particularly glad that you are feeling so well and that you have taken kindly to Kenneth and Howard.

The annual meeting of the trustees of the Institute went off very well. They are quite willing to back you indefinitely in your work and in any way that seems to give promise. Your achievement is such that they authorized me to find "Hazards" for India and the Far East. But where am I to get 'em?

While in Chicago last week I had a few minutes with Rheinstejn. He and others about the university stand ready to be helpful in every possible way. Harper I saw for a few minutes only, as he was leaving to attend the hundredth anniversary of Muskingum College (New Concord, Ohio) of which his father was the most distinguished alumnus. The old Harper home there has been made into a William Rainey Harper Memorial Museum.

Returning to the trustees meeting, Axelson, Parkin, Moe, Bowman, Clark, John Crane and I, of course, were present. Bickel is in Europe; Brown was attending the Episcopal vention in Cincinnati; Moulton was ill; Mr. Charles Crane is not quite up to sitting in at meetings.

In addition to authorizing further legal studies, the trustees favor a wide range of work in the field of the economic, political and social implications of the physical and biological sciences. The theory being, of course, that basically the sciences, technologies and resulting products (material, mental and emotional) are providing the factors that are changing the world. Law comes in as reflecting the changes and as providing the organizing and administrative elements necessary for social order and advancement. (Pardon these two long and somewhat complicated sentences).

I wonder if the Director of your Institute or even perhaps the Commissar of Justice himself wouldn't like to write a brief statement for you to include in your talk at the meeting of the Association of Law Schools? The leading American teachers of law will be present and it would be a pleasant and useful gesture.

A day or so ago I received a friendly letter from the Ambassador in which he referred to you in a very enthusiastic way.

If they are still about, please tell Kenneth that I now have his letter No. 5 and Howard that I have his No. 4. I should like to have their London address as soon as convenient, so that I may have a letter awaiting them there.

Cordial greetings to the three of you. WSC

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM⁽²³⁾.

SYMBOLS	
LC	Deferred Cablegram
NLT	Cable Night Letter
	Ship Radiogram

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

Hazard

November 6th, 1937

Dean Lloyd K. Garrison,
College of Law,
University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wisconsin.

Dear Dean Garrison:

Manley O. Hudson called my attention to Hazard, who was one of his students. I thereupon wrote Hazard. A copy of his reply is enclosed. It will give you an account of him up to that date.

Upon Hazard's graduation from Harvard Law School and his admission to practice in New York, this Institute agreed to provide the funds necessary to enable him to make a study of Soviet law. The Soviet government granted the necessary permission, and in the fall of 1934 he entered the Moscow Juridical Institute (as I believe it is now called). Last June he was granted a certificate covering his three years' work. In the Institute there are about six hundred students who come from all over the U.S.S.R.

Hazard has prepared several papers on Soviet law, which have been sent to interested people by this Institute. One paper, under the title, Soviet Law: An Introduction, was published in the Columbia Law Review, December, 1936. Several other papers are due to be published in the near future. In addition he has carried on an extensive correspondence with people interested in particular aspects of Soviet law or in legal education.

At present he is at the Institute attending lectures on recent changes and developments in law and rounding out the material he will use in a book on Soviet law which he hopes to complete some time next year.

Hazard seems to possess an almost ideal combination of brains, character and personality. He plays the violin beautifully, an accomplishment that has helped him greatly in music loving Russia.

He is neither conservative nor radical. He has studied Communist philosophy and Soviet law with a view to understanding and has carefully avoided taking either a captious or a eulogistic attitude. Mr. Oumansky, Counselor of the Soviet Embassy, Washington, recently told me that as far as he could learn Hazard has proved to be the most successful foreign student to work in Moscow under the present regime. However that may be, every possible facility has been granted him.

Dean Lloyd K. Garrison - - - - 2.

I believe Hazard is the only foreigner to have taken the regular work of the Law Institute. Several years ago a Rumanian born Jew, who is a naturalized American citizen, attended a number of lectures, was admitted to practice and now lives in Moscow.

