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4 October 1974

XAA2-35686

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Former Records of Ray Murphy

1. The attached documents are part of a large collection of records held by Ray Murphy during his tenure as an official of the Department of State. He transferred all of his records to CIA upon his retirement in the mid-1960's. The documents of that collection which did not meet the retention criteria of the DDO or the Office of Security were destroyed. While those which were of utility have been retained and accessioned as appropriate to the DDO records system.

2. The attached records concern
Harold ISAACS
who is the subject of 201-0018446 and should be classified to that file.

M. Gaul Hartman

M. Paul Hartma C/CIRA/RS

Attachment

P.III | P.IIII | P.III | P.IIII | P.III | P.IIII | P.III | P.IIII | P.IIII | P.III | P

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MEY WARRES, NOW York City, MOUPGE: Sotober 22, 1935 - Page 12

EVADPE'S CRISTS; JAPAN PREPARES

By Hensu Chen

*** There are numerous American journalists of different political color and shades of opinion who are "cooperating" in this way with Japanese imperialism, but whoever has followed the writings of harold Isaaca, Alexander Euchmen. Frank Class and Wilbur Burton in The China Press, The China Meekly Roview, Meia, Pacific Affeirs, New International, etc., realizes that these American Trotakyiat journalists are the most victous and most daggerous of the whole lot of reactionary journalists.

diding behind a barrage of Marxist phrasoology (which nous of them has yet learned to manipulate with facility), these people are energetically conducting a campaign of lies against the Communist International, the Chinese Communist Forty, the Boviet Union, the Chinese Boviets and the Chicese Hed Army, a campaign which sime to undermine the confidence of the outside world in the Chinese Loviet movement and the Red Army.

HARreld Janaes

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TROTZKYITE BOOK MOURNS OVER CHINESE REVOLUTION

THE TRACEDY OF THE CITE of devious Trotskytte polemics, NESE REVOLUTION. By Isaacs book has been reissued. Harold D. Issaes, Stanford Uni-parity to east in on the hate-China

anti-Chinese books these days at Isaacs now says he no longer a pace which bids to match the loves Trotsky, whose introduction anti-Soviet torant. All the 'old China hands' who served Western imperialism as banker, soldier, spy, or whatever in the Orient are now busy at the typewriter, engaged in profitable vilification of 450, 100,000 people because they decided to take their fate in their own hands and build for themselves.

But typical of his Trotskyite westeling is Isaacs' attack on the Chinese Communists of the 1920's, first because they supported Chiang Kai-shek despite the lact that he was to become the butcher of the Chinese revolution, and see-

One book which deserves, even and because they allegedly cringed under the cynical and opportunist before Chiang when he turned an ireign of capitalism, some special prize for adaptability is Harold D. Isaacs. Tragedy, of the Chinese This nonsense, which would rule!

prize for adaptability is Harold D. Isaacs. Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. This nonsense, which would rule out every political alliance in like avowedly Trotskylte tract (complete with introduction by Trotskyl is ironic in view of the fact that calling the defeat of the Chinese Chinese workers in 1927 a betraval by discredited gangster save only in Stalin and the Chinese Communists, the same book emerges now, tors.

Meanwhile the Chinese people of the very same Chinese workers will go about their business building socialism, unconcerned by

By ROBERT FRIEDMAN
The presses are spewing forth masses.

anti-Chinese books these devs at a pace which bids to match the

of the Chinese revolution, and sec-

ing socialism, unconcerned by leaves tears for the tragedy of Eilled with the murky intricacies 1927 or 1951.

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Enclosure No. 1 To Der toh No. 3317

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10. 3317 KE

1 Ta Yong Yi Ping Hutung Feiping, China. Oct. 5, 1934.

Hr. T. A. Bisson 136 Claremont Avenue Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bisson:

I have seen the correspondence exchanged between Mr. Class and yourself regarding the contributions you collected for the China Forum. A draft for the sum in full will be sent to you this week.

I do not know in the name of whom or what Miss Smedley speaks of the China Forum. Since she was not in China at the time the Forum Suspended, nor has she corresponded with me on the subject, I consider it necessary to place before you and the other contributors an account of the circumstances in which the Forum ceased publication. Since you apparently gathered the contributors together in a meeting to hear what Miss Smedley had to say, I would appreciate it deeply if you would gather them once more to hear my account. The enclosed is a copy of a letter sent by me last May to the Chinese Communist Party. It has been published in China in a Chinese translation and copies have been sent abroad but has not been published in English as far as I know. I do not know the names of the people who were good enough to contribute to the Forum but their interest in the matter warrants placing before them the story of what happened to the magazine. I trust, out of simple fairness to me, you will be good enough to give them this opportunity.

I greatly regret any inconvenience or embarrassment to which you have been put in this matter. I do hope, however, that my letter will enlighten you and your friends and enable you to appreciate the difficulties which have arisen. I know of no project to revive the China Forum at the present time. Should such occur, the resultant publication would be of a considerably different character from the one I edited, as will be obvious from the facts given in my letter to the C. P. I think people who are interested in supporting the revolutionary movement here should know these facts.

Once again, I appreciate all the trouble you have gone to in this matter.

Did you ever, incidentally, receive the article "Fascism in China" and the newsletter which I mailed to July 13 last?

Yours sincerely,

enol.

(Harold R. Isaaca)

(Copied by RD)

RECOLUTE.

H/A ATT 13 TO XAA2-35636

Letter of H. R. Lenace to the C.C.P. concern-

To the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

The two-year period of my extra-organizational collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party has come to an end and the China Forum which I founded and edited during that time has been forced to suspend publication. In the interest of our whole movement as well as in my personal interest; I consider it necessary to record here and publish the history of the China Forum and the circumstances of its suspension. You refused me the opportunity to lay the matter before the membership of the party even when I offered to do so in your own organs and not through the columns of the Forum. When, wrongly, I permitted the Forum to go down in silence, you turned around and in your organs and near organs in China and abroad you proceeded with the usual slanders of "betrayer" and "counter-revolutionary". In so doing you didn't have the courage or the simple honesty to state that you pre-sented the China Forum with an ultimatum and forced its suspension because in reply its editor raised questions which are being placed before the whole movement today by the International Left Opposition. Nor did you state that you deliterately smashed the Forum for this reason despite my repeated and extended offers to continue publication as before on a straight anti-Kuomintang, antiimperialist basis, leaving these various problems to be thrashed out first privately among ourselves. In other words, you deliberately forced suspension of the China Forum despite the fact, on your own admission, that its loss was a serious plow to the revolutionary movement in China, that it meant the disappearance of an organ which for two years you had considered an extremely valuable instrument in the hands of the movement. Here, as in the broader issues which led to our differences, your blind adherence to false policies was once more demonstrative of your readiness to place your factional interests above the interests of the Chinese Revolution.

In going back over the history of the Forum, I think the victous character of your action becomes even more evident when I start with the fact that from beginning to end I functioned not as a member of the party but as a willing sympathizer who was prepared to throw all his energies into a job he saw he could do - edit and publish an organ in China which could help mobilize the forces of this country for struggle against the Kuomintang and the imperialists by exposing the regime of terror and privation which they have in common imposed upon the masses of the Chinese people. Permit me to recall at this point that I never accepted any personal remuneration for time or labor. You gave the Forum financial aid but I never received a dollar from you that was not put into the paper. I refused your offers of compensation and earned my living elsewhere. Your only claim on me was my full-hearted loyalty to the Communist ideal and

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Bur Hickory

our common dedication to the struggle meanet a regime of hate and misery and oppression. In the end you for-feited this claim by ceasing any longer to be in my eyes honest or effective leaders of this struggle.

Although you helped the Forum financially, the part you played in building it up from the day it started in January, 1932, to the day of its last appearance in January 1934, was insignificant. My repeated requests for cooperation in matters of circulation and material for publication ment largely unsatisfied throughout that time. You never supplied me with the reports I so frequently and urgently sought, particularly on trade unione, strike struggles, the Red Armies, the Red districts, etc. Svery thing the Forum did and became was the fruit of the work of a tiny group of devoted collaborators (the most important of whom had no connection with you whatever) and myself who had to depend almost entirely on our own resources for everything we did and published. At every crisis in the Forum's existence, when it was banned by the French authorities in Shanghai at the very outset; when it was bounded and persecuted by the American and Chinese authorities in the summer of 1932, when through British police pressure it was thrown out of every available printing ship in the city; when the pseudo-Fascist Blue Shirts again and again threatened the printing plant which I built up partially through personally contracted loans - it was invariably through my own initiative, with the help of the little Forum staff, that we pulled ourselves up by the bootstraus every time and carried on to a point in January this year where the Forum was flourishing and growing daily in circulation, prestige, and influence despite the many formidable obstacles in its way. The formation of the China Forum Readers Association, which in the brief space of three months spread to eleven cities in five provinces, developing into a mighty potential weapon for the revolutionary movement, was the product of spontaneous action on the part of the Forum's readers, later sponsored and led by the paper itself. All these were the Forum's own achievements, not yours. By your arbitrary and criminal action you shattered them in the full stride of their growth. Because to my bitter disappointment I had not nor could I secure the resources to carry on myself - owing largely to the difficult conditions of work and the impossibility of getting revenue from the paper itself - all that had been achieved and was to be achieved was ground into the dust.

II.

From almost the very beginning of my active work - which I date from the time I began reporting events in China in a Communist way - a number of questions presented themselves to me in increasingly forcible form. These arose originally from my discovery of the gross distortions and exaggerations which I found to be characteristic of Communist propaganda in China and abroad. I define propaganda as the skilful, clear, accurate and wholly truthful reporting of the facts linked to an incisive,

purposive interpretation and a plan of action for dealing with the facts in a revolutionary way. I learned this first the trie and work of Lenin and his Bolshevik comrades who taught us that the truth comes from the masses themselves and that only disaster can result from telling them lies. I have never learned to the contrary that it was my revolutionary duty to work in any other way although I soon found that the present day Communist Party press makes a practice of distinguishing between propaganda and truth.

Examples of exaggration and distortion most striking to me were naturally those which applied to China. because here I could check allegations with known facts. I first wrote these down to the ignorance or incapacity of individuals. I felt that Communist editors abroad would publish accurate facts about China if they could Accordingly with a friend I tried to set up. get them. an independent mail news service and sent weekly bulleting to papers all over the world giving brief, sharp, factual accounts of what was going on. This was in the fall of 1931 after my return from the area of the great Central China floods of that summer. I scarcely understood then why this service failed to secure any response from the Communist press abroad. After about three months I had to suspend it for lack of support. It simply didn't get published except in a few organs which were not official Communist Party papers, including the New York Militant.

-It wasn't long before I began to perceive, with a deeper study of international events and the history of the Chinese Revolution, that a consistent thread ran through the distortions and exaggerations which I found not only in brief casual reports of current events but in the solemn pronunciamentoes made by delegates before plenums of the S.C.C.I. I discovered that these departures from the truth were made necessary by the official premise that ever since the catastrophe of 1927 a mighty, upsurging revolutionary movement has been marching forward in China to the very brink of seizure of power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. I discovered that these exaggerations were necessary because the premise was false and along with it all the basic tenets of the policies being pursued by the Communist International and the Communist Party in China. I cannot begin here to give a summary of some of these distortions (which I verbally cited to you by the dozen) ranging from particular incidents (the wilfully false picture given of the cotton mill strike in Shanghai in January, 1933, even to the point of transposing it to February to heighten the impression given of the workers' role in the Shanghai war) to high flown generalizations like the statement recently made before the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. that the C.C.P. has won over the majority of the Chinese working class and the peasantry.

In denying the factual truth of this premise, whence flows the whole policy of the Communist Party in China, I deprecate not a whit the magnificent militancy and courage of Chinese workers, striking again and again and fighting against terrific odds in defense of their very lives; nor the neroic struggles waged by peasants all over the country; nor the fight of the Red Armies against the Kuomintang, I merely respect the cold, indisputable fact; that these struggles are defensive, not offensive, that they are isolated, desperate and unorganized. With very few exceptions - a few small strikes here and there and the larger exception of the Red Army - they are without organized revolutionary leadership. Moreover the development of this leadership, the task of the C.P., is proceeding at a tragically retarded pace owing to the false policies and inept tactics of the party.

In denying the presence of a mighty revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a vaet, organised march toward the seizure of power) I respect facts made still clearer perhaps when compared to the facts and figures of the monster mass movements of the 1925-27 period. The tragic errors of the Communist leadership in 1927 were primarily responsible for the decapitation of that great movement and because no lessons have been drawn from those events to this very day, these errors, monstrously accumulated, are still reeponsible for the tragedies of today. But for the purpose of our comparison here, let us for example take the single fact that in 1926 in Greater Shanghai there were 257 In 1932 there were 82. Let us remember that on the eve of the workers' seisure of power in Shanghai in March, 1927, there were more than 800,000 porkers, handicraftemen and potty traders out on the streets fighting with arms in hands for demands of a far-reaching political character. A close check for the entire country in the latter half of 1933 showed me that less than onethirtieth of that number were engaged in strikes and other disputes during any given month and that almost invariably the demands were defensive demands against wage outs and lockouts. Moreover, the lack of cohesive leadership - often in departments of the same factory or in one or more of a group of factories - or even sometimes lack of even the most elementary organization - has in almost every case led to deadening failure and relatively easy betrayal by the yellow "labor leaders" and "mediators" of the Ruomintang. In 1925 the shooting of thirteen students by British police in hanghai was the touch-off for a general strike which paralyzed the city and which was seconded by wast sympathy strikes which broke like a series of tidal waves over the entire country. In January, 1932, when the Japanese imperialists used the Shanghai International Settlement as a base for operations which cost the lives of tens of thousands of Chinese, not a single strike interrupted the normal course of the public or other services in that settlement. In the factories there were no strikes but a large scale lockout to which the overwhelming majority of Shanghai's workers submitted without protest.

The dogged, persistent struggle carried on by small sections of the rank and file workers in isolated instances in recent years is tribute to the magnificent fibre of

It is not evidence that a revolutionary Chinese workers. seizure of power is on the order of the day. It is evidence, along with the heroic sacrifices of thousands who have lost lives and liberty in Chinese revolutionary struggle during the last seven years of Kuomintang reaction, that it is possible to fight the monstrous white terror which Chinese Communists frequently cite as a reason for the insufficiency of their work. Yet 1t 18 largely because this terror has not been fought effectively that the Kuomintang regime, despite the fact that it is rotting and crumbling, can still keep the lid down on the boiling, simmering hatred of the people it rules. Unless the martyrdom of thousands of China's finest workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals is to be in vain. we must turn resolutely away from the folly of calling to insurrection when what is needed is painstaking education, organization and the sponsorship of day-to-day struggles of the masses for democratic demands, the slow building up of a party and mass organizations and a movement which will be able to command the forces capable of carrying out an insurrection.

In the case of the widespread but isolated and individual cases of peasant uprisings, and this includes the Red Armies in Kiangsi, these struggles await the leadership of a strong working class movement before they can have a successful issue. The Red Armies in their restricted and surrounded areas and with their meagre resources have fought heroically against the Kuomintang attacks upon them. But until the Kuomintang is shaken from its bulwarks in the imperialist controlled working class centres, their prospect of revolutionary triumph remains necessarily dim. No revolutionary purpose is served by taking refuge in the fiction that these armies have proletarian leadership because individual workers, undoubtedly leaders of superior quality and courage, have been torn from their factories and their fellow-workers and sent down to occupy key positions in the Red Army districts and in the Red Armies themselves. Indeed, common practice of extracting the most conscious and progressive working class elements from their working class environment and sending them down to the Red districts 18 a good index to the oriminal transposition of emphasis which has helped paralyze the working class movement in the cities. If the White Terror doesn't carry off the workers' leaders as they arise, the C.P. does and has done so in hundreds of cases. This helps in no small part to explain why it has also been impossible to mobilize a genuine mass anti-Japanese movement in the fact of military aggression and why the White Terror of the Kuomintang has succeeded, by filling mass graves and innumerable prisons with the martyred dead and living, in downing the anti-imperialist movement or efforts toward the organization of such a movement and paving the way for the ever increasing encroachments of the imperialists. The party has not yet gripped and directed the deep and bitter and often inarticulate hatred of the masses of the people for their oppressors and this includes large sections of the lower netty bourgeoisie who could be won by successful mass pressure from below. This is because the

Party has failed to translate the realities of everyday events into its program and tactics.

