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9 January 1975 (date)

Review of 201 File on U.S. Citizen

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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.03 P.703

P.03 P

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MEW WALSES, New York City, Sotober 22, 1935 - Page 12

Europe's Chisis; Japan Prepares

By Hensu Chan

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 herold Isnaes. Alexander Euchmen, Frank Class and Wilbur Burton in The Chine Press. The China Weekly Review. Asia. Pacific Affairs. Now International, etc., realizes that these swerican Trotakyiat journalists are the most victous and most dangerous of the whole lot of reactionary journalists.

diding behind a barrage of Marxist parasoology (which none of them has yet learned to manipulate with facility). these people are energetically conducting a campaign of lice against the Communist International, the Chinese Communist Forty, the Soviet Union, the Chinese Soviets and the Chicese Hed Army, a campaign which sime to undermine the confidence of the outside world in the Chinese Soviet movement and the Red Army.

RECORD COPY Harold Janaes
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SUR COMMIST ACTIVITIES FILES Date Oct. 23.1957

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TROTZKYITE BOOK MOURNS OVER CHINESE REVOLUTION.

versity Press. 382 pp. \$5.

By ROBERT FRIEDMAN

The presses are spewing forth anti-Chinese books these days at anti-Chinese books these days at Issues now says he no longer a pace which bids to match the loves Trotsky, whose introduction a pace which hiels to match the anti-Soviet torint. All the 'old China hands' who served Western imperialism as banker, soldier, spy, or whatever in the Orient are now husy at the typewriter, engaged in profitable vilification, of 450, 600,000 people because they decided to take their fate in their own hands and build for themselves.

One book which deserves, even under the cynical and opportunist reign of capitalism, some special prize for adaptability is Harold D. Isaacs' Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution.

Published first in 1938 as an open defender of imperialist intervention against the stead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the stead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the sead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against

usets, the same book emerges now, tors, refurbished, to mourn the victory Meanwhile the Chinese people of the very same Chinese workers will go about their business bulld-

NESE REVOLUTION. By Isaacs book, has been reissued. Harold D. Issaes, Stunford Uni-partly to each in on the hate-China Hy Isaacs book has been reissued, racket, and partly because any stick is useful to Big Business against the liberation bound masses.

Published first in 1938 as an avowedly Trotskyle tract (com-plete with introduction by Trotskyl is ironic in view of the fact that calling the defeat of the Chinese Chiang sits today on Taiwan, a workers in 1927 a "betraval" by abscredited gangster save only in Stalin and the Chinese Communities, the same book emerges now, tors.

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

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H/W ATT 02 To XAA2-35866

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Enclosure No. 1
To Det toh No. 3317

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10. 3317 RE.

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

Mr. 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. Isaacs)

(Copied by RD)

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H/A ATT (3 To XAA2-35636

201-184-16

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 raply 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 blow 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 vicious 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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our common dedication to the struggle meainst a regime of hate and misery and oppression. In the end you forfeited 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 went largely unsatisfied throughout that time. You never supplied me with the reports I so frequently and urgently sought, particularly on trade unions, 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 1933, 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 bootstraps 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 from the facts 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 exaggeration and distortion most striking to me were naturally those which applied to China. bocause 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 get them. Accordingly with a friend I tried to set up. an independent mail news service and sent weekly bulletins 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 E.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 generalisations 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 Chins, 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 inspt tactics of the party.