In a few days I will send you a copy of an article that Hazard has recently prepared for the American Journal of International Law and a timely memorandum on the procedure to be followed at the national election to be held on December 12th.

WSH/fc
Encls.

Yours sincerely,

Moscow, USSR.,
November 8, 1937.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

Twenty years ago today the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets announced to the peoples of Russia that a new government had been formulated to replace the Tsarist regime ousted the day before. On this anniversary of that first "October" we are being encouraged to look back over the years and take note of the changes.

No one can fail to find progress in many fields. This advance is often the more remarkable because it has been achieved in the face of old retarding national traits which are relics of the past. It is these remains which have dogged the people at every step and tempered their revolution with Russianisms which we of the western world find alternatively refreshingly different and extremely exasperating.

This anniversary is being celebrated in a year which will go down in history as one in which the conflict between the new and the old has been more than usually apparent. On all sides it is visible--really great achievements, noticeable even since my arrival over three years ago, and at the same time the brakes on progress exerted by those centuries of old environment which developed what is often called "human nature" and what the Bolsheviks term the cultural superstructure arising from the historical situation in which old Russia existed for so many centuries.

This year has been one in which from its very beginning the struggle between the new and the old has taken a violent form. It has been a year in which extermination of those opposed to the leadership has held the attention of the newspapers of the world. This cleansing of proletarian society of dangerous elements has slowed down many a plan, and it has reemphasized the fact that the struggle is a very real thing.

Although the movement seems to have resulted in a growing feeling of despair among a few, in most cases the reaction seems to be a growing loyalty which most people experience when the going is a bit harder than usual. When the Russian sees the delay

in an advance which had been so marked up to now, he seems to be developing a feeling that good work is needed now more than ever. This year's demonstration more clearly than before seems to emphasize the fact that every one must turn to and make up for the wrecking which has been uncovered in every branch of work. Whether this wrecking was intentional or the result of classic old-style Russian negligence does not bother critics who realize that both are equally dangerous.

Years before have witnessed gay street decorations--band stands, dancing pavilions, hosts of little stores, fancy symbolical towers and minarets. This year the effect is far different. Only a few central squares have holiday construction work at all. Those that do, center attention upon heroic statues of the leaders and upon the huge placards spelling out the bill of rights of the new constitution. Posters for national defense are on public buildings, and that was the theme of the majority of banners carried by the public which followed the impressive military parade across Red Square.

People know that the old street decorations cost money and lots of it. Some used to think in those years that the outlay was perhaps a bit extravagant for the short-lived pleasure which they provided. This year's comparatively conservative expenditures seem more in keeping with the needs of the situation, and only the children seem to regret that there is no elaborately decorated square for their amusement.

Eyes are turned abroad as the twenty-first year starts. Italy and Japan have loomed as very real menaces during the past year, and Germany has been a thorn ever since Hitler. Those facts will continue to be the guiding consideration in the formulation of any plans. Sometimes one almost gets the impression that the Russians are holding their breath in anticipation of what is to happen.

Grouping all of these factors together one begins to catch the spirit of this twentieth anniversary, which has surprised so many foreigners in being different from what they had expected. It brings rejoicing for the victories of the past two decades, for the tremendous industrialization, for the success of collectivization in agriculture, for the spreading of education into every corner of the Union, for the reaffirmation of the Union as one of the Great Powers in international affairs, and

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for the new constitution--but at the same time there is a tempering of joy in the difficulties of the past year, in the uncovering of people who were trying to undermine the leadership, and there is the haunting anxiety that any power feels, no matter how strong, when it finds itself faced with a possibility of being drawn into a world-wide war.

Perhaps greatest of all elements in the anniversary is the emphasis being layed upon the coming elections, now only a month away. That is the great task of the moment, and even a twentieth anniversary palls in the face of running off an election under rules quite new to the millions who live in this country.

Greetings to you all,

JNH

FAST

DIRECT



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Form 112 TA-705

Moscow, USSR.,
November 15, 1937.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

Professors and students are welcoming this week's decree setting up a new system of payment in higher technical schools and universities.