I cannot here go into the many-faceted problems and issues which flow from these facts with regard to the policies and tactics of the Chinese revolutionary movement Nor extending to the international scene need I go into the terrific effects of the German catastrophe nor the storm of questions which has been directed at the C.I. leadership whose responsibility in the disaster has become nakedly clear to unnumbered Communists and Communist sympathizers the world over. Nor into the whole set of implications which arise from the policies of the C.I. with particular reference to the late developments in Soviet foreign policy, the Litvinov-Roosevelt agreement, the forthcoming mooted entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations and in a smaller but equally characteristic way, the forthcoming association of the U.S.S.R. with the Institute of Pacific Relations which hopes to hold its next talkfest in Mosocw. These problems, with their many specific links to the Chinese questions, were the basic questions over which I soon began to take issue with the official views of the Party and the International.

III.

But precisely because at all costs I desired to carry on the Forum's open struggle against the common enemy - against the Kuomintang and the imperialists - I sedulously avoided bringing these issues into the columns of the paper, increasingly against my better judgment. I leaned over far backward in this respect. This expressed itself in many of the current issues with which we had to deal.

I ask you to recall the whole unhill fight which the Forum waged on behalf of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg in the spring and summer of 1932 during which time I reveatedly warned against the emphasis which was being placed on the *legal aspects of the case and the anegotiations with the Kuomintang to the detriment of mass pressure and the capitalization of the case for political nurposes. You paid lip service to the need for mass pressure - particularly here in China - but in fact the "legalities" and futile negotiations remained the major pillars of the defense. Until in the very end I finally rebelled, I wasn't even permitted to give Ruege his honourable and rightful title - secretary of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secre-Yet, although I felt the struggle for the Rueggs was being seriously handicapped by the tactics being pursued, I carried on the fight with all the energy at my command and you will recall that it was I who oreated the local defense committee and was chiefly responsible for the widespread press propaganda and the considerable sympathy which we aroused. Yet the strictly non-political attitude which Ruegg was forced to assume at the trial (in contrast to the highly political at itude of his prosecutors) was in my opinion one of the major reasons

for the fate to which he and his wife were condemned.

I ask you to recall the whole period of the organization and activities of the China-League for Civil Rights, from December, 1932, to June, 1933, in which I took an active part. I gave full play to this hybrid League and its work without once publishing the basic criticisms which I often voiced to you and which in the end were wholly confirmed by what happened after the Kuomintang murdered Yang Chien in June that year.

I ask you to recall the views I set forth in August and Sectember, 1933, on the subject of the "anti-War Congress" which at your specific request I did not publish. Instead, to my regret, I published the foul rot of Markey & Co., without freely giving play to the true facts about that farcical junket which had convinced me that the policies which gave it birth do not one single whit advance the international struggle against imperialist war.

On one occasion - and this at least I can take comfort in - I passively resisted when you requested me to write and publish a slanderous attack on Chen-Tu-haiu when he was condemned to 13 years imprisonment by the Kuomintang. Your request was specific. I was not to deal with the issues which had brought Chen Tu-haiu from being the leader of the C.P. in 1937 to being leader of the Chinese Opposition in 1933. I was only to string together a wile series of labels in an effort to explain why the Kuomintang even imprisoned the leader of the Left Opposition. As you know, that attack was never written or published.

Again in December, 1933, upon my return from Fukien you specifically demanded that I set aside the results of my own personal investigations in Foothow in order to write on your behalf (but over my signature!) an utterly baseless and slanderous attack on the Left Opposition. You will recall that you charged at that time that the "Trotskyists" were prominently identified with the new government set up in Fukien by Chen Ming-shu and Teal You lumped the Left Opposition with the Third Party and the so-called Social Democrats among the petty bourgeois satellites of the Fukien militarists. It was as much to satisfy myself on this very point as to perform a mission for you that I went down to Foodhow and spont two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of people prominently concerned that the Left Opposition were stoutly and clearly opposed to the Foochaw I haven't place here to discuss the relations of regime. the C.P. to the short-lived Fukien Government or the character of the "negotiations" which were going on down there. The important thing here is that on my return you demanded that I write slanders which flew in the face of everything I myself had learned. It is interesting, as a sidelight on your methods in factional strife as you conceive it, that your representative in Foodhow sent back a report. through me, ironically enough, that one of the most prominent of the youthful pseudo-radicals in Foochow, Bu

Chi-yuen to be exact, was a leading "Trotskyist". It so happened that I had not all had several lengthy interviews with Mu and by the time I left Foothow I understood his position and his personality exceedingly well. He was as much a Trotskyist as Mei Lan-fang is! Yet you actually demanded that I ignore my own knowledge of the man and in my article on Fukien set him down as a "Trotskyist". I was faced on the one hand by your demands that I write falsehoods to suit your policies and on the other by my deep desire to set forth the actual facts about the Opposition's attitude towards the Fukien regime. But once more, to preserve the shreds of our relationship, I drove a middle course and did neither, leaving the whole question out of my article.

Despite the facts that these issues weighed more and more heavily upon me, despite the fact that events in China and abroad were pressing themselves more and more imperatively on the concerns of every sincere revolutionary, I still tried to keep the Forum balanced on its ribbon-like path, concentrating on the anti-Kuomintang, anti-imperialist struggle, and in so doing fulfilling at least a partial function as a revolutionary organ. deeply felt, however, that I was betraying my readers by avoiding these issues. How could I write of Germany and avoid all the implications of that disaster? How could I write of America's recognition of the U.S.S.R. and still fail to say that the Communist International had virtually been murdered at Washington? How could I warn against the dangers of imperialist intervention in the U.S.S.R. and still not point out that Soviet foreign policy was in fact daily heightening the danger of such intervention? Yet I somehow did so and sought in whatever way possible to retain some basis for our continued collaboration.

IV.

Nevertheless, abruptly in January of this year you forced an ultimatum upon me and subsequently forced the break in our relationship because I could not and would not, at your demand, devote the China Forum to policies which I could not and do not believe compatible with the interests of the Chinese Revolution and the international proletarian revolution. I could not, at your demand, set aside the convictions to which I had literally been driven by the stinging lash of catastrophic events in China, Germany and the world over. Particularly my deep interest in Chinese events during the last three years made it impossible for me, finally, to give active support to policies and tactics whose disastrous effects were being a thousandfold confirmed for me by the tragic events of every swiftly-passing day. I could not ignore questions which strike at the roots of our work and the whole structure of our hopes for a revolutionary future.

Despite the fact that these questions are rocking the entire International today, you denied my right to

raise them in print. You demanded more. You demanded that I attack anybody who did so - primarily the people you call "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" - the only people who are facing these problems today in a fearless, revolutionary way. You demanded that the China Forum become a stereotype for the volicies and vulgar factional slanders which I could neither then nor now be party In reply to my questions on China you simply quoted back to me the lies and half-lies I've been so used to You even declared: "For propareading in Inprecorr. ganda purposes a certain amount of exaggeration is neces-sary... and went on amazingly to say: "but we know the true facts and we base our policies on them, not on these exaggerations! A new slant on modern-day C.I. tactios! Facts, you said, are curious things. They have to be turned around and around and around and examined closely until their true nature becomes apparent. The trouble 18 you turn them so far and so quickly that they turn into something like a dizzily turning top of fancy - or at best wish - fulfilling misrepresentations.

To my questions on Germany you quoted Heckert,
Piatniteky, and the E.C.C.I.'s famour resolution declaring that the collapse of the German party and the slaughter
of the German workers were based on the past, present and
future correct policies of the C.P.G.! You declared I had
no right to offer critical comment on the dangerously
opportunistic foreign and domestic policies of the U.S.S.R.,
most notably on the entry of the U.S.S.R. on a straight
nationalist basis into the disgusting corridors of imperialist intrigue. To the contrary, I was to lovingly
fawningly fondle and hail the policies which have meant
disaster in China, Germany and elsewhere and are rapidly
leading the U.S.S.R. into the vacuum of nationalist isolation from the world wide proletarian movement. This I
was to do, to begin with, by publishing Stalin's face on
the front page and columns of the customary panegyrics
to his infallibility. Above all and before all, I was to
take up cudgels against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism".
That was to be the main point of my reformation - to raise
no questions myself and slander anybody else who did so.

In reply to your demand that I submit to an editorial board in order that these editorial policies should be effectively put into practice, I offered (1) to continue publication strictly as before, meanwhile arguing out my differences with you in discussions on the side: (2) to throw the columns of the Forum open to a general discussion of all basic revolutionary question, with free play to unorthodox as well as orthodox views. If your views were correct, I argued, it would be a distinct advantage to you to have such an opportunity to display their brilliance alongside the puny efforts of your critics; (3) to publish orthodox news and views but to reserve for myself the right to comment and criticise.

These repeated offers you repeatedly refused. You offered to discuss these questions with me verbally if in

the seanwhile I throw the Forum oven to your editorial board. Wy other proposals were unthinkable! Give the Forum's readers a chance to hear counter-revolutionary viewcoints? Never that! I could only display my revolutionary purity by acceding to your demands. We would talk things over until Spring, then if all went well (1.e., if I showed a satisfactory admosability to your viewboint) I could pack up for an educational trip to the Soviet Union where I would certainly become convinced of the error of my ways. In other words you wanted my signature on a promissory note with the amount left blank for you to fill in. You put this in the form of an ultimatum and you told me that if I did anything but accept I would forthwith enter the camp of the "counter-revolution".

I had to refuse these terms. I had to refuse to lend myself to a slanderous and baseless struggle against the International Left Opposition. I had to refuse to lend space to the nauseatingly fawning praise of Stalin and uncritical reception of Stalinist policies which characterize the Communist Party press the world over. I had to refuse to take shelter in the cold and draughty empty spaces which stretch behind the impressive facade and early tradition of the Communist International. I would like to go to the Soviet Union for a vist someday — but I had to refuse your offer on your terms. I had to refuse, in short, to become a hack prostitute in the name of the Revolution.

In the end, too, I had to refuse to turn over to you the printing plant I had built up with so much pain and struggle because I considered it not your property but the property of the working class movement. Because I could not carry on the Forum myself, for lack of financial resources and because of heavy debts contracted, I disposed of the plant and turned every farthing of the proceeds over to where I now consider the true interests of our movement lie. It was with a deep and abiding bitterness that I had considered comrades, when for two years it had fought off all its many enemies on the outside.

Tet with it came the realization that we have to build anew over the ruins you have wrought. The revolution and the building of our future moves forward and when we trample down the defenses of our enemies we shall crush underfoot everything and everybody that stands in our way. No sycophantic, blind allegiance to a name, an empty facade, a torn and shredded prestige can lead us forward. Only unswerving fidelity to our goal and active struggle towards this end with the weapons of a correct and tested political line will lift us from defeat to ultimate victory. To this struggle I shall continue to dedicate all my energies.

Harold R. Isaacs.

Peiping, China May 30, 1934.

EUR COMMIST ACTIVITIES FILES

July 6, 1950

DAILY HORKER SOURCE:

9100 Soaacs File No.

POST WRITER ADMITS ALL KOREA' OPPOSES INVASION

behind the Liberation Armies from Know Why Help Has Come. behind the Liberation Armies from Know Why Help Has Come."

the North and are hostile to the American troops sent there by Truman's interventionist order, the New York Post's Far East expert. Transial Research and the Leaces, admitted yesterday.

Isanes' article gave the lie to the Post's own editorial line of the Post's own editorial line of the Americans had a friendly pupolished to the Americans had a friendly pupolished with the Americans had a friendly pupolished with the Americans had a friendly pupolished with the Come.

Isanes' declared that the U.S. remains localized, even a victory.

Isaacs declared that the U. S. remains localized, even a victory has "much more reason to count on general Korean hostility than on heroic support." He admitted that "South Korean civilius have locan infinitely harder hit by the American action so far than by their fellow-Koreans from the north.

The South Korean government was an "impopular one in the elec-tion held only four weeks ago," Isaacs said, "the regime of Presidents that Syngman Rhee was decisively templated.

Issaes declared that the guerilla novements in South Korea "could have operated only with a considerable measure of popular support," and he acknowledged the "intense desire of all Koreans for intense desire of all koreans for reunification of their disaccmbered

Country."
To top this story, bristling with only that story, tristing with exposure of the imperialist nature of the Truman attack on Korea, and with evidence of the Korean people's awareness of their real enemy, the Post concected the dis-

The Korean people are united honest headline. "S. Koreans Don't

RECOLD COPY

H/W ATT 05 To 35016

7100 - Issue, Horold

December 2, 1932.

No. 1480.

MEHOHA'NDUY.

sith reference to R.A. memorandum No. 1305 of December 4, 1931, regarding Marold ISAACS and his connection with Bilaire NCULENS, it has just been learned that one Viola REBINION arrived in Shanghai on August 28, 1932, by the C.I.R. s.s. AMPRESS OF ASIA. On August 29, Miss MCBINION, together with Harold ISAACS of the CHINA FORUM, gave notice to the United States Consulate Ceneral of their intended marriage, which actually took place on the 14th September. In his marriage application, ISAACS particularly requested that no publicity be given to the forthcoming ceremony. It appears that Miss ROBINHON is a follower of the Suffregette, Lucy STONE, who, wome fifteen or twenty years ago, suvcated among American women the retention of the maiden name after marriage: According to officials of the United States Consulate General, Viola CC-INCON, therefore, will not be known as Vrs. ISAACS.

In connection with Violu WCSINTCN's activities in China, in a letter, dated Szechuen, July 24, 1931, Harold ISAACS wrote to Viola ECHINSCN as follows:

"You are in the swim, Viola. I'm coming back to dive in and swim alongside. That do you think? It is all extremely fortuitous from our standpoint that I should have seen the light at last. Your work with "UGG and the future in it is far more important than snything you could do out here or anywhere else for that matter. I'll get back - no matter a possible delay - no matter how - there will be a job to be done and by our gods I'm going to get into it..."

attention is called to the name WUND mentioned in the above extract.



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H/W ATT CE TO 35656

201-18446

No. 5019

9 m. Transe, thereby

Confidential:

AUGRICAN CONSULER STRVICE.

American Consulate General, Shanghai, China, December 16, 1931.

Subject: Harold H. Isaaco.

THE HONORASLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

Siri

I have the honor to report that an American citizen named Harold R. Isaacs has been reported to this office by the police of the International Settlement as a communist suspect. The facts regarding Mr. Isaacs are briefly as follows:

Mr. Harold R. Isaass called at this office in December, 1930, and stated that he would be for a few months in Shanghai; at that time he exhibited passport No. 177026, issued by the Department of State on March 17, 1930. He stated that he expected to leave Shanghai in June, 1931; that his home was in New York City and that his local address was in core of the American Express Company.

Ascording to Police reports Issaes arrived in Shanghal from Manila as a first-class passenger on the S. S. PRESIDENT JEFFERSON on December 17, 1936. He was employed by the ANAUGRAI EVERGE POST AND MERCURY and later by the CHITA PRESS but apparently lost both

positions.

H/W ATT 07 To XAA 2 - 35656

201-15446

positions. He has resided with a British subject named C. Frank Cluss at 129 Weihalvei Road and made a trip with Class to Smechuen during June, 1931. The police file contains a copy of a letter written by him to a Miss Viola Robinson, cure of the American Consulate, Drusden, Germany, dated July 24, 1931, at Changtu, Szechuen. This lotter, it is stated, was returned unoponed to Shanghai from Dresden, addressed to Herold N. Isaacs in eare of the American Empress Company, Charchai, and was opened by the Post Office Consor at the request of the Commissioner of Posts. The letter is very long and shows that leases, although previously holding communicatio views, only decided dofinitely to turn "Red" during July of this year. He stated that he was influenced in this decision by certain conversations with O. Frank Class, above referred to, during their trip to Szoohuen.