In denying the presence of a mighty revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a vast, 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 responsible for the tragedies of today. But for the purpose of our comparison here, let us for example take the single fact that in 1936 in Greater Shanghai there were 257 In 1933 there were 82. Let us remember that on the eve of the workers' seigure of power in Shanghai in March, 1937, there were more than 800,000 porkers handicrafteren 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 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 1935 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 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 is largely because this terror has not been fought effectively that the Kuomintang regime, despite the fact that it is rotting and orumbling, 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 No revolutionary purpose is remains necessarily dim. served by taking refuge in the fiction that these armies have proletarien 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 of extracting the most conscious and progressive working class of conscious and co gressive working class elements from their working class environment and sending them down to the Red districts is 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 batred of the masses of the people for their oppressors and this includes large sections of the lower netty bourgeoisis 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 Moscow. 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 repeatedly warned against the emphasis which was being placed on the "legal" aspects of the case and the "negotiations" with the Kuomintang 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 "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 Ruegg his honourable and rightful title - secretary of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. 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 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, 1933, 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 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 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-heiu 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-heiu 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 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 "Trotskyists" were prominently identified with the new government set up in Fukien by Chen Ming-shu and Tsai You lumped the Left Opposition with the Third Ting-kai. Party and the so-called Social Democrats among the petty bourgeois satellites of the Fukien militariets. It was as much to satisfy myself on this very point as to perform a mission for you that I went down to Foochow and spont two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of people prominently concerned that the Left Opmosition were stoutly and clearly opposed to the Foochow 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 Blanders 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 said had several lengthy interviews with Hu and by the time I left Foodhow I understood his position and his personality exceedingly well. He was as much a Trotskyist as Hei 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 zore 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 How could I write of Germany and avoiding these issues. 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.

TV.

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 policies 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 "For propareading in Inprecorr. You even declared: ganda purposes a certain amount of exaggeration is neces-sary ... and went on amazingly to say: "but we know the sary ... and went on amazingly to say: true facts and we base our policies on them, not on these exaggerations! A new slant on modern-day C.I. tactics! 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 is 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, Piatnitsky, 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. was to do, to begin with, by publishing Stelin's face on the front page and columns of the oustomary panegyrics to his infallibility. Above all and before all, I was to take up oudgels 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 meanwhile 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 viewroints? 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 (i.e., if I showed a satisfactory adnotability to your view-point) 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.

Peiving, China May 20, 1934.

EUR CORRINIST ACTIVITIES FILES

DATLY HORKER SOURCE:

File No.

9100 Sonace

POST WRITER ADMITS ALL KOREA' OPPOSES INVASION

behind the Liberation Armies from Know Why Help Has Come. the North and are hostile to the American troops sent there by dicated its own awareness of the Truman's interventionist order, the phoniness of this headline by dropping it. The new one complained: "Weak S. Korean Regime Hampers City at Front."

[Inner] acticle gave the lie to

day.

Isancs' articlo gave the lie to the Post's own editorial line of support to the police-state regime the Americans had a friendly population on their side, this is by no means the case now in Korea.

It concludes: "Even if the war to defend "democracy."

Isaacs declared that the U.S. remains localized, even a victory has "much more reason to count on general Korean hastility than porary one, and such a victory will on heroic support." He admitted not be easily won.

The concludes: Even it the war remains localized, even a victory will on heroic support. He admitted not be easily won. been infinitely harder hit by the American oction so Let than by their fellow-Koreans from the north.

The South Korean government was an unpopular one in the elecwas an impopular one in the elec-tion held only four weeks ago," Isaacs said, "the regime of Presi-tbut Syngman Rhee was decisively rejudiated."

Jeans declared that the guerilla movement in South Korea Too governed the provided have operated only with a considerable measure of popular support," and he acknowledged the intense desire of all Koreans for reunification of their dismembered

To top this story, bristling 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 concepted the dis-

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

(In late editions the Post in-

RECORD GERY

7100 - Issaes, Horold

December 2, 1932.

No. 1480.

MEMORANDUX.

sith reference to R.A. memorandum No. 1305 of December 4, 1931; regarding Harold 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.T.R. s.s. AMPRESS OF ASIA. On August 29, Miss HOBINION, together with Harold ISAACS of the CHINA FORUM, gave notice to the United States Consulate General 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 HOBINION is a follower of the Suffregette, Lucy STONE, who, some fifteen or twenty years ago, suvceated 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 Yrs. ISAACS.

In connection with Viola "COINTEN's activities in China, in a letter, dated Szechuen, July 24, 1931, Harold ISAACS wrote to Viola ECHINSON 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 WUSS mentioned in the arove extract.

A TRUE CORY OF THE SIGNED ORIGINAL

RECOLD COPY

H/W ATT CO TO 35656

No. 5019

9 m. Manse, therely

Confidential:

AUGRICAN CONSULER SERVICE.

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

Subject: Harold H. Isaacs.

THE HONORAGE

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:

Er. Harold R. Isaacs 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 ears of the American Express Company.