Under the former law teachers drew checks computed on an hourly basis of classroom work, in accordance with their rank as Professor, Dotsent, Assitant, or Laboratory Supervisor. This meant that a teacher actually had to be giving a lecture or working with students to qualify for payment. As a result men found it necessary to work long hours in active teaching to raise wages to a level high enough to enjoy life. Cases were not infrequent when Professors talked six hours a day, although the usual time was around four hours. To make such a heavy schedule possible Professors taught in several academies and rushed from one end of the town to the other to give their sibject.

All this is now changed by the new decree. Teachers in higher schools will be registered on the staff of only one institute, to which they must give the major part of their time:--defined as an average of five hours a day. Of these five hours only a definite period need be spent in contact with students. Heads of departments must spend from 2 to 2½ hours each day in the classroom; other Professors must spend from 2¼ to 2¾ hours each day, while lower ranking men must be with students not less than 3 hours each day. The remaining time may be spent in supervision of lectures of lower ranking men, in reading examinations, in the preparation of the curriculum, and in research.

In addition to this staff work a teacher is permitted also to work at another institute with the permission of the Committee for Higher Schools. For this additional work he is to be paid in accordance with the amount of additional work done, but not in excess of 50% of his wages at his place of primary employment. Institutes are also permitted to set aside from 10 to 20% of their teaching budget to cover incidental lectures by specialists not on the staff. Payment for this type of work is to be made at a rate of from 15 to 30 rubles per hour depending upon the scholastic rank of the lecturer.

Wages are scaled according to scholastic rank and years of service in that rank. They run from 225 rubles per month for a laboratory assistant with less than five years standing to 1,500 rubles per month for a professor with a degree of Doctor of Science who is serving as the head of a department and who has ranked as a professor for more than ten years. The large mass of men in their thirties who fall into the group of Dotsents will draw from 800 to 1,000 rubles per month depending upon the same factors.

Most professors will continue to work in two institutes or universities, due to the fact that there is still great need of well-trained men to teach in the many higher schools. That will mean that the better men will be earning at least 2,250 rubles per month, supplemented by royalties from their books and occasional lectures which they are invited to give about town at clubs and meetings. The prospect is quite fair as may be seen when it is compared with an average wage for the U.S.S.R. of somewhat over 200 rubles per month. At the same time it is a far cry from the purchasing power of the \$8,000 or \$10,000 which some outstanding professors receive in America's largest universities and technical schools. It is also still out of line with the amount a Stakhanovite worker may earn, but there is this difference in favor of the teacher:--his earning power increases with age and experience.

Students also share in this decree, for the money grants which they have enjoyed since the revolution are to be raised. The new law sets a maximum figure of 130 rubles per month for students in the First Year course and this sum is increased each year to reach a top of 200 rubles per month for the student in the last year (the Fourth or Fifth, whichever it may happen to be in a given school). The old law used to provide that the amount actually paid should be determined by the student's scholarship and his material condition. The new law makes no mention of the latter factor, but does provide that the Director may reduce a stipend up to 50% for work which shows a falling back, and may eliminate it entirely if the student receives grades of "unsatisfactory". Here is a potent tool to quicken the activity of the lagging student. For Moscow and Leningrad the stipend is automatically raised by 10 rubles, presumably because of higher living costs.

Graduate students are to be paid up to 400 rubles per month also depending upon their record. In the Law Institute these students are still few, but advertisements have been widely circulated in the professional press to encourage greater enrollment. Standards are high as only those ranking as "outstanding" in their usual studies may apply.

This decree follows others of the past few weeks which have been raising the wages of poorly paid workers. Taken together these decrees provide an effort to bring some of the lowest groups up closer to higher figures of the Stakhanovite workers. Living costs are still high, and these decrees have provided a happy holiday surprise to people who saw themselves falling behind the levels of workers about whom they have been reading in the papers. Some of the great discrepancy between the high and the low is to be removed:-- and better yet, the average brain worker is going to be able to enjoy more of the things which the skilled manual laborer has been buying for some time.