In connection therewith it may be of interest to state that according to a police report dated Cotobor 17, 1931, information regarding this letter was given by the Shanghai Municipal Police to an officer of the local British Consulate Conoral, who apparently cabled information regarding it to London. The police report states that a reply was subsequently receive the gist of which is as follows:

"Viola Robinson arrived in the United States about the middle of September. The whole family are communists in touch with Teamor' family."

The police state that Harold E. Isaacs in Hovember, 1931, established a news aganay under the news of the

For Eastern from Correspondence," cable address Fenprecop, P. 6. Box 1926. On Cotober 6th Isaacs and C. Frank Glass moved from 122 Weibniwsi Road to House Ro. 6, Passage No. 177, Avenue Dubail. The police state that this address was formerly known as Number 25 Avenue Dubail and is the boarding house at which Agnes Smedley resided from May, 1929, to May 1930. The police report that Agnes Smedley frequently visits Isaacs and Class at this address.

In my monthly political report for November, on page 15 it was stated that the bodies of numerous members of the family of a certain Kou had been murdered, allegedly by commists in retaliation for Kou's turning traitor to the commist cause. In connection with this ratter Isaacs addressed an open letter to the verious newspapers of Shanghai, under date of November 24, 1931, in which he secred them for branding those alloged murders as: "hirrible" and "destardly," while of the some time they did not raise their editorial voices against the wholesale muriers committed by Chiang Kai-shek, the Carrison Commander of Shanghai and other Chinese militarists. Hone of the papers saw fit to publish this letter but I have received a copy thereof, and copies are enclosed. I have also received a photostatic copy of the last page containing the signature of kr. Issaes.

Respectfully yours,

E'vin S. Cunninchez, American Consul General.

Enclosure:

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the signed orig.

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Enclosure:

1/- Copy of open letter from Rarold

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Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 17 of Edvin S. Cunningham, American Consul Coneral at Shandard, China, date: December 16, 1831, on the subject: "Narold h. Isanes."

$C \cup \mathcal{X}$

AN ORDER REPORT DO THE FOR HOLD INTERPEDIE OF THE WORLD.

Your publication of the "chastly" (Shenshai Times), "horrible" (China Press), "desturily" (Yening Post and North China Daily Name) mirders allegedly committed by Chinese Communists in the French Consession brings foreibly to mind certain other namedts of the Chinese scene whose chastliness and barbarity find their way into your columns only at rare intervals - and them only in brief cool paragraphs.

There can be no attempt to "justify" these alleged murders, if the tale be true. We all hate the cuts of a traitor. But we cannot all condense a system of vendetta which exacts so the price of betrayal the innocent lives of a traitor's family. That, however, involves the question of differing social quaters to which no abstract moral a solute can possely be applied.

Betrayal has its price under any social norm, whether we turn the dirty work of vangesnee over to the ineffable mercies of the Lord or employ the less desthetic but more effective instruments of the gallows, electric chair, lethal chamber, the gallotine or the core refined weapons of social estracian; whether we consider the traiter himself responsible for his actions - or exact retribution from his blood relations as well. (Jehovah, too, visits the mins of the father upon his children, yea, even unto the third and fourth generations!)

But you reporters, whose typesriters quivered with the horror of these alleged decis of murder in Frenchtown can still without a qualm condone and even express satisfaction at mass murders a thousand times more barbarous - but less so in your journalistically judicious eyes only because officially perpetrated.

You city sitors - at the moment sending your men out to run down the last threaded folds to this particular story - why don't you send them out to Lunghua some fine sunny morning? Thy don't you give them an opportunity to witness the terture and murder of young men and women whose only crime is a realistic appreciation of the social and economic factors at work in the world and a demand for their readjustment?

Tou e iters, who wield your editorial powers so self-right-equally, why don't you empistently examine and logically expose a poverment that maintains itself largely by desperately slaughtering the flower of its protesting youth and the backbone of its peasant mass who attempt protest against its venality and corruption?

Only when it is convenient for your foreign interests, however, do you find it politic to trut out some of your favorite bleats against the Nanking regime, attacks which are almost always immailately offset by the neurosting sulogies and blotant lies that follow.

Considered from your own point of view, Mesors. Editors, the mirilerers of these Promentown people should be brought to justice and made to pay for their orings. hat similarly from your own point of view, to what her of justice should Ching Eat Shee be brought, before what tribunate can we arraign the carrison commandors of Shanghai, Nenking, Hankow, the warlords of Shantung, Szechuen, Ewangtung and Hanchuria for the lives they have taken in the perpetual wars they have waged on the people of China? On any principles of abstract juntice, is the mass murder of thousands by the machine gun, the bomber, the rifle, the sword, the axe any more just than the furtive strangulation of nine hopeless relatives of a pelf-branded yellow our? This perpetual warfare has been waged on the protect of suppressing "banditry." If this be so, we are confronted with the startling fact, vouched for and advertised by the government boasting the recognition of all foreign powers, that wast portions of the Chinese population are criminal: On this promise, Chiang Hall Shok & Co. backed by the cehorts of the Spong Bonage swoop down on whole provinces, massucre thousands, take heavy tolls from the meagre life earnings of peasonts and workers. And with all their cuns and planes and hundreds of thousands of soldiers, they still full to eradicate the "b:uidits."

The are the bandits, the rebbers, the murderers? Answer this question, Mesers. Editors - and enswer is honostly if you dere:

Japan, in violation of no-called principles of justice, but in full accord with the lessons of history, is helping herself to a good side of Continental Asia, allegedly port of the banking deverament's domain. Lacking the courage, the ability, the inclination to turn its gums on the invador, the Humintang sits in solemn conclave at Hanking and discusses further measures which, it hopes, will permit the extermination of new portions of China's vast "criminal" population to progress more effectively.

Let us take some of the facts sportdically reported by your own and the Chinese press during Esy-December, 1980. You reported 4,740 executions. From other, more noticulous a wreas are derived statistics which show that no less than 96010 were executed during the last four months of 1930 alone: This figure sounds clobular, doesn't it? Yet for every digit there is semewhere in China a rotting corpse.

Puring the period following the close of the so-salled "military" period of the Ausmintang in 1928

to the opening of the Third Plenary Jossian of the Party in 1929 approximately 450,00 workers, peasants, and students not deuth at the hands of China's "revolutiomry" armies. One Shanghai daily (Chinese) late the next year editorialized as follows:

"All China's problems could be satisfacturily settled if the good work of the past few months can be continued. From August to Cetober (1930) along 140,000 Communists were killed and 450,000 people starved to death in the famine regions."

And if the dimensions of these figures are not ghastly enough to move you, shall we engage in a bit of felicitous description of the tertures a plied by these righteous saviers of China? Shall we speak of the burnings in oil, the burying alive (as were five young men and women at Lunchus en Feb. 7 last) the strangulations, the unspeakable mutilation of human bodies before death? These aren't wild nightmares. You have all scan and shuddered at the photographs which can still be bought here and there in Changhai depicting these processes in all their grisliness.

And at those, Mesers. Ritors, do you raise your editorial hands in saintly horror? Do you splash your columns with the adjectives "dastardly, horrible, chastly?" Hardly. That would offend your Nanking friends. If you do not maintain silence that bespeaks contentment, you brazenly applaud. For this we can quote you chapter and verse from your own editorials.

There are no organs, no publications here that dare look these facts boldly in the face. Your mastheads all carry beasts of your importiality. Here is at least one opportunity to invest them with some quality of verisi ilitude.

Sincerely.

(Signed) Harold R. Issaes 177 Avenue Dubeil, House 6.

Hovember 24, 1931.

Copied by IBB Compared with ITH Hy

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9900-Incode, Har**ald R.**

FILE NO.

SOURCE:

D.W.

DATE:

9-4-32

EDITOR OF CHINA PAPER IN DANGER

Threat to Turn Isaacs Over to Nanking

BRANGHAI, Aug. 2.—The Wall Street government, supporting its Nanking butcher agents, has threatened to turn over Harold R. Isaacs, American editor of the "China Forum," 25 the Manking hangmen.

As editor of the 'China Forum,"

As editor of the 'China Forum,'
Isaacs has committed the crime
against imperialism of supporting
the Chinese Revolution and ruthlessby exposing the mass murder of rovolutionary Chinese workers and peasants by the Nanking regime and the;
United States and other imperialist
brigands. He has exposed the shameful sell-out of the Chinese masses
by the Nanking traitors to the Japances, American and other imperial-

The United States government has warned Isaacs that it will withdraw the protection of extra-territorial changes its editorial and news pol-Under the extra-territoriality treaties imposed upon China by the imperialists, American and other citisens of the imperilaist powers may not be tried in the Chinese courts. Because Isanca is an American citizen the Nanking government has not been able to wreack its vengrance on him for his exposure of their bloody terror and betrayal of the Chinese masses. The Wall Street Government, which protects its business agents in looting Ohina now proposes to throw Isaacs to its Nanking lackeys for trial in the Chinese courts on charges earrying life imprisonment or the death penalty.

Issaes has categorically refused to concede to the demands of the United States government that he change the policies of the "China Forum." He is closely associated in the anti-imperialist, anti-Kuchintang fight with Madame Sun Yat-sen, who is chiarmon of the committee leading the fight to save Paul and Gertrude Rueggs from a death sentence in the Chinese courts.

American workers and intellectuals and their organizations should at once zend vigorous protest to the State Department at Washington against its attempt to proceed Isaaca to death in the Nanking Courts.

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direct to Paris for three or four days before proceeding to London. His visit to Paris is, therefore, strictly unofficial.

ZOKARJ

A correspondent asked if the French Government had asked the State Department for an agreement for a new Ambassador in Washington, M. Germaine-Martin. Mr. Rogers replied in the negative.

CHINA

A correspondent asked if Representative La Guardia of
New York had asked the State Department to intervene in the
case of an American named Harold Isaacs who is now editing a
newspaper in China, which, according to press despatches,
is a Communist organ. The correspondent continued by saying
that according to stories the American diplomatic efficers
in China warned Mr. Isaacs that he would be likely to lose
his extraterritorial status because of hisactivities. Furthermore, his father, who is in New York, wants the Department of State to get Mr. Harold Isaacs back and have him deported. In reply, Mr. Rogers said that he knew nothing of
any communication from Mr. La Guardia on the subject. In regard to the story, it is not true that this Government has
threatened to deprive Mr. Isaacs of his extraterritorial rights
in Shanghai.

BCLIVIA-PARAGUAY

A correspondent asked if the State Department had received any reports to the effect that the Bolivians had captured two Paraguayan forts. In reply, Mr. Rogers said that he understood that Assistant Secretary White talked with the correspondents last night concerning the situation and that Mr. White might possibly be able to see the correspondents again today.

H/N ATT 09 To XAA2 - 35016

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FBI REPORT

DATE: 10 AUGUST 1953

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

INTERNAL SECURITY - R

FBI FILE #: 100-286243 - BUREAU 105-1247 - NEW YORK

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25 Jan 19

201-018446 Secret

FBI REPORT
DATE: 6 AUG 1952
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
FBI FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU)
105-1247 (NEW YORK)

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Dr. Marold R. ISAACS, Profess	or or estreter perapea	at H.1.7	

1. On 12 July 1967, WUSPARROW/I renewed his old friendship with Subject at the MIT Faculty Club. Subject is now a senior research associate at MIT's Center for International Studies and has recently been associate Professor.

- 2. For the past few years Subject has been working on an international study series involving minority racial groups. His reports have been published in the New Yorker magazine and as books, The New World of Negro Americans and India's Untouchables. Subject plans to publish in August 1957 a book on the American Jews in Israel and is working on another on the Philippines.
- 3. WUSPARROW/1 first met Subject in 1946 after he had just completed a long and friendly interview with Ho Chi Minh as Far East correspondent for Newsweek. At that time, Subject felt that the United States was making a mistake in not accepting Ho as the leader of a united Vietnaz, Yeeling that Ho was independent enough of China to make him at worst a sort of Tito.
- 4. Subject presently is despairing of United States foreign relations in that our people from Washington, or elsewhere, seldom seem to establish a deep rapport with Asian or African nationals. Subject feels that such relations as do exist never reach more than an ineffective superficial level.
- 5. Subject first went to the Far East about 1930 when he was a crew member of the Matson Line's Malolo and disembarked at Honolulu to work for the Honolulu Advertiser. (MUSPANKOW/1 went to work for the some paper two years later.) Subject went next to the Fhilippines where he worked on a Manila daily. While in Manila he was offered the editorship of the Bangkok Royal Mail, to fill in for St. Clair McELWAY, now of the New Yorker.

CONTINUED . . .

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CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH

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UTBA - 543

- 6. Subject's mind was set on China and in late 1931 he wont to Shanghai and joined The China Press, working alongside Tiliman DURDIN, now of the New York Times. Subject lost his job with The China Press after a flare-up with Hollington TONG, part-owner of the paper. Subject then joined the Newsweek foreign staff. Subject was in and out of Bangkok after World War II and WUSPARROW/1 became friendly with him. According to WUSPARROW/1, many people regard Subject's Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution as a significant work and a recent writer on China, Dennis BLOODWORTH, holds a good view of Subject's Scratches on the Mind.
- 7. Subject now-seems permanently settled with MIT, having bought a home at 96 Farlow Road, Newton. Subject hosts there at pool-side "seminars" on Saturday afternoons, with MIT faculty friends and journalist friends such as Bob SHAPLEN coming by. Subject invited WUSPARROW/1 to participate as well.
- 8. However, as WUSPARROW/1 ascertained, Subject has little contact with foreign students save for an occasional adult foreign graduate student. We hope, considering Subject's background, that he will prove with WUSPARROW/1's guidance to be a profitable unwitting spotter and assessor of foreign graduate students.

LOUIS K. ROLLOFIER

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BUDKD: 11/11a	
NAME: ISAACS, HAROLD ROBERT LE CSC +5. 22.66.2153	٠.
BORN: Sopt. 19, 1910, NY	-
MS: married <u>Viola Fobinacy</u> , dob June 20, 1910, MYC, MY married Shanghai, Sopt. 14, 1932	
ADDRESSES:	
Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow Rd., Newton, Mass. July, 1953 to Aug., 1965 Mass.	
Fob., 1944 to July, 1953, 333 Central Pk. Wost. NYC. NY	
Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4938 Newport Ave., Friendship Hts., Md. 1940 to Sopt., 1941, 72 Pk. Torrace West, MYC, NY	٠.
1937 to 1940, 40 Monroe St., NYC, NY	
EDUCATION	•
George Washington H. S., NYC, 1923 to 1926	
SSH:	
EMPLOYMENT:	
1953 , Mass. Inst. of Tochnology, Camb, Mass., academic, research 1943 to 1950, Newsweek, NDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter,	
war corres. assoc. editor 1943, Lookheed Aircraft Corp., WDC, radio writor,	
1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NYC, WDC, writer	•
1934 to 1935, self employed, Poling, China, writer	
1932 to 1934, Havas Nows Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor	
1931 to 1932, China Press, Shanghai, China, city oditor	
1930 to 1931, Shai Evening Post, Shanghai, China, reporter	
1930, Honolulu Advertiser, Eonolulu, reporter	
POREIGN TRAVEL:	
China, 1930 to 1935, Travel, work, writing	
China, Burma, India, 1944, to 1945, war corres. Newsweek	
PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949, Norswook assignment	
Phillippines, 1950 to 1950, cover Baguo conference	-
Europe Eninly UK, 1957 to 1957, travel, visit university	
Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 1960, academic research project Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,	
RELATIVES:	
Father, I. Robert Isance, decreased	
Mother, Sorbie Dorlin, deceased	
Wife, Viola Bobinson Ispacs, dob 1910, same	
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NAI to information forwarded in

0501-316/04352-65 dated 26 October 1965 subject: 15AACS, Harred Robert. 10 NOV 1950

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26 OCT 1965

Federal Bureau of Investigation ATTN: Special Agent in Charge of Washington Field Office

FROM:

Deputy Director for Plans

-SUBJECT:

ISAACS, Harold Robert

Reference is made to the request dated 14 October 1965 concerning Subject. Attached for your retention is a copy of our dated 13 October 1965, subject: ISAACS, Harold Robert. It is noted that a portion of the information appearing in said forwarded to you in our SODB 20568, dated 2 December. 1949, subject: Harold Robert ISAACS.