According to Police reports Issaes arrived in Shanghal from Manila as a first-class passenger on the S. S. PRESIDENT JEFFERSON on December 17, 1930. He was employed by the CHRACELL EVERGE FORT AND MERCURY and later by the CHRACELL PRESS but apparently lost both

prollions.

H/W ATT. 07 To XAA2-30656

positions. He has resided with a British subject named C. Frank Cluss at 129 Weihairel Road and made a trip with Class to Spechuen 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, Presden. Germany, dated July 24, 1931, at Chongtu, Szochuen. This letter, it is stated, was returned unoponed to Shanghai from Dreeden, addressed to Herold R. Isaacs in care of the American Empress Company, Shanghai, 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 communistic views, only decided dofinitely to turn "Red" during July of this year. He states 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 October 17, 1931, information regarding this letter was given by the Shanghai Municipal Police to an officer of the local British Consulate Coneral, who apparently eabled 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. Isacos in Forember, 1931, established a news agency under the news of the

Far Eastern Fred Correspondence," cable address
Fenprecop, P. C. Box 1926. On Cotober 6th Isnaes and
C. Frank Glass moved from 120 Weihniwsi Road to House
Fo. 6, Passage No. 177, Avenue Dubail. The police state
that this address was formerly known as Number 85 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 Isnaes 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 Nou had been murdered, allegedly by communists in retaliation for Kou's turning traitor to the communist cause. In connection with this ratter Isones addressed an open letter to the verious newspayers of Shanghai, under date of Hovember 24, 1931, in which he scored them for brending those alleged murders as: "horrible" 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 Shanghal and other Chinese militarists. Home 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 Mr. Issaes.

Respectfully yours,

E'win S. Cunninches, American Consul General.

Enclosure:

Enclosure:

1/- Copy of open letter from Enrold

A true copy of like signed orig.

Bill Bing Book orig.

In (undruplicate

No Copy to Logation.

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 2007 of Edvin 5. Cunningham, American Consul Constal at Sharehal, China, dated hoomsber 16, 1831, on the subject: "Narold h. Isaacs."

COLX

AN ORDER DEPENDE TO THE PORTION METSTATED OF CHARGEAI.

Your publication of the "chastly" (Shanshai Times), "horrible" (China Press), "destandly" ("vening Post and North China Daily News) marders allegedly committed by Chinese Communists in the French Concession brings foreibly to mind certain other aspects of the Chinese seems show chastliness and barbarity find their way into your columns only at rare intervals - and them only in brief gool paragraphs.

There can be no attempt to "justify" these alleged marders, if the tale be true. We all have the guts of a traitor. But we cannot all cendence 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 more of vengesnee over to the ineffable mercies of the Lord or employ the less seathetic but more effective instruments of the gollows, electric chair, lethal chamber, the guillotine or the core refined vengons 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 sins 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 alloged decis of murder in Frenchtown can still without a qualis endone and even express satisfaction at mass murders a thousand times more revolting, a thousand times more barbarous - but less so in your journalistically judicious eyes only because officially perpetrated.

You city of iters - at the moment sending your men out to run down the last threaded folios 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 domand for their readjustment?

Tou e iters, who wield your editorial powers so self-right-eously, why don't you emaistently examine and logically expose a povertment that maintains itself largely by desperately slaughtering the flower of its protesting youth and the backbone of its peasant masses 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 blosts against the Nanking regime, attacks which are almost always immediately offset by the necessaring calogies and blotant lies that follow.

Considered from your own point of view, Mesors. Editors, the miriorers of these Fronchtown people should be brought to justice and nade to pay for their origins.

Interinitarly from your own point of view, to what ber of
justice should Ching Est Shee be brought, before what tribunate can we arraign the carrieon cormandors of Shanghai, Nenking, Hankow, the warlords of Shontung, Szechuen, Ewangtung and Manchuria 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 cun, 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 markers 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 beasting the recognition of all foreign powers, that vast portions of the Chinese population are oriminal: On this promise, Chiang Kai Shok & Co. backed by the cohorts of the woong wonage swoop down on whole provinces, massuere theusands, 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 "biiiidita."