Greetings to you all,

JNH

I was so glad to get your letter about the annual meeting and to know that the Trustees approved of our plans. I hope that I can do well enough in Chicago to show them that they are not making a mistake. As to the other parts of the globe in which we are going to study--I wish you every success in finding some one. I am sorry my own friends have tied themselves down so that they cannot be considered, but I know you can find plenty more in the places from which we come. As Mamma Roosevelt is reputed to have said when her son's third team was suggested: "Can it be that there are not other able men in America?" That is the way I feel about your search for new talent, and I am sure you are going to run into it. Your choice of Kenneth and Howard was indeed a happy one.

Kenneth and Howard left on the 8th for London, and in consequence I cabled you their address. I think they have planned a very fruitful winter for themselves, and on my way through Paris in December I hope to catch sight of them and find out how things have started. I have taken the initiative of suggesting that the trip across the Channel would be a justifiable Institute Expense. That may be rash, but I want to see how things are started with them and what they are thinking about after their trip here to see me.

I sent off a few days ago a group of charts I have prepared. I hope they come through and that you can find a person to draw them up nearly poster size so that I can get them in December. I also have sent so many books that I am tired of doing them up. But still there seem just as many left to send. I hope that you have been getting them and that your postman and you all are still in a good humor.

I had some time ago written the Commissar of Justice asking for an interview before leaving. Silence has greeted my attempt, and so I doubt whether I can get him to make a statement for Chicago. But I surely can get a greeting from the Director of the Institute.

I shall mail on in a few days an outline of what I think might be said in Chicago. Look it over and see what might be deleted or added, and when I come through in December we can patch it up.

It is reassuring to hear that all in Chicago are waiting for me. I am afraid it will be somewhat like the dangerous position of being too well heralded, but we shall see.

A Happy Thanksgiving

John

Moscow, USSR.,
November 27, 1937.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

Propaganda by moving pictures was one of Lenin's basic methods. Today's leaders have learned their lesson well, and as a result film topics serve almost as a barometer of the temper of the country and the politics of the day. For that reason recent pictures have meant more to many of us than the excellent photography and exciting action which they have presented.

From the great film, Peter I, right on down to the less pretentious pictures the theme is now courage and battle. The Soviet citizen is being treated to a review of the famous military campaigns of history. Scenario writers have dug back into the past to show Peter's struggle with the Swedes. Even more recently they released "Pugachev" telling the story of the peasant uprising along the Volga during the reign of Catherine II. Here the producers give us the fighting of the late eighteenth century at the very time that New Englanders were fighting their Bunker Hill.

Other seemingly numberless pictures show the revolutionary campaigns in Poland and the civil war in the Ukraine, Karelia, Central Asia, and Siberia. Each emphasizes rudimentary tactics, and each makes even more familiar to the Soviet movie fan just how an attack is carried out and what the civilian has to face in the military zone. The next European struggle is not going to fall on a wholly uninformed populace.

Last free day I had a chance to see how well these pictures are teaching their lesson. On one of my farewell walks along the snow-laden banks of the now-empty Moscow-Volga Canal, I came upon a village cut in half by the new waterway. Now that the winter had caused the emptying of the canal, residents of the two halves could meet by walking down one steep bank and up the other.

The day happened to be the occasion of a great fight between the children of the two settlements, each defending its own bank which rose like a mountain above the deep empty canal bed. In his History of Russia the great Kluchevsky long ago described the traditional wall fights which occurred between villages on Maslanitsa. In some areas they lasted until banned by the Bolsheviks, but here near Moscow was a relic of the past reenacted by the youths of today.

For the oncomers the defenders stood ready with piles of good-sized stones. That did not deter the group on the farther bank. After test sallies two of the older boys led the attackers with a swelling cheer, and the line of a hundred or so spread out over a wide front. Stones fell fast as the crowd surged up the embankment, but the scattered approach taught by the movies served its purpose, and we did not see a single boy hit. The defenders held on, but as the wave came closer the timid fell back, leaving only a group of the smallest boys (oddly enough) to pelt rocks in one last show of bravery. Then the rear guard turned also and fled down the back side of the bank to hide behind houses in the village.