Encl. l name check l attachment as stated above

RID/CE: JMA/CPL/ell

Based on: CSCI-316/04169-65

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Special RETURN TO: Tainor 10/14/63 caw FILE #151-1423 PC BUDED: NAME: ISAAUS, HAROLD ROBERT Sept. 12, 1910, NYC, NY married Viola Robinson, dob June 20, 1910, NYC, MY married Shanghai, Sopt. 14, 1932 ADDRESSES: Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow Rd., Newton, Mass. July, 1953 to Aug., 1965 Kass. Fob., 1944 to July, 1953, 339 Contral Pk. West, NYC, NY Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4938 Newport Ave., Friendship Hts., Md. 1940 to Sept., 1941, 72 Pk. Terraco West, NYC, NY 1937 to 1940, 40 Monroe St., NYC, NY EDUCATION George Washington H. S., NYC, 1923 to 1926 SSN: EMPLOYNEUT: , Mass. Inst. of Tochnology, Camb, Mass., academic, research 1953 1943 to 1950, Newswork, MDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, MYC, reporter, war corres. assoc. editor 1943, Lookhoed Aircraft Corp., NDC, radio writer, 1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NYC, WDC, writer 1934 to 1935, self employed, Peking, China, writer 1932 to 1934, Havas News Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor 1931 to 1932, China Press, Shanghai, China, city editor 1930 to 1931, Shai Evenilly (China, reporter 1930, Honolulu Advorsing 2 06 1957 1977) TRY AHALYST FOREIGN TRAVEL: China, 1930 to 1935, Trivol, Work, Eriting China, Burma, India, 1836 to 1945, Van corres. Mowsweek PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949, Mossweek assignment Phillippines, 1950 to 1950, cover Baguo conference Europe Mainly UK, 1955 to 1957, travel, visit university Czech., Israel, India 1957, travel, pendemick research project Malaya, PI., etc., 1962 to 1964,

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Robert Issacs, deceased Mother, Sorbie Dorlin, deceased Wife, Viola Robinson Isaacs, dob 1910, same FILE IN 201

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EDUCATION

George Washington H. S., MTC, 1923 to 1926

SSN:

EMPLOYMENT: 1950-1953 STIFFEMBLEYED - WRITTE MYC Ense. Inet. of Tochnology, Camb, Mass., academic, research 1953

1943 to 1950, Mewoweek, WEC, CEE, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter,

war corres. assoc. editor 1943, Lookhood Aircraft Corp., WEC, radio writer, 1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NVC, WEC, writer

1934 to 1935, self employed, Pening, China, writer

1932 to 1934, Mayas News Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor 1931 to 1932, China Press, Shanghai, China, city editor (CHINA FORUM) 1930 to 1931, Shai Evening Post, Shanghai, China, reporter 1930, Honolulu Advortiser, Monolulu, reporter 1930, New York Times - Reporter

FOREIGN TRAVEL:

China, 1930 to 1935, Travel, work, writing China, Burma, India, 1944, to 1945, war corros. Newswook PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949, Newswook assignment Phillippines, 1050 to 1956, cover Engue conference Europe Kainly UK, 1957 to 1957, travel, visit university Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 1960, academick research project Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Polant Issaes, deceased Nother, Sorbie Doblin, deceased Wife, Viola Robinson Isaaca; dob 1910, same

Sirgent Shriver, Peace Corps., NIC, known 17 yrs.

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22 OCT 1955

NAI to information forwarded in CSCI-316/04352-65. dated 26 October 1965, subject: ISAACS, Harold Robert.

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13 OCT 1965

TO:

United States Civil Service Commission Attention: Mr. Joseph G. Campbell

FROM:

Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: SAACS, Harold Robert

1. Reference is made to your request dated 14 September 1965. The files of this office contain considerable information concerning Subject., the salient elements of which are summarized below.

2. According to undated information from a reliable source, Subject born 13 September 1910 in New York City, arrived in Shanghai, China, from Manila, Philippine Islands, in December 1930. First employed in Shanghai by the English language daily, Evening Post and Mercury. Subject became associated a few weeks later with the China Press, with which he remained until May 1931. In June 1931 Subject traveled up the Yangtze River with the British Communist, Cecil Frank GLASS, a suspected agent for the Third International in China. Also in 1931, Subject became the Shanghai secretary of the Comite Liternationals Pour la Defense de Paul et Gertrude RUEGG (NOULENS), a committee, with Headquarters in Berlin, formed to aid the defense of the NOULENS against charges of espionage perferred by the Chinese Government. Subject was in correspondence with Willi MUENZENBERG, President of the Committee and an active agent in Germany for the Third-International. Subject was also known to be in contact with Agnos SMEDLEY in Shanghai during the same period. On 14 September 1932 in Shanghai, Subject married Viola ROBINSON, an American citizen born 10 June 1910 in New York City. Miss ROBINSON was believed to have been connected with Communist activities in the United States and in Chian. Correspondence between her and Subject prior to their marriage indicated that they were both sympathetic to activities being conducted by the Communists in China.

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- 3. According to predecessor organization information, Subject was also employed as a staff writer for the Havas News Agency in Shanghai during the period 1930-1935 and was a member of the Society of Friends of the USSR and of the China League for Civil Rights.
- 4. An undated report from an unknown source indicated that Subject had turned against the Stalinist Government of the USSR, and had become a Trotskyite (probably during the mid-1930's). Friends of Subject stated that even during the height of his Trotskyist career he never accepted money from any group, that he was open and above board, and that he never engaged in any conspiracies to overthrow established government. They also indicated that Subject was attracted to communism by sheer idealism. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, Subject broke with the Trotskyite group as he had broken with the Communishand began writing prepagands for the United States Government.
- 5. According to Source of paragraph 2, Subject was a war correspondent in China during World War II for Newsweek. In July 1945 he was rejused entry into China by Chinese Nationalist authorities, presumably as a result of enti-Nationalist articles he wrote for Newsweek. In 1949 Subject was Special Features Editor for that magnaine, at 152 West 42nd Street, New York City. He was the author of several books, including No Peace in Asia and The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution.
 - 6. Subject's present political beliefs are unknown to this office.

Encl. I name check

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Based on: SODB-20568

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27 NOV 1963

TO:

Assistant Chief of Staff, Intolligence

Department of the Army

Attention: Chiof, Counterintolligence Branch Security Division

FROM:

Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: ISAACS, Harold Robert

Roference in made to the request received on 14 October 1963 from Lt. Whipple concerning Subject. With respect to the specific questions posed in the request, Eubject is the author of a number of books. including No Pence in Asia, Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction, and The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. The files contain no information concerning Subject's teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; however they do contain the following summary of unevaluated information based on several predecessor organization reports. Additional information concerning Subject is contained in our SODB 20588, dated 2 December 1949, subject: Harold Robert ISACCS, a copy of which is attached for your retention.

a. Subject was employed as a staff writer for the Havas Nows Agency in Shanghai from 1930-1935. He was also editor and publisher of the China Forum, a communist periodical, from January 1932 to an unspecified date. In July 1932 ISAACS wrote and published the above-cited Five Years of Eucmintain Reaction, a 136-page illustrated book of Communist nature. While in Shanghai he was a member of The Society of Friends of the USSR (Shanghai Branch) and The China League for Civil Rights.

b. In 1933 Shanghai authorities listed Eubject's wife, Wiola ROBINSON, as a suspect Soviet agent residing in Shanghai. Prior to their marriage on 14 September 1932, ISAACS stated in a letter to Miss ROBINSON that he had definitely turned "Red." All the members of the ROBINSON family were described as Communists.

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c. In July 1933 the Nanking Government ordered the Municipality of Greater Shanghai to take drastic measures to stop the propaganda appearing in a number of publications including the China Porum published by Subject. Subject's magazine allegedly published Communist propaganda; in this connection a protest was to be lodged against him with the American Consulate.

- d. Subject was described as a "self-confessed Communist" in 1933. The following year he wrote an article entitled "I Break With The Chinese Stalinists" which appeared in the September-October 1934 edition of The New International, a Communist propaganda organ published in New York.
- An undated report from an unknown source indicated that Subject had turned against the Stalinist Covernment of the USSE, becoming a Trotskyite(probably during the mid-1930's). Friends of Subject stated that even during the height of his Trotskyist career he never accepted money from any group, that he was open and above board, and that he never engaged in any conspiracios to overthrow established government. They also stated that Subject was attracted to Communism by "sheer idealism." Immediately after Pearl Harbor, ISAACS broke with the Trotskyite group as he had broken with the Communists and began writing propaganda for the United States Government.
- According to a report dated 25 June 1951 from a fairly reliable source, Subject served at that time as a Ford Poundation advisor on Par Bastern Projects.
- 4. For additional information concerning Subject you are referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to the Department of the Mavy (no documentation available).

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Encl: lattachment as stated above.

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Based on:

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CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 4606, 16-5-33

CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 4718

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FORM NO. 137 REPLACES FORM SA-34

PIPLACES FIRM P.II

SECRET

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4284 DISPATCH NO. . SECRET CEASTIPP TATION DATE 5. May 1956 TO Chief, NBA Chief of Station, FROM Operational/INTEL SUBJECT Far Eastern Association 8th Annual Meeting, Request for Background and Operational Information The program of the 8th Annual Meeting of the Far Eastern Association, held in Philatelphia 3 - 5 April 1956, has just arrived here. It indicates that the association has already taken decided steps towards its announced expansion into the South Asian field. The station assumes that Headquarters covered the meeting and can get access now or later to copies of monographs, notes on proceedings, and so on. The following items, keyed to the program, would seem to be of interest ______ if Headquarters can get them: On 3 April, Zakye Eglar: "The World View of the Punjabi Villagor". (Note: This is quite likely the East Punjabi, but it should have some validity for Lahore as well as for Delhi.) On the same day, a Pakistan Studies Organization Keeting was hold at 1700. It would be useful to know who is interested in Pakistan studies (both individuals and organizations) and what lines they are thinking of working on. On 5 April, all the items of a "South Asian Hiscollany" should be of considerable interest, particularly. Stanley "laron's "The Future of East Bengaly". Hydecker has some early drafts of the Harold Isaacs study, but they are too early to provide any useful material; this project (at CENIS, MIT) is one that Headquarters should monitor closely, however. 2 May 1956 NRH/wrg De. 1 K. H. Kelev Distribution: NEIL R. HYDECKER NEA

S E C R E T

元: 51-28A

RI COPY, 78-67-212

1000 5, 1955

Director

Fodoral Buramu of Inventigation Attentions Fr. S. J. Fapich.

FROIN

Deputy Director, Plans

Childre Formande Euclieuth, also known as Fernando taguar . ACHES

- 1. Reference is made to a communication from tide Agency dated 30 August 1955; ceptioned as above, our reference US CI-2542.
- 2. Attached for your information is a copy of a lotter written by subject and addressed to the post office lox contioned in the referenced momentum. The letter was signed by subject as FULY, his feminine psuedenys. It should also be explained that English is not subject's native language; therefore, the grammer and spalling used by subject in his letters are to be expected.
 - 3. This office interprets subject a latter as follows:
- a. Aint Josephine is Jose LENDANA, with whom subject has been in contact the past several months and the has been indestri-nating subject with leftist ideology. Idilland has not adulted to subject that he is a Communist, although in his conversations with subject he sticks very close to the current line of the Failippine Communist Farty (PKP).
- b. Marold ISAACS (FBI Pile No. 100-2862/3) is well known to the bureau.
- c. Unclo MANUEL is probably the late Philippine President Manuel CURENT, who sponsored Jese LANSANG's entry into the United States in 1937 whom LANSANG studied at Columbia University. William CARTAR, Jr. has not yet been identified by this office.
- d. PAULILIC, fru is probably fr. Filedolfa PAULILIO, former Associate Professor of Michanics at the University of the Philippines. PRILLID received his BAW from the University of the Fhilippinos and his M.S. and Ph.U. at the University of Michigan.

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Recarding to a usually reliable source of this spaney, Sallited was never able to completely readjust to Philippine life after having lived in the United States. He is known for his strong pro-American views and according to source probably his greatest desire is to reside permanently in the United States. Although it is known that PANCIETO was on friendly topic with Jose LANCIETO there is no recent that he chared LANCIETO political views.

- a. Fr. BELEAN is probably Father Deballer, Jesuit Chaptain at the University of the Philipphase.
- f. Cypros or Cyprus University may possibly be Syracuss University.
- g. M.C. Marke is probably Micardo MARE, Failinging movepaperson who was allegedly appointed with Marry Exibits in the
 International Language and Marchouse souls Union (ILM) in
 Bonslulu. Mark was born on 3 April 1915 in Manile; hevever, most
 of his life has been apont in Marrit. To was naturalized a U.S.
 citizan in 1948 and returned to the Philippines in 1949, where he
 lost his U.S. citizanship in 1952. There is no information in the
 files of this office which indicates that MARE has returned to
 Hamail. For additional information concerning LAMES, reference in
 made to a magazinalum to the Bureau, dated 23 Kovenber 1949, subjects
 "Ricardo LAMES" (ska Ricardo LAVES)", our reference 50 ES-20307.
- h. Unclo NEA is Not CUYCO. II, Unclo DETERM is Britesar CUYCO.M with when the Bureau his feathliar as a result of provious correspondence concerning his designtor, Carron Jane CUYCO.II (FBI File No. 105-52561). From the wording of subject's hetter this office assumes that Beltamar CUYCO.II is every that the Federal Dureau of Investigation is investigating for CUYCO.M. It also appears that Baltamar CUYCO.M gave subject a letter to deliver personally to his inother for CUYCO.M, possibly to avoid a Eall intercept by the Bureau. It should be noted that subject stated that he mailed the letter instead.
- A. In view of the consitivement of the course of the above information, it is requested that as further dissemination to made of the information without prior clearance with this Agency.

Attachment - A copy of a lotter (/ Addressed coly)
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201-18446

FBI DOCUMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

DATE: 26 MAY 1955 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS FBT FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU)

DATE: 19 MAR 1954 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS FBI FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU

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DATE: 27 JAN 54
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
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T.C. LIU, LAU CHIN-KI
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SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS
FBI FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU)

DATE: 12 NOVE 52 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS FBI FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU)

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DATE: 6 OCTOBER 1952
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: JOHN KING FAIRBANK
FBI FILE #: 77-24341 (BUREAU)

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FBI FILE #: 100-344906 (BUREAU)

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SECRET DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION AGNES SMEDLEY, 14 Feb. 12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE PERTINENT INFORMATION Subject of the document is mentioned as having visited the residence of Harold R. IMARKET Isaacs and C. ?R Frank Glass, two notorious local Communits sympathisers.

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CONFIDENTILY:

FACE

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS.—Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

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Office Memorandum united states government

Abba, Ale Amendelow Chief, Contact Division, Or

DATE: 7 February 1982

SUBJECTS OF Information-Pro-Commutat Sentiment of MS Table in China

1. Inclosed is a copy of an orticle present for publication in the Contation Science Position by a Corner editor of the Shanhai Digitable of the probably will not be published because of its linear the probably will not be published because of its linear.

BISLOSUED (A) as listed above.