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 elies of Continental Asia, allegedly port of the Nanking Government's domain. Lacking the courage, the ability, the inclination to turn its gums on the invador, the Humaintang 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.

by your own and the Chinese press during May-December, 1980. You reported 4,740 executions. From other, more neticulous a wrees are derived statistics which show that no less than 96010 were executed during the last four menths of 1930 alone! This fi we counts clobular, doesn't it? Yet for every digit there is semembere 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 1989 approximately 450,00 workers, peasants, and students not deuth at the hands of China's "rovolutiomry" 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 righteeus 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 Champhai depicting these processes in all their grisliness.

And at these, Mesera. Estors, do you raise your editorial hands in saintly horrer? 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 boasts of your importantity. Here is at least one opportunity to invest them with some quality of vorisi ilitude.

Sincorely,

(Signed) Harold R. Isaacs 177 Avenue Dubail, House 6.

Hovember 24, 1931.

Copied by IBB Compared with I'll Hy

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9900-Insace, Har**old R.**

FILE NO.

SOURCE

D.W.

DATE:

8-4-32

EDITOR OF CHINA PAPER IN DANGER

Threat to Turn Isaacs
Over to Nanking

BRANOIIAI, 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 ruthless-the chinese Revolution and ruthless-the chinese workers and peasants by the Nanking regime and the United States and other imperialist brigands. He has exposed the shame-ful sell-out of the Chinese masses by the Nanking traitors to the Japanese, American and other imperialistate.

The United States government has warned Isaacs that it will withdraw the protection of extra-territorial rights unless the "China Porum". 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 Issues 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 manses. The Wall Street Government, which protects its business agents in looting China now proposes to throw Isaacs to its Nanking lackeys for trial in the Chinese courts on charges carrying life imprison-ment or the death penalty.

Isaacs has categorically refused to concode 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 "igorous protest to the State Department at Washington against its attempt to proceed Isaacs to death in the Nanking Courts.

er Dundler of the United State

RECOND COLL

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Priss Confirmer . 7/30/32.

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

FRANCE

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 extratorritorial 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. Regers said that he understood that Assistant Secretary Thite 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

TREET OF COR

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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FBI REPORT
DATE: 6 AUG 1952
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

INTERNAL SECURITY - R 100-286243 (BUREAU) 105-1247 (NEW YORK) FBI FILE #:

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ACTION REQUIRED REFERENCES

- 1. On 12 July 1967, WUSPARROW/1 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 nemed a 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 an books, The New World of Negro Americans and India's Untouchables. Subject plans to publish in August 1967 a book on the American Jews in Icrael and is working on another on the Philippines.
- 3. WUSPARROW/1 first mot 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 Vietnez, Yeeling that Ho was independent enough of China to make him at worst a sort of Tito.
- 4. Subject presently is despeiring 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 Monolulu to work for the Honolulu Advertiser. (WUSFARROW/1 went to work for the some paper two years later.) Subject went next to the Philippines 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 . .

Distribution: 2 - C/DO

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CROSS REFERENCE TO	GESPATCH SYMBOL AND RUNBER	DATE
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- 6. Subject's mind was set on China and in late 1931 he went 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 MUSPARROW/1 became friendly with him. According to MUSPARROW/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 MUSPARROW/1 to participate as well.
- 8. However, as MUSPARROW/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 MUSPARROW/1's guidance to be a profitable unwitting spotter and assessor of foreign graduate students.

LOUIS K. ROLLOFIER

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Special RALTEN TO: 10/14/65 FILE #151-1423 PC BUDED: 11/11a ISAACS, HAROLD ROBERT

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Sept. 19, 1910, NYZ, NY

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married Viola Robinson, dob June 20, 1910, MYC, MY married Shanghai, Sept. 14, 1932 HS:

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ADDRESSES:

Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow Rd., Newton, Mass July, 1953 to Aug., 1965 Hass. Pob., 1944 to July, 1953, 333 Central Pk. Wost, NYC, NY Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4938 Newport Ave., Fr 1940 to Sept., 1941, 72 Pk. Torrace Rest, NYC, NY 1937 to 1940, 40 Monroe St., NYC, NY Newport Ave., Friendship Hts., Md.