One of the luckless leaders of the attackers braved this ambush, and got the treatment all expected. He was pounced upon, dragged upon the ground and kicked while lying there by every one who could get to him. When he finally crawled away we expected to see a wreck, but winter coat and fur hat had apparently dulled the shocks.

The barrage of stones from the attackers kept up, thumping the roofs of the houses, but finally the expected happened as one missile crashed through a window. Without a word the crowd melted away as the housewife appeared on her porch with the real Russian woman's menacing look. Onlookers howled to see one woman accomplish what a hundred husky boys could not, and we walked on once again realizing that the Russian woman, like her sisters in France run the countryside. It was one of my last lessons in the two weeks which remain to me on this side.

Greetings to you all,

JNH

JNH...WSR..111

Moscow, USSR.,
December 1, 1937.

Dear Mr. Rogers;

With this letter I conclude a series which has wandered through three and a half eventful years. I cannot restrain myself from looking backward as the end of this field work comes in sight---to that first contact with the Soviet Union when I boarded one of the Soviet boats in the Thames and spent the following two weeks floating about the North Sea and the Baltic while our engines were overhauled. It was there that we received the news of the Soviet Union's entry into the League of Nations. It was there that Henri Barbusse, whose funeral I attended here two years later, made his speech on the meaning of that historic event for the League and for the world.

My first months in this country were those of the fall of 1934 when every one thought that the chief struggles of the Revolution had been won, that enemies had been completely routed, and that straight sailing lay ahead. Party leaders officially rejoiced at the burying of the hatchet and the development of a unity unparalleled during the first seventeen years of the Revolution. Then, just three years ago today, came the shot which can justly be called a shot heard round the world. Sergei Kirov fell at the hand of an assassin's bullet. Immediate decrees reinstated much of the regime of military communism which had been left so far behind. Things began to change.

From that moment to this change has gone on, keeping pace with the international situation. The entrance into the League did not prove enough to slow down Germany and Japan. To that nucleus have been added Italy and Poland. Advances into Ethiopia, China and Spain have showed that the Fascist Powers meant more than threats. The Soviet Union began playing a greater and greater part in world affairs until every one looks in the paper to see what the Foreign Commissar has said in his cryptic summary of the last international conference.

Meanwhile events have moved fast within this country. Economically the last vestiges of the first stage of the New Economic Policy have been wiped out. Socialism has come. Private enterprise has been reduced to the cobbler kneeling on the village corner and the cap maker huddled over his sewing machine in the hallway of Moscow's oldest apartment building. With socialism the Stalin Constitution has appeared. For the first time every one in the country is having a chance to cast a ballot. To be sure the elections are quite different from what the American lawyer thinks of when he hears the word, but there is a nucleus here for future development. How much of the present-day character of these events depends upon the tenseness of the European situation one can only guess.

There can be no denying that every policy put forward today takes into consideration the uncovering of persons who have not been in harmony with the plans of the administration.

My last few days on this side coincide with the final days of the election campaign. The country is being excited more than at any time since my arrival. Enemies and doubtful persons are being vigorously suppressed. Everything is being put in order for what may be coming from abroad. It is the clearing of the decks for battle when much is discarded which would be preserved in ordinary conditions.

All this I am leaving with a realization of the privilege which has been mine. You have had one hundred and eleven letters reflecting my interest and any changes which may have occurred in myself. Those latter I cannot see very well until I get back into the old stamping grounds where they will stand out in bolder relief. I am glad now to be homeward bound; to have a look at America again; and to test the thesis I have studied on this side. They do not teach a cheerful prospect for America over here, but we shall see. To give you an idea of what the Russians think one faces in going back to America right now I attach a translation of an article from Pravda. It is by the great Varga, economist for the Comintern, and in its pages one may see ^{the} type of analysis one is supposed to make when he has had a Marxian training.

Greetings to you all until I see you on the Avenue. I shall be in on the 22nd when the Manhattan comes up the Bay.

JNH.