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To: S/P - Mr. Joyce

June 7, 1949

From: ME - Mr. Hooker

Subject:

It is suggested that the author of the memorandum dated May 31, 1949 on "The Communist University of the Working People of the East," might give enlightening information on the following subjects:

1. The whole complex of relations between the Communist Party and the Soviet peoples. This would include a discussion of the official attitude of the Party toward the non-member masses, the actual attitudes in practice, and anything that can be said about inner party relationships. It would cover the way in which the people react to the Party and its various pressures, and their attitude toward it. It would discuss the extent to which the Party membership believes its own dogma, whether or not the fervor of the early days is waxing or waning and what trends are evident.
2. The peoples' reaction to the German invasion, the extent to which the Germans were at first regarded as liberators and how the reactions of the Soviet peoples to them changed during the course of the war. This discussion should include an analysis of how Russian patriotism actually manifested itself during the war, i.e., to what extent it was love of the soil, or love of the country as distinguished from the regime or loyalty to the regime or the ideology for which it stands, and how the impact of the invasion and Nazi policies affected it.
3. It would be extremely valuable to have as detailed a discussion as possible of how, in the event of a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, the United States could most effectively wage a war of liberation on behalf of the Soviet peoples and bring them into alliance with us to that end.
4. It would also be valuable to have his ideas as to what policies would be necessary and practicable to win the peace after the end of a successful war of liberation, to what extent to deal with the regime, how far to leave the future pattern to the people themselves, how far to go to prevent chaos while the future pattern is working itself out, etc.
5. It would be very valuable to have a more extended discussion of how and the extent to which the oppressive measures of the regime affect: (a) the attitude of the educated people and of the masses toward the regime and toward the liberal values peculiar to western European civilization and the effect of these imponderables on Soviet ability to wage war, and (b) the development of the material power of the Soviet Union and its material ability to wage war. This discussion might well consider both the situation as it exists today and as it revealed itself during the course of the recent war.
6. It has been said that the Communist creed is "in the last analysis, a body of ideas which has filled the vacuum created by the breakdown of organized religion as a result of the increasing secularization of thought during the last three centuries, and it can only be combated by opposing to it a conception of life based upon wholly different principles." It

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would be valuable to have the author's comments on this statement and the extent to which he believes that the values for which the West stands would constitute for the Soviet peoples an effective counter-affirmation to the Communist creed and to what extent some new affirmation may be necessary, and what he thinks it should be.

Under all the above topics, wherever there are any significant distinctions between different nationalities or regions of the Soviet Union, it would of course be desirable to have this factor and the nature of the differences brought out.

I believe that the very fact that the author has been wholly apolitical all his life, combined with his other qualifications, should enable him to offer more useful comments on these political questions than if he had held strong political views.

Robert G. Hooker, Jr.

DPF