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week hard to be the state of

- 1. A happy enting has been written in the case of ferris in fipolant, former Communist who is now secretary of the Communist who is now secretary of the Communist Emerical More lambda the Denver. He has been praised in Machington for "disclosing his Communist past", and his board of directors has voted confluence in him and continued him in his job.
- 2. No doubt all this is fitting and proper but it doesn't answer the question of why nobody in Donyer soons to have known anything about Appelments Rud-tinged pant, or why there was anything scenational about his revolution of it in Washington. Jule the police rtate is rightly anathema to American citizens, it seems remarkable that official records should not be in existence and reasonably accessfule to people with reason to check up on such a point as past Communist service.
- J. The point about Appelmin is not that he did anythin; particularly reprehensible, but that what he did was quite in the open. According to the Easthington tentimenty he served the Communist party, apparently without special concealment, in Runnia, Germany and other points in lureje, going around the world between 1924 and 1936. He southt to relieve the and Grace Granish in the editornhip of a Shanghai Anglish-landwage Communist magazine, "The Voice of China", in 1937, he testified, but didn't get off his ship in Shanghai because of the hostilities there at the time.
- 4. This should comething of a light on the supposedly fearless and ruthless Communist operations throughout the world. I was in Changhai when fighting broke out there between Jajan and China on Aug. 13, 1937, and can testify that we had three months of diagraday warfare before the compaign moved inland. During that period a good many people left for obvious reasons, but some came in, and it might be presumed that an accredited agent of international Communium would at least have paused in nearby Kobe or Hongkong till things calmed down a little. Fossibly the Communium as subject to quality about personal safety as anyone else-or more so.
- 5. About "The Voice of Chinn" there could hardly be any illusion in the mind of anyone who had cared to pay the alightest attention to it. Each issue bore a virtual advertisement of its Communist allegiance on its front cover, to those familiar with methods of converting Chinese into English. The name "Voice of China" appeared in both Indish and Chinese, and in the Chinese a possiblar Soviet-originated system of Remainization was used so that what is ordinarily, by conventional Ende system, written "Chung News" for China was spelled "Chung Lua"—an extraordinary effect frankly explaining the publication's emership.
- 6. But what was more, Harold Isaacs, the editor who preceded the Graniches, had done considerably more than was conveyed by preced dispatches from the Washington hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee. These said he was "believed to have deviated from Communist policy" whereas in fact he challenged with the Chinese Communists and their Moscow patrons

completely with an article heated "I lireak with Stalinism." This have a cardid elucidation of the Communist financial tackin; of the "Voice of Chi:" and 11 angers either in or out of Official life had previously suffered any illusions as to its nature, Israes article—published slace where than in the "Voice", of course—certainly should have dispelled them.

- 7. The Granichs seem to have lived quietly in Shanthal and pero little known, which under the circumstances was hardly auryrising since they personning an obviously Communist organ. Ching Kal-elek's forces could not moddle with them ejectly for at that the Ghanthal was an international city operated under extrateritoriality. But the Nationalist secret police did create sere trouble for the "Voice" and them consul-Central Charence E. Gauss was allegally reprisanted by the State Department in 1937 for not doing more to help them as Americans. Inchnically they were entitled to full American protection but Lauss, now with the Expert—xport hank in Washington, D. C., was a sort of Old Curaudjeen of the Shanjhai American community and it seems that he thought it his meral obligation to let them fry in any trouble they might got into as Communist agents. Causes can't have suffered greatly for this in the eyes of his superiors, for he was later promoted to arbassador both to China and to Australia.
- 8. This background has some present importance since an Arerican magazine is being operated today in Communist Shanhai, which tolerates no criticism or oppositions. Criminally promistionalist under the lateral.

 J. B. Powell, it has been friendly toward the Comminists under his son, John William toward, and it stayed on after most other American enterprises—including the daily Shanhad lycaling from and hypersty, edited by myself—had shut down and American officials had left Red China.
- 9. Refere they departed, these officials had reason to compile an extensive file on what is now the China tenthly Review. One incident which is known to have irred then was the Havior's treatment of the case of Fillias Olive, American consular official, in the summer of 1949 scen after the Communists had taken over. Clive blundered into a traffic conflict with the Communist police, was taken to first one and then a second police station, and in the course of several days' imprisonment he was severely beaten with fists and gunbutts, kicked and otherwise maltreated. Formil's Review blandly professed to have little information on the matter but gave an account unfavorable to Clive. Then consular officials asked fowell to come to the consulate and look Olive over and get the full story, he failed to show up. This and other matters were recorded in some detail but in view of the background of American intelligence operation, one may question whether these details will ever be hauled out of the files.
- 10. Nore recently, copies of the Review have been slanted strongly against the Americans and the United Nations cause in Korea and one issue editorially spoke of the United States as "the energy." It should not be difficult to preserve continuity in following such a case of American pro-Communist activity abroad, though nothing could be done to Fowell unless

C. T.

34

or until he decided to return to his own country—and evan ther, the countex nature of American lows on this country albert make it hard to tell what could be done solds from perhaps denyin; another reseport to go almost again.

ll. The important thing, as shown by a long list of earos gravely investigated by congrussional conditions, is to have the postwar central Intelligence Agency or some congarable group such as the Foisral Dureau of Investigation keep track of the wealth of information available. Too much waste effort goes into the many duplications of inquiry.

Contraction of the Property of

COLLICENTIAL

SECURITY INFORMATION

Chief, 3t of c, comstime Miss Jame Ricelow Gulef, Contact Division, CO 7 February 1958

CS Informati negro-Communist Sentiment of to Metionals in China

1. Enclosed is a copy of an article present for publication in the Ciristian Science Soulton by a former editor of the Shanghai Englishment creates and probably will not be published because of its length.

TANCELA . V . &

B-CLOSEES (A) as listed above.

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CLASSIFICATION

203 1811, Shanghai Kuncipal Files, filed 16-4-2- 37

ISAACS, Harold Robort

Born 13 Sept 1910, MYC Met'l American

DESCRIPTION.

Helgist 5190

Build . modium !

Halp black, wavy, brushed back

Bros brown

DOCUMENTATION

In 30s was traveling on passport \$ 177026

Arrived in China from Manila on 10 Dec 1930

Upin had arrival joined the editorial staff of the Shanghai Svoning Post and
Mercury

Was a secretary of the MOULENS Defense Committee and a member of the Society of Freehads of the USSR

On 12 June 1991; ISAACS and his friend ELASS took a trip up the Yangtescopuring this trip ISAACS wrote his figure, Viola NOBINSON, that he had decided to team " Reds as a result of conversations with CLASS."

The two returned to Shanghai in Aug 1931 and took up residence at # 128 Weihaiwei

ISAAGS later started and became the editor and published of the "China Forum" suich at first was job-printed but from Oct 1932 on was printed by the Level Publishing Co. IEC; \$ 33; Lane 478 Tiendong Road, Shanghai ISAACS openedly stated he was manager of the printing oo and exact LCS of its shares.

On 7 Aug 1933; ISLACS and his wife Viola RCBINSON whom he had married in Sept. 1932 laft Shanghai for Japan on the SS Magasaki Maru: On 16 Aug, they proceeded to Japan, returning to Shanghai on Aug 26th.

Inaddition to his other activities, ISAACS was also employed with the Havaisiews Agency around Dec 1933.

In Des 1939; ISAACS was in Poochow to gether let hand info re the newly formed "Peolpho" Bevolutionary Government of the Republic of China."

In the spring of 1936, ISAACS and his wife left for Thintein on route to Peking at which city he resided at \$2 Toung Fu Chia Tao, East City. Felding smiling address was \$ Mr. UNUMARN, Grand Hotel:

Ch 3 January 1954, ISAACS visited Hr and Mrs. HOULESS while they were on a imager strike in prison

On 14 January 1936; the parents of ISAACS, Mr and Mrs I.H. ISAACS arrived in Shanghai from Los Angelss; During their stay in Shanghai they resided at the Metro-pullhotel Annexion 20 February they left Shanghai for Fort Said on route to Marseilles on the 33 Rawalpindi:

On A April 1936, ISAACS under the pen name of Lo Sen had an article published in the New Military; the organ of the MY District Worker's Farty. The article was an attack on Stalin and the entitled a Stalintern ready to embrace Chian Kai Shek. Total Officer Chinese Red Army in return for reservection of disasterous 1927 blood Attack oams time, ISAACS was also lecturing on Japan, China, and the USSR and the War Crisis in the Far East;

The same of the sa

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GLISS

1 Shanghai Mani Polic e Piles, filed, 16-4-2-37, p 2

In Shanghai GLASS made the acquairtance of one Demarce C.B333, American from Lansas City, born 1893. This was some time after April 1932.

Born 25 Harch 1901, Birnhagham, Drgland

Passport British passport, # 96153, issued 5 Jan 1931 in Pretoria, South Africa Pol Affiliation Number of the CP Overt Profession Journalist

Believed to have left England in the early 1920s for South Africa where he resided at Johannesburg for many years.

Arrived in Shangani from Durhem May 1931

On 12 June 1931 made a trip teresta up the Tangesco Yangteze with Haroid IS. American Communist and writer for the editor of the China Forum. A letter written by ISA CS to his fiances, Miss Viola ROBINSON, during this trip contained information birat ISAACS had decided to turn " Red" as a result of his convergation with GLASS.

In Sept 1911, CLASS became a member of the "MANLENS Defense Committee" and two months later was appointed Shanghai Representative of the Anglo Asiatic T clagraph Agency (Angasta) a news agency with HQ in H rbin, which position he held until 1933. In Augl933, he was living in Room 510,# 1276, North Sachuen Road, Changhai

ECS 1811; Shanghai Muniopal Files, file: 16-4-2-37

RUBINSON, VBolz e ers, har isacs

10 July 1910, HTC Parter Nat/1 Amorican

Description . Hoight. 319a Build alin Complx fair:

Decreantation : In 1932 holder of 03 passport # 382046 issued MYC 14 May 1991

In 1931 known to have visited Germany

Known Communist and follower of Lucy STANE

Arrived in Shanghal on 23 Aug 1932

等数据数据的设计数据的设计的图形。

14 Sept 1932 married Harold Robert ISAACS. She had been engaged to ISAACS for some years before her arrival in China, and it has been stated that the letters between the two indicated that Communist sympathies on the part of both and of ISAACS' intention of joining the CF

After her arrival in China was employed at the Dah Chung Middle Behool? Shanghai as a heacher.

She lived in the Embankment Building Bldg, North Scochoe Road

On 7 August 1933, the ISLICS left Shanghai for Japan and on 16 Aug 1933 proceeded to Dairen, returning to Shanghai by rail of 26 August 1933.

In How 1933, info was received to the effect that Miss Radinson was a teacher at the Comparative Law School, Shanghai

AUG 14 1351

The state of the s

Harold Robert ISAACS with aliases 10 Sad (penname used in China)

Harald Robert ISAACS was born in New York City on 13 September 1910 of American parents. Ras father has been reported as a decidedly of the commercial type.".

LIAACS has been described as intelligent, critical, pervoye— and nervoyely organized.

Little is known concerning the activities of ISACS prior to his arrival in ma. 1. W. USACS TO TO DO PROPERTY China from Manila on 10 December 1930; however, who Misited ISACS and arranged date in Shanghei, is reported to have embarrassed his son in the presence of friends by "kidding" the latter about trying to make money on real estate while in Los Angeles before going to China.

The actual date when Cecil Frank GLASS and Harold ISAACS is not known, but it must have been shortly after the arrival of GLASS in Shanghai in May 1931, for in June 1931, ISAACS and GLASS made a trip up the Yangtese together.

It has been stated that ISAACS became interested in Communism with specific reit has been stated that
lation to China, but lotters written by ISAACS to his fiances, Viola ROBINSON, and cheet to this trip with GLASS, are obsert to dedicate.

relation to China; it has also been stated that letters between ISAACS and his fiance, Viola RCSINSCN, which were written during the language trip indicated Communist sympathies on the part of both, and one of the latters contained the information that ISAACS had decided to turn " Rod" as a result of his conversations with GLASS. As you are smare, ISAACS and CLASS returned to Shanghai in August 1931 and took up residence at 128 Weihaiwei Road. In September 1931; both men are reported to have become members of the ROLLEGS Defense Committee, ISAACS being the Secretary.

The last better in according to a " a

Up n his arrival in Chine, ISAACS joined the editorial staff of the Shanghai Evening Post and the Mercury. ISAACS was also employed with the Havas News Agency, which connection he is reported to have severed around December 1933;

ISAACS also started and later became editor and publishes of the "China Forus."
It is believed to have been
He-was a monthly English language paper issued at first as a commercial job from the
Hereury Freque From October 1932 on it was printed by the Level Publis ing Company
Inse, 33, Lane A78, Piendong Road. ISAACS is reported to have openly stated that
he was manager of the pringiting company, owing ACA of the shares.

It has been stated that those who knew ISLACS in Shanghai found no reason to think he was a "pay off" man for A erican Conveniets, and that during the first cart of his stay in Chine, he was not a follower of Trotaky. However, he is reported to have finally become convinced that the tatics of the Chinese Conveniets were wrong and that Trotaky was Ethat in criticising them, and the Soviet Covernment under Stalin. He therefore wrote an article antitled; "I Break with Ethat to Stalinists," in which among other things, he is reported to have stated that the expense of publishing the magnatine had been b med by the Chinese Communists. He is then reported to have discontinued the magnatine and to have sold the printing equipment, the sum being realized from the tale not being turned back to the Chinese Communists but to have been given to the Tretaky cause:

ISAACS had been engaged for several years to Viola ROBINSON who arrived in Shanghai on 28 August 1932. On 14 September 1932, she and ISAACS were married and took Apt 204, the up residence in the Embandment Bailding on Borth Southon Road. Prior to the fall of 1933, Irene MEINAMES or TAINZAMES Shows a subject in the Solde Case is reported to have lived in the Schonkment Building with one Renes INJEAL. Bold AUDOUAHD and his wife who have been reported as Soriet sympathians and were who were known to have

been in close contact with E E KICH when the latter was in China also lived in this building in the early 1930s An Apartment 509.

After her arrival in China, Viola Rosinson Isaacs was employed at the Dah Coung Middle School, and by Hovember 1933 was reported as a teacher at the Comparative Lew School in Shanghai.

On I August 1983, the ISAACS lost Stangiel for Japan, and on 16 August 1933

December proceeded to Cairen, rothruing to Shanghai by rail on 26 August 1933. In Edwards 1931 ISIACS lost Shanghai for Process to gather first hand information on the newly formed a Poople's hovelutionary Government of the Republic of China.

In Jo wery 1924, ISAACS is reported to have visited Mr. and Mrs. NCULENS while they were on a hunger strike in prisons in the spring of 1934, ISAACS and his wife left for Teintain as route to Poking at which city, they resided at 2 flung Pu Cais Tao, East City. His mailing address was 3 of one Mr. UMBEANN; Grand Hotel, Peking.

It has been stated by friends of ISAAS even during the height of his Trotstrict carear, he never accepted money from any group; that he was open and above
board; and that he never engaged in any conspiracies to overthrow established government. They are also reported to have stated that IIACS was attracted to Communical
by Shaheer idealism.

It has been further reported that im-ediately after Pearl Harbor; ISLACS broke with the Protekvite group as he had broken with the Communists; and began writing propagands for the United States Government;

Schetize in the late 1930s, TS/ASS returned to the United States. By the Sali. Until the fall of France, he was employed by the Havas News Agency. In October 1943, of 1943, he was working for Newsweek Magazine in Washington, D.C. His address at that time was Priordship Heights, Newport Ave., 4936.

Housewells laving this period, he had a great deal of trouble about consorahip, and reportedly was deined permission to visit Communist areas. It has been stated that actually he was marely unfortunate in that he applied just after the government had restored its han on journalistic travel in that direction. At the time he add was decied permission, Freedry Will's of Time had just been allowed to go, and ISAACS falt that he was being discreminated againstalt has been stated that White, upon his return gave much a cold actount of administration in the Red areas that this, added to other aimilar experiences, solidified the government's determination no to let any more american newspaperson B go up and become Communist converte. In March 1945, ISIACS was reported as about to leave Churching permanently.

The following descriptions of Earold and Viola ISAACS are set out for your

Parold ISUCS Viola R. LTACS Born . 10 July 1910, NTC 13 Sept. 1910, HTC Hat'l American Amorican gige . 5150 Height Build medium alim Hair . black, wavy: brushod back Eyes . prom Comple

Passports an early 1930s US Passport # 177026

UsS passport # 382046, Assued NYC 14 May 1 931

In addition to Agnes SHODLY and Frank GLA 3, ISAACS is known to have been in contact with the following while in Crima 1.