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

SSN: 082-03-4029

EMPLOYMENT:

Mass. Inst. of Tochnology, Camb, Mass., academic, research 1953 1943 to 1950, Newsweek, WDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter, war corres. assoc. editor 1943, Lookhoed Aircraft Corp., WDC, radio writer 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 editor 1930 to 1931, Shai Evening Post, Shanghai, China, reporter 1930, Honolulu Advertiser, Ecnolulu, reporter

FOREIGN TRAVEL:

China, 1930 to 1935, Travel, work, writing China, Burma, India, 1944, to 1945, war corres. Newsweek PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949, Newswook assignment Phillippines, 1950 to 1950, cover Baguo conference Europe Eninly UK, 1957 to 1957, travel, visit university Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 1960, academica research project Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Robert Issaes, denomined Mother, Sorbie Dorlin, deceased Wife, Viola Bobinson Ispacs, dob 1910, same

REPERENCE:

FILE IN 231 Signat Sariver, Peace Corps., PMC, known 17 yrs.

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26 OCT 1965

TO:

Director

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 CSCI-316/04169-65, dated 13 October 1965, subject: ISAACS, Harold Robert. It is noted that a portion of the information appearing in said CSCI was previously forwarded to you in our SODB 20568, dated 2 December 1949, subject: Harold Robert ISAACS.

CSCI-316/04352-65

Encl. I name check
l attachment as stated above

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Based on: CSCI-316/04169-65

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RETURN TO: Tainor 10/14/63 caw FILE #151-1423.

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ISAAUS, HAROLD ROBERT NAME:

EORN: Sept. 12, 1910, NYC, NY

married Viola Robinson, dob June 20, 1910, NYC, MY married Shanghai, Sopt. 14, 1932

ADDRESSES:

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Feb., 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 Honros St., MYC, MY

EDUCATION

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

SSN: 082-03-4029

EMPLOYNEUT:

Mass. Inst. of Tochnology, Camb, Mass., academic, research 1953 1943 to 1950, Newswork, WDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter,

war corres. assoc. editor

1943, Lookhoed Aircraft Corp., WDC, radio writer,

1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NYC, WDC, writer

1934 to 1935, self employed, Peling, 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 Frent Advertise 2 60 1950 miles ter

FOREIGN TRAVEL:

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RELATIVES:

Father, I. Robert Issacs, deceased Mother, Sorbie Dorlin, deceased

Wife, Viola Robinson Isaacs, dob 1910, same

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

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ISAACS, EAROLD ROLERT MALLE:

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EDUCATION

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

SSN: 082-03-4020

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1943, Lookhood Aircraft Corp., NDC, radio writer, 1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NVC, MDC, writer

1934 to 1935, solf employed, Poking, China, writer
1932 to 1934, Kavas 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, Konolulu, reporter
1948 1940 New York Times + Kapparen

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, 1959 to 1956, cover Baguo conference Europe Kainly UK, 1957 to 1957, travel, visit university Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 1960, academicE research project Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,

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Father, I. Polare Isanca, deceased Nother, Sorbie Borlin, deceased Wife, Viola Robinson Isaacs, dob 1910, same

REFERENCE:

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

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22 OCT 1955

MAI to information forwarded in CSCI-316/01352-65. dated 26 October 1965, subject: ISAACS, Harold Robert.

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RID/FI 1B 4003

1.3 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 Manile, Philippine Islands, in December 1930. First employed in Shanghai by the English language daily, Evening Post and Mercury, Subject became associated a few works 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 Liternationale 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 China. 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 propagands 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 refused 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 magazine, 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.

CSCI-316/04169-65

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Based on: SODB-20568 CSCI-3/778,850

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27 NOV 1963

OT

Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence Department of the Army Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Branch Security Division

PROM:

Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: ISAACS, Harold Robert

Reference is 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 organisation 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 News Agency in Shangbai 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 Ruomintang 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, Viola 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 ledged against him with the American Consulate.

- d. Subject was described as a "self-confessed Commist" 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 Foundation advisor on Far Bastern Projects.
- 4. For additional information concerning Subject you are referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to the Department of the Navy (no documentation available).

CSCI-3/778,850

Encl: 1 attachment as stated above.

RID/CE: JMA/MI/dcl

Based on:

PE/1, 201-18446*
CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 2713, 10-11-32
CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 4606, 16-5-33

CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 4718

CHINA CIA OP1, SMPD 4685 & 4685/C

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Harold R. Isaacs teaches at MIT are all the names the same person?