Filles DUPDIE. For a time during his stay in China, ISALCS is reported to have a lived with DURDIE, then correspondent of the NY Times and means at one time, managing a lived with DURDIE, then correspondent of the NY Times and means at one time, managing a

editor of 9 China Pressis

John K. BURLAY, Shanghai representative of the Pacific Hews Agency in Vandenver, AUGRAY is also known to have been in contact with E.E. AISCH, Agnes SUDLAY,
I I reno UNITEDITY or MIDDENTIFF and one 72 BOVER. Curing his stey in China.

AUG 14 1374

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PUBLICATIONS

Brote an article entitled " I Break with the Stalinists" which allegedly among other things, that the expenses of sublishing a magazine which he was sutting out that been borned by the Chinese Communists:

At one time, ISAACS published a monthly English language magazine, insued first ab a conserval lay(sic) from the Heroury Press and later printed from a small printing outfit purchased by ISAACS. It has been stated that after publishing the article "I Break with the Stalinists," ISAACS discontinued the magazine and sold its printing equipment. It has been stated that the small sum realized from the sale was not turned back to the Chinese Communists but was turned over to the Trotaky Cause.

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n Baguido in the Fhilippi AACS was formerly with N	nes, which was hel	d in November	r 1947.	He state	ed that I	AXXX
AACS was formerly with Nad writer. He gave his on	Momint hut that he	now believe:	s he is a	a gree la	ance lect	urer
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FBI REPORT DATE: 5 DEC. 51

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FBI FILE #: 100-344906 (BUREAU)

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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-58088T

7 November 1951

Assistant Director for Policy Coordination Attention: Security Officer Chief, Special Security Division

Harold R. Isaacs

- 1. Reference is made to a memorandum from your office dated 3 July 1951 in which you requested that a Special Inquiry be conducted to resolve information concerning an allegation that Subject is sympathetic to and/or connected with Communist activities.
- 2. On 31 August 1951, Mr. of the Security Office was advised that partial results have been received as a result of inquiries at several national agencies. The partial information reflected that Subject had been connected with at least two factions of the Communist Party while living in the Far East. It was suggested that extreme caution be used in contacting or associating with the Subject.
- 3. This office has completed the investigation of the Subject, which includes a check of records of the appropriate Federal agencies. As a result of this investigation, the files of this office contain a great deal of information concerning Subject's association with questionable organizations and individuals. Although Subject has denied any current activities with the Communist Party, his associations and activities are highly questionable and his political sympathy has not been unqualifiedly resolved at the present time.
- 4. In view of the information as set forth above, it is recommended that extreme caution be exercised in dealing with the Subject. Under no circumstances should Subject be contacted with regard to possible use by this agency prior to receiving a final security determination by this office.

FOR THE SECURITY OFFICER, CIA

ROBERT H. CUNNINGHAM

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and the sale and the state of the sale of the sale and the sale of the sale of the sale of the sale of the sale

- 4. In addition to the above indiviousle, Durdin is also reported to have been an acquaintance in Shangari about 1932-55 of George Alexander Frenkul, who is presently employed at Yale University. RETHIUT was an acquaintense of ISAACS and was also reported to have been associated with Claimsing groups and what that time.
- 6. In view of the above limitation desires that Durain be interviewed as soon as possible relative to the assessment of a sequenterare and association with, Wilshitt, Iranou, Class, Buchitation 1978. Durain is requested to occurent particularly denominational, and a three institutions on behalf of the CP or the Inited International, where the law way have been encared in easirage activities on beialf of the Seviet Union, either during the sayly 1970's in China, or at my subsequent periods

GEORGE W. MALLORY



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DFB-11880

201-6556 Jept 14195L

September 11, 1951

Mrector To .

Control Intelligence Agency 2430 E Street, N. W. Enshington, D. C.

Attention: Eajer Desral W. C. Byenn Office of Special Operations

John Bigar Foover - Director Prop :

Poderal Bureau of Investigation

Subjects

TILLMAN DURDIN

INTERNAL SECURITY - B

In correction with an afficial investigation being corducted by this Bureau, we are desirous of obtaining contain information from Lr. Fillman Durdin, who is presently located o/o Heng Kong, Tigety Standard, 108 Findsor House, Victoria, Bong Long. It would be appreciated if you would have one of voter regresontatives interview in Pardin in Forg Korg along the lims est out telen.

For your information, Durdin is a fursign correspondent for the law York Times mempaper. He is an American edition born March 19, 1907, at Elkhart, Tame, and has been employed as a foreign correspondent for the Mo Tork Times for many years, possibly since at least the early 1930 s.

A reliable informant has edvised that in 1939 Dordin sas in Shanghai, China, acting as City Editor of the newspaper China Prose. At that time Derdin was said to be sharing an apartment with Frans Joseph Episblatt, described as an American citisen then in Chine as a reverger reporter.

According to our informant, Enishlatt was at that time a close associate of one Harold Issacs. Issacs, an American eltison presently living in law York City, was said by our informant to have been employed

in Thengral in 1933 as Editor of the "Chim Forus," described as a Communist publication. A source of unknown reliability has stated that in 1933 forace was a "notorious radical sympathiter" and was suspected of being an arent of the Third International. Issues was said to have urganized the Thank was consisted for the Defense of the Russes, Foul and Certific Russey were consisted in Chica in 1932 for Russian explanate activities.

In Parch, 1945 this Eureau interviewed one Korris Louis Applemen, an American citizen presently living in Denver, Coloredo, and Applemen statistics between a number of the Communist Party from 1921 to 1937. Applemen states that in 1933 and 1934 he knew Partin in Sherihai, and that during that period, he, Applemen, Marold Issaes, Frank Class and Alexander Suchrar, frequently held meetings at the home of fillman Denvic in Shanghai.

Prant Class is a mittab citizen presently Living in Les Angeles, california. Buthean is an American citizen also presently living in Los Angeles. Borris applican described Isaacs and Glass as Inciseyttes in 1933-34, and described Buchman as a former member of the Communist Youth League in the United Liates. An informant of unknown, reliability has also reported that during that period Class and Isaacs were superted of being agents for the Third International in Shanghai.

In addition to the above individuals, Durdin is also reported to have been an acquaintance in Shanghai in about 1932:33 of George Alexander Kennedy, an American citizen presently employed at Inla University. Kennedy was an acquaintance of Earold Isaacs at that time, and was also reported to have been associated with "left-wing groups" in Changhai at that time.

In view of the information indicating that Mr. Durdin was acquainted with these individuals during the early 1930's, it is desired that he be interstered relative to the extent of his acquaintance and association with the following: Frank Joseph Meiablatt, Sarold Isaaca, Prank Jana, Alexander Buchman, and George Alexander Kennedy.

it is requested that Durdin be questioned particularly as said any information he may possess concerning any activities of these individuals on benuif of the Communist Party or the Third International. Durdin excell also be exact victor he has any information indicating any or these individuals may have engaged in espienage activities on behalf of the Soviet Union, either during the early 1930's in China or at any superquent period. It is desired that full details be obtained from

Mr. Lurdin relative to any information be may furnish concerning possible subversive activities on the part of any of these individuals.

 $\bigoplus_{i \in \mathcal{I}} G_{i,j}$

It would be appreciated if you would endeavor to have the farling interviewed at the earliest possible date.

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	Andim!
From:	Report No.: -89
No. of pages 1	anclosures: None
Report Fade by Walter J. Ingold	Approved by
Distribution: Nome	Reference: and WASH 01125
Source Cryptonym: Tunic-2	

Remarkes

- 1. In our last message to Tunic-2 on 30 July we used the discrepancy concerning Leo-Figures' visit to NVN as an example in a gentle lecture on the virtues of accurate reporting. By 1 August Tunic-2 answered back. The man obviously takes pride in his work.
- 2. An ope comment relating to this report will be sent in another pouch or via cable.

SECRET

118 BUPY

Subject: Leo Figueres	Report No. 1 89
	Date of Infor as indicated
Place Acquired:	Date Acquireds 1 August 51
Svaluation: B-3	Date of Reports 2 August 51
Sources	

who works in the Viet Kinh Kinistry of Foreign Affairs, According to

Leo Figures was in Saigon in early 1900. The French did not allow him to remain in Saigon and he was forced to return to France. Figures later went to Hong Kong in late August 1990, and then proceeded to the Viet Eac via the Hoa Ham (F.C.: South China 1) road to attend the Third Congress of the FCI held in early Octuber 1950.

2. There had been several previous cases of individuals who were unable to reach Viet Finh territory from Salgon because of French interference. In July 1949 Fr. A. Roth, Eliter of the Sunday Tribune, arrived in Salgon and obtained all necessary papers, the French did not allow him to proceed because of his pro-Communist articles. Others were Walter Briggs of the Christian Science Monitor, Barold Tonace from Beweycok, and S. J. Perelpan (because he criticized Rao Dai in Westward, Roi).

SECRET

FBI REPORT DATE: JULY 51
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJ: UNKNOWN
FBI FILE #: 100-68282 (NEW YORK)

Wind phy De 25 Juno 1951 MEMORANDUM FOR PT/CS

SUBJECT . Harold R. Isaacs, Request for an information namachack on.

It is requested that a name check for information be conducted on Subject for the purpose of determining the validity of charges that Subject is sympathetic to and/or commeted with Communist activities.

2. We have been informed unofficially that Subject is currently employed by the Ford Foundation as an advisor on Far East projects. Then one of our covert agents was recently called upon by the Ford Foundation to present some suggestions for a Far Bast program, the agent found that Subject was in-terested in and was to be closely connected with this program. It is planned that the Ford Foundation remains unaware of the CIA connection with this covert agent.

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	8.	When	the	report	18	completed,	the	information	ahould
bo:	routed	l to				B-1/ar			

Deputy Chief, FE-1

FU-1/JBA/ph

Dist: Orig & 1 - Addressed

2 - Registry.

1 - FE-1 filos

HAME: Harold R. Isanos

ADDRESS (last known - '48): 555 Central Park West, H.Y.C.

DATE OF BIRTH: 1910

MATICALITY: American

- BUSINESS CARUER: (a) Staff writer for Havas News Agency (1930-1935)
 - (b) Editor of China Forum
 - (c) City Editor for China Press, Shanghai, China
 - (d) Far Eastern War Correspondent for Romassok (1944-1945)
 - (e) Special Projects Editor for Newsweek (1947 ?)
 - (r) Advisor to Ford Foundation

PUBLICATION G.

- 1. Contributed to Harpor's Magazine and Toronto Star Nockly.
- 2. Books: (see attached)

- 1. Two-Thirds of the Borld: Problems of a new approach to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin-America. 1950
- 2. New Cycle in Asia: Solected documents on Major International developments in Far Sast. 1943 and 1947 notes and introduction 1947.
- 3. Ke Fence for Asia 1947.
- 4. Tradery of thinese Revolution 1988 -
- 5. Five Years of Kuo Min Tang Reaction 1932
- 6. Enither Profice 1936 Leas Trotaky wrote the book and Isaaca translated it.

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DOCUMENT DISPOSITION Case Pertinent Information Pertinent Information of the Case. This Exhibit consists of two related parts: I and II. The sec divided into two sections, A and B, because of its bulk. Part I is an personality and organization listed in Part II. Part II consist of a contents of each Shanghai Municipal Police file, followed by a habular of the contents of the files, with page references. Page 24. Isaacs, Harold Robert: G-2 Doc. # Anti-War Congress report, mentioned in 10. "China Forum"editor of 65 "Chinese Workers' Correspondence": Investigation re 32 Received by 94 Envelope addressed to 45 "Filev Yaars of Kucmintang Reaction" 65 "Cranich, "Evidently another Isaacs" 4 "I Break with the Chinese Shalimists"	28 Dec. 195
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION PERTINENT INFORMATION In Inclosed is Consecutive Exhibit No. 32 in the documentation of the Case. This Exhibit consists of two related parts: I and II. has see divided into two sections, A and B, because of its bulk. Part I is an personality and organization listed in Part II. Part II consist of a contents of each Shanghai Municipal Police file, followed by a Babular of the contents of the files, with page references. Page 24. Isaacs, Harold Robert: Anti-War Congress report, mentioned in 59 Burton report, mentioned in 10 "China Forum"editor of 65 "Chinese Workers' Correspondence": Investigation re 32 Received by 94 Envelope addressed to 45 "Five Years of Kucmintang Reaction" 65 "Cranich, "Evidently another Isaacs" 45 "I Break with the Chinese Shalinists"	
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page 69

The July 30, 1932 issue of the New York Times", under a Shahghai Dateline of Jule 29, 1932, states that Harold R. Isaacs, an American citizen, was warned by the U. S. consul in Shahghai that the U. S. may with draw ink its extra territirial rights and allow him to be tried in a Chinese Court. Isaacs, then editor of the "China Forum", had violently attacked Chiang Kai-Shek, calling him among other things, a butcher. The article further stated that issaes was as associate of Agnes Smedley, a correspondedt for American newspapers. The arch 7, 1946 issue of the New York imes reflects an article captioned "Broup of Americans, including writers and journalists announced that they had sent aletter to Chaing Kai Shek concerning the death of Yang Chao, OWI employee, who was arrested by the Nationalists and ided in prison. The sighers were critical of the treatment recieved by CHAO. THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUAL signed the letter: Maxwell S. stewart. Elizabeth Ames, Maroline Slade, Alfred Kazin , Eric Severeid, Richard Wasts, jr. H. R. Isaacs, Agnes Smedley and Theordore White.

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	INFORMATION					
Passport files of State Dept. also indica 23, 1932 in which the subject listed as ide Harold R. Isaas, who according to information	te passport renewal application dated June ntifying witnesses ——subject mentioned tion poasessed by T—l as 'RED'					
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADSO SODB-20568

HEALBAIDE: FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Attentioni Tr. Pose H. ingereall

Subjecti olareld hobert linking

MICROFILMED FEB 3 1966 DOC. MICRO, BER

1. This is in Poply to br. Jack b. Rool's request for information concerning harold Rebert ISAACS, made by telephone on 23 Hovenher 1949. 201-18-445

2. According to information obtained from a source devaldered religing, harold pabert ISAACS has been in Son Bork City on 13 September 1919. A he arrived in han hat from sanila in Seconder 1930 and one in possection of American passport 177026. I.A.CS was first employed in changest by the hauxnot evening out & verousy, an ingition language daily published in changhai. After a few weeks, he became associated with the China Crass. another inclinional published in the that and see with this paper until say 1931. In sume of the sace your Thank made a trip up the language elver with Cacil Frank GLATO, /a British subject and member of the critish Communist Carty, suspected of terng an agent for the Tiled International in China.

3. On 15 June 1931, Filaire NOULENS, with alianes, was arrested by the Manghai Municipal folice on charges of espionage in behalf of the Third international. ISAACS became the chammal secretary of the Coulte intermutionals four la Sefense de Faul et Gertrude Ruege (RRELING), a committee formed to aid the NOULENSE in their defense egainst charges of employage preferred by the Chinese government. Our files reflect that ISAATE was in correspondence with 1111 30 M. M. HERRY, the President of the Committee with hosdquarters in Serice. SUPPLEBERG was an active agent in dersony for the Third International. ISAACS is also known to here back in contact with agree SMEGLEY in Shanghai at this time. SMEGLEY HAROLO R. TRANS

CIFILSA OCC-COMMUNIST AGENT? WIFE OF HAROLD ROPPILT ISAACS (201-18446) regricen citizen torn 10 June 1910 in her lots lity of les with errived in hanchai es & suguet 1932 from vanouver, anata, abourd the 2.3. "Express of Asia", and was in to seasion of American caseport 382046 issued in New York on 14 May 1931. The modding was held on 14 maptenber 1932 at the American Conculate General, 100 8081 003 man believes to

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have been connected with los maiet activities in the United States and Union. Serrespondence to their marriage, societies that they were both associative to activities being conducted by the terminates in thins. On 20 Parenter 192, the MOLINGS was entrusted by Dr. Secar Line 1188 by the MOLINGS defends ettorage, with teaching the inglish language to Fing XDL W, the Tourspar old some of allairs and Sections 800L 85.

b. During forld for II IDARCH was a man correspondent for homework in China. In July 1945 he was refused entry into thinks by Chinaco satisficationalist authorities, presumably as a result of anti-Satismalist articles written by IDARCH for Hemaniot.

7. Barold Mobert 1.A.C. is currently opecial Features Toltor for <u>Vergreety</u>, 152 heat 42nd street, New York, New York. He is the author of reveral books, including No Feature In Asia and The <u>France of the Chinese Revolution</u>, ISANCO current political beliefs are unknown to this gendy.

8. Should ISSANG leave this country, this isoney sould appreciate being advised of his intended deutination, date of departure and any other pertinent details.

FOR THE DIRECTOR OF CERTAIN DITECTIONNESS.

SURAT A. CHOT Assistant Pirector

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PERTINENT	INFORMATION

Harold "obert Isaacs was born in New Y'rk City on 3 Sept. 1910 and held USA passport 177026. He was the editor and Publisher of the China Forum. a Shanghai Communist periodical first published in 1932: the secretary of the Nucleus Defense Committee; a member of the Shahghai branch of society of Friends of the USSR and of China League for Civil Rights. He arrived in Shanghai from Manila in Dec. 1930 and worked for Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, swithing after a few weeks to the China Press where he was employed until ,931 (May). In June 1931 Isaacs took a trip up the Yangtze with . Erank Glass, a Brigish Communist and suspected Third International agent. A lankikur R letter wiritten by Isaacs to his fiance, Viola Robinson stated that he was turning "Red" as a result of conversations with GLASS. Ather statements indicated athat Miss Robinson an American then in Germany, was an active member of the communits Party. Isaacs used the pseddonym of Lo Sen and published in the New Militantm organ of the New York Dist. Workers Party, an attack on Stalin entitled Stalintern Ready to Embrace Chiang Kai shek. In 1949 Isaacs was in the employ of the ?American magazine NEWSWIN, New York City, as special projects editor.

FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. 201-18496

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HEADQUARTERS, DETAC FERT AOA-A STRATUME SERVICE UNIT BATA/IA, JA/A

SN: ZM2477

REPORT NO: ZB-10

REPORT DATE: 8 Doc 45

CAPT. BLUNCHELL. ATTN: LT BARNETTE INFO DATE : 7 Dec 45

FRCK

GRABILL NO. PAGES

INTERVIEW BETWEEN MR. MAROLD ISAACS, SUBJECTI MR. CHARLES TAMBU, AND ER. DIAM.

SOURCES: Mr. Farold Isanos, correspondent for Newswook magazine. Mr. Charles Tabbu, Malaya born Tamil, formorly employed on Singapore newspapers, newscaster for Singapore radio. English-speaking amounter on Satavic Radio during occupation, and presently editor of newspaper Independent.

Hr. Dlah, editor of <u>Mardeka</u>, nationalist novepaper, Batavia.

E/AUJATION: B-3, except as noted.

The subject interview was held at the request of Fr. Isaacs in line with his Jesire to talk with leading figures of Indonesian nationalist movement who held no official government position.

CIRCULATION OF MERDYIA

Asked about present directation of MEGEKA, Mr. Diah replied with the following: MENDEAN is the largest Indonesian newspaper on the island of Java. At present it is printed only in Batavia, with a daily total circulation of about 13,000 copies. Of this number, approximately 5,000 copies are sent out of the city by train to Bandoeng, Sperakarta, and Djokjakarta, leaving a Satavia circulation of between 10,000 and 14,000 copies. Source expressed the opinion that while the Indonesian population of Batavia is in the neighborhood of 500,000 persons, the literacy rate is purhaps only twenty percent of this figure. Thus, he admitted, ME(DECA is probably reaching less than four percent of the total Indonesian population of Batavia; despite the fact that Batavia is probably the most literate area on the island of Java because of concentration here of all the governmontal functions, prever and present.

When questioned as to why his circulation was so inconsistent with the potential realing population, source replied that he was handleapped by lack of paper. He expressed the opinion that a circulation of 50,000 would be assured, and a circulation of as high as 100,000 possible, were sufficient paper available. At the present rate of or sumption, he estimates that sufficient miles the free prewar stacks to outline publication of MERDEKA for one year. -102

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(Mark-Ry Mil -102 rate of or sumption, he estimates that sufficient paper is on hand

JEFF CHICALL

THE INDEPENDENT

On December 7, 1945, the MENDERA press commonced publication of a daily English language newspaper entitled INDEPARTMENT. The maethood of this paper states also that it incorporates the INDONESIAN NEWS BULLETIN, a former English language newspaper published by ANTARA news agency.

The INDEFENDENT is at present being edited by Mr. Tabbu, with some assistance from Mr. Diah, and using the paper and facilities of MERDERA.

The first issue of INDEPENDENT was remarkable only for its avoidance of any discussion of local affairs, only two articles having anything viatable to do with Java. Questioned about this, Tambu additted that, while his ultimate ambition was to reach foreign and troop (British) readers, he was hesitant about entering headlong into discussion of local affairs and the Bationalist cause, because, (U-3), the British are unfavorably disposed towards MIROMA already, and would use his venture as an excuse to confiscate the entire printing plant, were he too openly partisan in his early issues. Within a week or two he hopes to be secure enough in his position to start laying more stress on local news and editorials.

The first issue of INDEPENDENT was printed in 400 copies, most of which wore given away, although the stated price is I Japanese guilder the copy.

To: Lieutenant Colonel ROCER A. PFAPP

From: John I. Coddington

Subject: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

Mr. GEORGE N. KATES of OSS, REA, has just returned to the United States from Chungking. He reached Washington yesterday. He claims to have known HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS quite well in Chungking, and has the following observations to make concerning Mr. ISAACS:

HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS is about 35 years of age. He attended Columbia
University, and received the degree of A.B. there in 1930. He is the son of
an orthodox Jewish merchant, who is very wealthy, and who has always supported
HAROLD, even though he did not approve of the radical views that HAROLD expressed
in the 1930's.

HAROLD went to China immediately after graduation from Columbia, partly, atleast, out of a desire to see strange parts of the world and to experience "adventure." He went out by way of Hawaii, and stowed away for part of the voyage — either between San Francisco and Honolulu, or between Honolulu and Shanghai — Hr. KATES does not remember which. Anyway, this was part of the "adventure."

In China, HAROLD met a South African named FRANK GLASS, who was an "intellectual" and a very interesting person. GLASS was a Leftist, but not at all a Communist.

HAROLD took a trip up the Yangtse with GLASS in 1930 or 1931. At about this time, HAROLD became a convert to Trotskyism, partly, at least, under GLASS's influence.

He felt that "suffering humanity" required a "revolution" to set things straight.

Communism was too organized, and HAROLD was a complete individualist, and reacted strongly against the organizational set-up of Communism, and so espoused Trotskyism.

He returned to Shanghai from the western part of China, and went to work for

THE HAVAS News Agency. Shortly after this, in Shanghai, he married VICLA ROBINSON, who was, like HARCLD, a wide-eyed intellectual. This marriage probably took place in 1932. VIOLA was a great friend of AGNES SHEDLEY, the author of the Battle Hymn of China and of other books dealing with the Chinese Revolution.

An organization called the China League for Civil Rights was formed about 1932. YANG CH'IEN was the head of this for Central China, and Dr. HU SHIH (later Chinese Ambassador to Washington) was the head of it for North China. YANG was at that time Secretary-General of the Academia Sinica. YANG was soon assassinated by the Blue Shirts (at that time CHING KAI-SHEK's bodyguard). HAROLD ISAACS had been an enthusiastic member of the China League for Civil Rights, and in the atmosphere of turmoil, after the killing of YANG, when all Leftists were under attack by the Kucmintang, HAPOLD became the editor and publisher of the China Forum, a magazine that published a number of controversial articles. The magazine was protected by the fact that the editor was an American, and therefore had extraterritorial rights. Yet the magazine was regarded as a "thorn in the flesh" by Mr. CUNNIKHAM, who was at that time American Consul-General in Shanghai. There were various controversies — the printing shop was broken up by Kucmintang strong-arm men; the mails were refused to the magazine; but he continued publication for some time, and smuggled the copies out to the subscribers.

In 1933 or 1934, ISAACS had a fight with AGNES SYEDLEY. It was an ideological fight, and therefore especially bitter. ISAACS and his wife left Shanghai after this, and moved to Peking. There he acquired a Chinose translator named LTU, and there he settled down to write his book, The Tragedy of the Chinese Eevolution.

This book "nails the Stalinists to the mast" and shows that they were messing around with a situation in China which they did not understand. Very many people who have read the book consider it excellent.

HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS, continued

The book was completed, and ISAACS and his wife returned to the United States about April or May 1935. Immediately after this, ISAACS made a rapid trip to Oslo, Norway, to see his hero, LEON TROTSKY, who was living there at that time. It was on this occasion that he must have undertaken to translate TROTSKY's book, Whither France? ISAACS then returned to New York, and went to work for the HAVAS News Agency once more.

At some time in the late 1930's, he became interedted in New York politics, and he worked hard for NORMAN THOMAS.

By 1940, however, he became disgusted with New York politics, and became interested in the war, and in bourgeois life." He and his wife had a baby at about this time (their first), and ISAACS found he could write radio scripts and get good money for them. Up to 1940, he had been living chiefly off his father, but from 1940 on, he began to make money. In 1942, he did a "Report to the Nation" for CBS.

Soon efter this, he joined the Staff of News-Week, and in 1944 was sent to Chungking by that magazine. There must have been a certain amount of trouble in convincing the Chinese Central Government that ISAACS had really changed since the old days in Shanghai; but this convication was evidently accomplished, or ISAACS would not have received permission from the Chinese Covernment to go to China.

ISAACS is a very smart can indeed. He knows a lot about China, and he knows a lot about people in general. Moreover, he is a great deal "smoother" and more diplomatic now than he was ten years ago.

ISAACS, Enrols Robert

fo: Lieutenant Colonel ROGER A. PFAFF

From: John I. Coddington 9.16.

Subject: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

HARRID ROBERT ISAACS is now the correspondent of Newsweek magazine in China. His headquarters are in Chungking, but he evidently travels to Kunming, Kweiyang, and other places in the course of his duties. He seems to have arrived in China in his present capacity during the summer of 1944, probably in July.

Subject was born in 1910, and is a member of a wealthy family. He became a firmly convinced Trotskyist in his youth, and remained one till the time of PearlHarbor. He is now regarded as a renegade by his former Trotskyist colleagues, because he has disavowed the principles of world revolution, turned away from Trotsky's teachings, and since 1939 has been writing patriotic propaganda for the United States Government.

He went to China about 1930, and wrote two books dealing with Chinese politics, Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction (1932), and The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (1938). Both of these volumes expressed the author's Trotakyist point of view. The first was published in Shanghai, and the second in London. Neither was ever published in the United States, and ISAACS said that the Stalinist Communists were so powerful in this country that they were able to prevent the publication of the Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution here. This book received high praise from many serious students of Far Eastern affairs, including G.F. Hudson, Fellow of All Souls College at Oxford, and author of The Far East in World Politics, who said that ISAACS' book was the test one ever written on the Chinese Revolution. Hudson is now an official of the British Winistry of Information.

ISAACS' non-Communist and non-Trotskyist friends say that even during the

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HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS, continued.

height of his Trotskyist career, ISAACS never accepted money from the group. He was always open and above-board, and never engaged in any conspiracies to overthrow established government. He was attracted to the movement, they say, by sheer idealism.

For a time in China, ISAACS lived with Tillman DURDIN, the China correspondent of the New York Times, who was then the managing editor of the China Press. ISAACS returned to the United States in the late 1930's, and was for a time employed by the havas News Agency, until the fall of France in 1940. In 1943, he was employed by Newsweek magazine in Washington, D.C., and resided at 4938 Newport Avenue, Freindship Heights.

Publications

(a) Books

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(b) Translations

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HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS, continued

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- "Ignorant Men and Modern Weapons: Inside Story of the Chinese Army," Newsweek, p. 44, 20 Nov. 1944
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- "Ting Hao: Shouts of Welcome met First Convoy to Kunming," Newsweek, pp. 35-36, 12 Feb. 1945

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES 630 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

10 March 1945

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To

Major General William J Donovan

From

John C Hughes

Subject

Harold R Isaacs

Pursuant to our telephone conversation. I asked Mr DeVecchi of this office to check with Alan Grover, Vice President of "Time and Life". One of the men with whom Grover works very closely knows Isaacs intimately. In this man's opinion, Isaacs is a very solid and substantial citizen, knowledgable, hard working and an able correspondent of good character. He states that he has recently had occasion to communicate with Isaacs and that his address is:

Harold R Isaacs
War Correspondent
U.S.F. CT
APO 627
c/o Postmaster. New York

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NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

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March 9, 1945

MEMORANDUM

TO:

MR. SPENCER PHENIX

FROM:

ROBIET DEVECCHI O

Alan Grover, Vice-President of TIME, LIFE, at my request checked with one of the men in his organization who knows Harold R. Isaacs personally.

He told Mr. Grover that Mr. Issaes, in his opinion, is a very solid and substantial citizen, knowledgable, hard working, good character, and an able correspondent.

Mr. Isaacs can be reached at the following address:

HAROLD R. ISAACS War Correspondent U.S.F. CT APO 627 c/o Postmaster New York, N.Y.

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I Break with the Chinese Stalinists

To the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:
The two-year period of my extra-organizational collaboration
with the Chinese Communist party has come to an end and
the China Forum which I founded and edited during that time
has been forced to suspend publication. In the interest
of our whole movement as well as in my personal interest.
I consider it necessary to record here and publish the
history of the China Forum and the circumstances of its
suspension....

XXXXX

which I date from the time I began reporting events in China in a communist way - a number of questions presented themselves to me in increasingly forcible form. These urose originally from my discovery of the gross distortions and exagerations which I found to be characteristic of communist propagands in China and abroad. I define propagands as the skillful, clear, accurate and wholly truthful reporting of the facts linked to an incisive, purposive interpretation and a plan of action for dealing with the facts in a revolutionary way. I learned this from the life and work of Lenin and his Bolonevik communes who taught us that the truth comes from the masses themselves and that only disaster can result from telling them lies. I have never learned to the contrary that it was my revolutionary duty to work in any other way, although I soon found that the present-day Communist party press makes a practise of distinguishing between propagands and truth.

Examples of exaggeration and distortion most s riking to me were nuturally those which applied to China, because here I could check allegations with known facts. I first wrote these down to the ignorance or incapacity of individuals. I felt that communist editors abraed rould publish accurate facts about China if they could get them. Accordingly with a friend I tried to set up an independent mail news service and sent weekly bulletins to papers allower the world giving brief, sharp, factual accounts of what was going on. This was in the full of 1951 after my return from the area of the great Central China floods of that summer. I scarcely understood then why this service failed to secure any response from the communist press abroad. After about three months I had to suspend it for lack of support. It simply didn't get published except in a few organs which were not official Communist party papers, including the New York Militant.

papers, including the New fork military.

It wasn't long before I began to ferceive, with a deeper study of international events and the history of the Chinese revolution, that a consistent thread run through the distortions and exaggerations which I found not only in brief casual reports of current events but in the solemm pronunciamentoes made by delegates before plenums of the K.C.C.I. I discovered that these departures from the truth were made necessary by the official premise that ever since the cathetrophe of 1927 a mighty, upsurging revolutionary movement has been marching forward in China to the very brink of saizure of power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist party. I discovered that these exaggerations were necessary because the premise was false and along with it all the basic tenets of the

politics being pursued by the Communist International and the Communist party in China. I cannot begin here to give a summary of some of these distortions (which I repusally cited to you by the decen), runging from particular incidents (the wilfully false picture given of the cotton mill strike in Shanghai in January 1932, dwen, to the point of transcosing it to February to heighten the impression given of the workers' role in the Shanghai war) to high-flowing energiations like the statement recently made before the plenum of the B.C.C.I. that the C.C.P. has "won over the majority of the Chinese working class and the peasantry"....

In denying the presence of a might revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a vast organized march toward the sel-zure of power), I respect facts made still closer perhaps when compared to the facts and figures of the monster mass movements of the 1925-27 period. The tragic errors of the communist leadership in 1927 were primarily responsible for the decapitation of that great movement and because no lessons have been drawn from these events to this very day, these errors, monstrously accumulated, are still responsible for the tragedies of today. But for the purposes of our comparison here, let us take for example the single fact that in 1926 in Greater Shanghai there were 257 strikes. In 1932 there were 82. Let us remember that on the eve of the workers' adjure of power in Shanghai in March, 1937, there were more than 800,000 workers, handicraftsmen and petty traders out on the streets fighting with arms in hands for demands of a far-reaching political character. A close check for the entire country in the latter half of 1933 showed me that less than one-thirtieth of that number were engaged in strikes and other disputes during any given month and that almost invariably the demands were defensive demands against wage outs and lockouts. Moreover, the lack of cohee sive leadership - often in departments of the same factory or in one or more of a group of factories - or even semetimes lack of even the most elementary organization - has in almost every case led to deadening failure and relatively casy betrayal by the yellow "labor leaders" and "mediators" of the Kuo Min Tang. 1925 the shooting of thirteen students by British police in Shanghai was the touch-off for a general strike which paralyzed the city and which was seconded by vast sympathy strikes which broke lize a series of tidal waves over the entire country. In January 1932, when the Japanese importalists used the Shanghai International Settlement as a base for operations which cost the lives of tens of thousands of Chinese, not a single strike interrupted the normal course of the public or other services in that settlement. In the factories there were no strikes but a large scale lockout to which the overwhelming majority of Shanghai " workers submitted without protest.

In the case of the widespread but isolated and individual cases of peasant uprisings, and this includes the Red armice in Kiangsi, these struggles await the leadership of a strong working class movement before they can have a successful issue. The Red armics in their restricted and surrounded areas and with their meagre resources have fought heroically against the Kuomintang attacks upon them. But until the Kuo Min Tang is shaken from its bulwarks in the imperialist-controlled working class centers, their prospect of revolutionary triumph remains necessarily dim. So revolutionary purpose is served by taking refuge in the fiction that these armice have proletarian leadership because individual workers, undoubtedly

loaders of superior quality and courage, have been torn from their factories and from their fellow workers and sent cown to occupy key positions in the Red army districts and in the Red armies themselves. Indeed, this common practise of extracting the most conscious and progressive working class elements from their working class environment and sending them down to the Red districts is a good irdex to the criminal transposition of emphasis which has helped paralyze the working class movement in the cities. If the Thite Terror doesn't carry off the workers' londers as they arise, the C.P. does and has done so in hundreds of cases. This helps in no small part to explain why it has also been impossible to mobilize a genuire mass anti-Japanese movement in the face of military aggression and thy the Thite Terror of the Kuo Min Tang has succeeded, by filling mass graves and in-numerable prisons with the martyred dead and living, in downing the anti-imperial set movement or efforts toward the organization of such a movement and paving the way for the ever-increasing enormachments of the imperialists, The party has not yet gripped and directed the deep und bitter and often inarticulate hatred of the masses the people for their oppressors and this includes large sections of the lower potty bourgeoisie who could be won by succeedful mass pressure from below. This is because they party has fulled to translutothe realities of everyday events into its program and tactics

But precisely because ut all costs I desired to carry on the Forum's open struggle against the common enemy - against the kuo Min Tang and the imperialists - I sedulously avoided bringing these issues into the columns of the paper, increasingly against my better judgment. I leamed over far backward in this respect. This expressed itself in many of the current issues with which we had to deal.

I ask you to recall the whole uphill fight which the Forum waged on behalf of Paul and Gerturd Ruegg in the spring and summer of 1932 during which time I repeatedly warned against the emphasis which was being placed on the "legal" aspects of the case and the "negotiations" with the Kuo Min Tang to the detriment of mass pressure and the capitalization of the case for political purposes. You paid lip service to the need for mass pressure particularly here in China - but in fact the "lugalities and futile negotiations remained the major pillars of the defense. Until in the very end I finally rebelled, I wasn't even permitted to give Ruegg his honorable and rightful title - secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat! Yet although I felt the struggle for the Rueggs was being seri usly handicapped by the tactics being pursued. I carried on the fight with all the energy at my command and you will recall that it was I who created the local defense committee and was chiefly responsible for the widespread press propaganda campaign and the considerable sympathy which we aroused. Yet the etrictly non-political attitude which Ruegs was forced to assume at the trial (in contrast to the highly political attitude of his prosecutors!) was in my opinion one of the major reasons for the fate to which he and his wife were condemned.

I ask you to recall the whole period of the organization and activities of the China League for Civil Rights, from December 1932 to June 1933, in which I took an active part. I gave full play to this hybrid League and its work without once publishing the basic criticisms which I often voiced to you and which in the end were wholly confirmed by what happened after the Kuo Min Tang murdered Yang Chien in June that year. I ask you to recall the views I set forth in August and September 1923, on the

subject of the "Anti-ear Congress" which at your specific request I did not publish. Instead, to my regret, I published the foul rot of Marley & Co. without freely giving play to the true facts about that farcical junket which had convinced me that the policies which gave it birth do not one single whit advance the international struggle against imperialist

On one occasion - and this at least I can take comfort in - I passively resisted when you requested me to write and publish a slanderous attack on Chen Du Hsiu when he was condemned to 13 years imprisonment by the Kuo Min Tang. Your request was specific. I was not to deal with the issues which had brought Chen Du Hsiu from being the leader of the C.P. in 1927 to being leader of the Chinese Opposition in 1933. I was only to string together a vile series of labels in an effort to explain may the Kuo Min Tang even imprisoned the leader of the left Opposition. As you know, that attack was never written or published.

Again in December 1933, upon my return from Fukien, you specifically demanded that I set aside the results of my own personal investigations in Foochow in order to write on your behalf (but over my signature!) an utterly baseless and slanderous attack on the Left Opposition. You will recall that you charged at that time that the "Trutsky iste" were prominently identified with the new government set up in Fukien by Chen Ming-shu and Teal Ting-kai. You lumped the Left Opposition with the Third Party and the socalled Social Democrats among the petty bourgecis satellites of the Fukien militarists. It was as much to satisfy myself on this very point as to perform a mission for you, that I went cown to Foochow and spent two weeks there and learned through direct conapent two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of people prominently concerned that the Left Opposition was stoutly and cleurly opposed to the Foodhow regime. I haven't place here to discuss the relations of the C.P., to the short-lived Pukien government or the character of the "negotiations" which were going on down there. The important, thing here is that on my return you demanded that I write slanders which flow in the face of everything I myself had learned. It is interesting, as a side-light on your methods in factional strife as you conceive it, that your representative in Foochow sent back a report, through me, ironically enough, that one of the most prominent of the youthful pseudoradicals in Foothow, du Cui-yuen to be exact, was a leading "Trotskyist". It so happened that I had met and had several longthy interviews with Mu and by the time I left Foothew I understood his position and his personality exceedingly well. He was as much a Trotskyist as Mei Lan-fang is! Yet you actually demanded that I ignore my own knowledge of the man and in my article on Fukien set him down as a "Trotakyist". I was faced on the one hand by your demands that I write falsehoods to suit your policies and on the other by my deep desire to set forth the actual facts about the Opposition's attitude toward the Fukien regime. But once more, to preserve the shreds of our relationship, I drove a middle course and did neither, leaving the whole question out of my article.

Hevertialess, abruntly in January of this year you forced an ultimatum upon me and subsequently forced the break in our relationship because I could not and would not, at your demand, devote the China Forum to policies which I could not and do not believe computible with the interests of the Chinese revolution and the international proletarian revolution. I could not, at your demand, set aside the convictions to which I had literally been driven by the stinging leash of catastrophic events in China, Germany and the world over. Particularly my deep interest in Chinese events during the last three years made it im ossible for me, finally, to live active support to policies and tactice whose disastrous effects events of every weiftly passing day. I could not ignore questions which strike at the roots of our work and the whole structure of our hopes for a revolutionary future.

Despite the fact that these questions are rocking the entire International today, you denied my right to raise them in print. You demanded more. You demanded that I attack anybody who did so - primarily the people you call "counter-revolutionary Trotckyists" - the only people who are facing these problems today in a fearless, revolutionary way! You demanded that the China Forum become a stereotype for the policies and vulgar factional slanders which I could neither then nor now be party to. In reply to my questions on China you simply quoted back at me the lies and half-lies I've been so used to reading in Inprecorn. You even declared: For propaganda purposes a certain amount of exaggeration is nocessary... and went on amazingly to say: but we know the tille facts and we base our policies on them, not on these exaggerations!" A new slant on modern-day C.I. tac'ics! Facts, you say are curious things. They have to be turned around and around and around; and examined closely until their true nature becomes apparent. The trouble is you turn them so far and so quickly that they turn into something like a dizzily turning top of fanoy - or at best wish-fulfilling misrepresentations.

To my questions on Germany you quoted Heckert, Piatnitsky and the B.C.C.I.'s famous resolution declaring that the collapse of the German party and the slaughter of the German workers were based on the past, present and future correct policies of the C.P.C.: You declared I had no right to offer critical comment on the danger usly opportunistic foreign and demestic policies of the U.S.S.R. most notably on the entry of the U.S.S.R. on a straight nationalist basis into the diagusting corridors of imperialist intrigue. To the contriby, I was livingly, fawningly to fouch and hall the policies which have meant disaster in China, Germany and elsewhere and are rapidly leading the U.S.S.R. into the vacuum of nationalist isolation from the world-wide proletarian movement. This I was to do; to begin with; by publishing Stalin's face on the front page and columns of the customary penegyrics to his infallibility. Above all and before all, I was to take up cudgels against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyiem". That was to be the main point of my reformation - to raise no questions myself and slander anybody else who did so.

In reply to your demand that I submit to an editorial board in order that these editorial policies should be effectively put into practise, I offered (1) to continue publication strictly as before, meanwhile arguing out my differences with you in discussions on the side: (2) to throw the columns of the Forum open to a general discussions

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of all basic revolutionary questions, with free play to unorthodox as well as orthodox views. If your views were correct, I argued, it would be a distinct advantage to you to have such an emportunity to display their brilliance alongside the puny efforts of your critics; (3) to publish orthodox news and views but to reserve for myself the right to comment and criticise.

These repeated offers you repeatedly refused. You offered to discuss these questions sith me verbally if in the meanwhile I threw the Forum open to your editorial board. My other proporals were until keele! Give the Forum's readers a chance to hear "counter-revolutionary" viewpoints? Never that ! I could only display my revolutionary purity by acceding to your demands. For would talk things over until spring, when if all went well (i.e. if I showed a satisfactory adaptation to your viewpoint) I could pack up for an educational trip to the Soviet Union where I would certainly occume convinced of the error of my ways. In other words, you wanted my signature on a promissory note with the amount left blank for you to fill in. You put this in the form of an ultimatum and you told me that if I did anything but accept I would forthwith enter the comp of the "counter-revolution".

I had to refuse these terms. I had to refuse to lend myself to a slanderous and baseless struggle against the International Left Opposition. I had to refuse to land space to the nauseatingly fawning praise of Stalin and uncritical reception of Stalinist policies which characterize the Communist party press the world over. I had to refuse to take shelter in the cold and draughty empty spaces which stretch benied the impressive facade and early traditions of the Communist International. I would like to go to the Soviet Union for a visit one day but I had to refuse your offer on your terms. I had to refuse, in short, to become a hack prostitute in the name of the revolution.

In the end, too, I had to refuse to turn over to you the printing plant I had built up with so much pain and struggle because I considered it not your present; but the property of the working class movement. Because I could not carry on the Porum myself, for lack of financial resources and because of heavy dobts contracted, I disposed of the plant and turned every farthing of the proceeds over to where I now consider the tare interests of our movement lie. It was with a deep and apiding bitterness that I had to see the Forum go down under the blows of those whom I had considered comrades, when for two years it had fought off all its many enomies on the outside.

Yet with it came the realization that we have to build anew over the ruins you have wrought. The revolution and the building of our future moves forward and when we trample down the defenses of our enemies we shall crush underfoot everything and everybody that stande in our way. No sycophantic, blind allegiance to a name, an empty facade, a tom and shredded preatige can lead us forward. Only unswerving fidelity to our goal and active struggle toward this end with the weapons of a correct and tested political line will lift as from defeat to ultimate victory. To this struggle I shall continue to dedicate all my energies.

Peiping, China, May 20, 1934.

Rarold R. ISAACS.

isaacs

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1901-1936

China (D:B 786:)

1954 Horald Robert Isaacs working Mit Contra for Intronoti Studios (dorrica)

"Five Years of Euominton Reaction", a 13 page parallet published in 1932 at Shanghai, lists ISAACS as Editor. The pamphlet consists of reprints of articles which appeared in the "China Forum" by "anonymous authors and collaborators". The pamphlet denounces the Kuomintang and IMIANG Kai-shek for alleged massacre of its political opponents, chiefly Co-munists, in order "that the bourgeoisio might continue to rule and the imperialists to draw their tribute from the capitalization of human misery". Chinage Communists are seen as the hope of the future. ISAACS continues to reside at 333 Central Fark West, NYC, and is employed as free Isaac journal lat, as of 12 May 53. DFB-27426.

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O JACOB. FBI think that there is a possibility that the JACOB, an unidentified young Amer journalist in Shanghai in 1931, 32 who was a member of the SORGE network in China might possibly be identical with ISAACS. ISAACS inself has advised that he doe not believe that he could have been the indiv to whom SORGE gave the covern JACOB. (______7864)

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ISAACS

The July 30 1932 issue of the AT Times under a Shanghal dateline of 29 July 1932, states that Harold R ISAACS, an American citizen was varied by the US Consul General in Shanghal that the US may withdraw its extra-Terretorial rights and allow him to be tried in a Chinese court. ISAACS then the editor of the "China Forum," had violently attacked in a Chinas Exal Shell, calling him, among other things, "a butcher." The article further stated that ISAACS was an associate of Agnes Shelling, a correspondent for American newspapers [1461]

One Harold Robert ISAACS was born 13 Sept 1910; 5'9" tall, med build, br eyes, & black wavy hair brushed back. Born in NYC, And ditizen. Editor & publisher of the China Forum. Was seey of NOULEIS Defense Corrittee & member of Society of Freinds of USSI Arrived in China from Marila on 10 Dec 30 & joined editorial staff of Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury. On 12 June 31, took trip on Yangtsze with C.F.GLASS, susp Sov agent, & wrote his fiances he decided to turn "Red" as a result of talking with GLASS. The 2 returned in Aug & took up residence at #128 Weihaiwei Road. Started printing Forum later. Manager of Level Printing C., Inc in MY Stato & owned 40% of its shares. Employed with Havas News Agency. ISAACS married Miss Viola ROBINSON Sept 32. Lived in Apt 204, Embankment Bldg., Shanghai. In 3 Jan 34 Subj visited NOULEIST who were on hunger strike in prison. Subj's parents arrived in Shanghai 14 Jan 34 & left 20 Feb for Marseilles. Subj. published art in New Militant, organ of MY Districts Worker's Party attacking STALIN. ISAACS was also lecturing on Japan, China. and USSR & Mar Crisis in Far East. (205-1811, 16-4-2-37, 5 Feb 59: Shanghai Municipal Fol Files.)

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4 Morret 1921, states, "The halos crists is not created by Bussian totalitarianism,
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"Five Tears of Knowledge Reactions, a 136 page pasphlet sphilished in 1912 at Sunghal, lists subject as editor. The pasphlet constate of reprints of articles 12 suns 53 which appeared in the "China Faruss by "anonymous subhers and collaborators". The pumphist Senonymous the Sunship for alleged measures of its pollited, appoints, chiefly Communists, in order "that the bourgoins sight continue to rele and the importalists to draw their tribute from continue to rele and the importalists to draw their tribute from continuation of human matery". Subject continues to reside at 333 Cambral Furth bars, NT, and is employed as a free lance journalist. See ref. dom. (NI).

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a democratic socialist state, but was personal to serve the mode of Hastan diplosacy. In revived cultion subject stated his opinions have shared in inter-venting the and that the bias of his book can be oscervied as "democratic socialists see does in (51,701-1016-5).

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