Summary of

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10

Chief, NEA

DATE 5. Nay 1956

MOON

Chief of Station, Karachilwis

SUBJECT GENERAL SPECIFIC

Operational/INTEL
Far Eastern Association 8th Annual Meeting,
Request for Background and Operational Information

- 1. The program of the 8th Annual Recting of the Far Eastern Association, held in Phildelphia 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 to this station if Headquarters can get them:
 - A. On 3 April, Zakye Eglar: "The World View of the Punjabi Villager".

 (Note: This is quite likely the East Punjabi, but it should have some validity for Lahore as well as for Delhi.)
 - B. On the same day, a Pakistan Studies Organization Keeting was held 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.
 - c. On 5 April, all the items of a "South Asian Miscollany" should be of considerable interest, particularly Stanley Garon'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

Distribution: 5 - NEA 2 - Karachi

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NEIL R. HYDECKER

1000 S. 1955

Director

Federal Europu of Investigation Attentions Fr. S. J. Papich

FRCIN Deputy Director, Plana

Collect: Formande Eugliellis, also known as Fernando Laguar ACHES

- . 1. Reference is made to a communication from this Agency dated 30 August 1955, captioned as above, our reference CS CI-2542.
- 2. Attached for your information is a copy of a lotter writton by subject and addressed to the peat office lox contioned in the referenced momentum. The letter was signed by subject as FULY, his feminine psuchenym. It should also be explained that English is not subject's native language; therefore, the grammer and upalling used by subject in his letters are to be expected.
 - 3. This office interprets subject a latter as follows:
- a. Aunt Josephine is Jose LENGARD, with whom subject has been in contact the past several winths and the has been indectrinating subject with leftist ideology. Milliand has not edulated to subject that he is a Commist, although in his conversations with subject he sticks very close to the current line of the Philippine Communist Farty (PKP).
- b. Marold ISAACS (FBI File No. 100-286243) is well known to the Dureau.
- c. Unclo MANUEL is probably the late Philippine President Manual CURROW, who sponsored Jose LANSAG's entry into the United ... States in 1937 whom LANSANG studied at Columbia University. William Chitrit, Jr. has not yet been identified by this office.
- d. PAULILIC, fru is probably Dr. Filadelfa PAULILIO, former Associate Professor of Machanies at the University of the Philippinas. PHILLIO received his BRW from the University of the Failippines and his M.S. and Ph.D. at the University of Michigan.

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21-18446

Recording to a usually reliable source of this Mancy, FARLICIO was novor able to completely foreigns to Philippine life after having lived in the United States. He is known for his strong pro-knowledn view and according to cource probably his greatest desire is to reside permanently in the United Status. Although it is known that PANCILIO was on friendly torks with Jose LANGING there is no recons that he chared LAISANG's political views.

- v. Fr. BELLERY to probably Father Delant, Jecult Complain at the University of the Philipphics.
- f. Typrosior Cyprus University may possibly he Structure University.
- 6. Life Libra in probably hierrico 1/023, Phillippina novepaperson who was allegedly conseluted with Rerry ESINCS in the International longehoroton's and Europousements Union (ILSV) in Monolulu. Miss was born on 3 April 1915 in Usnile; bewever, most of his life has been count in hawait. In was naturalized a U.S. citizan in 1948 and roturced to the Phillippines in 1949, where he look his U.S. eliteenship in 1952. Thoru is no information in the files of this office which indicates that LIDEZ has returned to Bounds. For additional information concerning table, reference in made to a managraphic to the Bureau, dated 23 Kovember 1949, subjects "Ricardo Liber (eka Ricardo Laver)", our reference 50 23-20307.
- h. Unclo Nak is Nort CUYCOAI, Unclo Diatriko is Baltesor CUTUAM with then the Bureau its familiar as a result of provious correspondence concerning his desgitor, Carmon Jane CUTUAN (FBI File No. 105-52561). From the wording of subject's fotter this office assumes that Boltzmar CUYUGAI is avery that the Poderal Duronu of Investigation is investigating the Cultury. It also epposing that Baltaner CUYUGAN gave subject a letter to deliver porconally to all Erother for CUIWAN, possibly to avoid a mail intercept by the Riveria. It should be noted that subject stated that he hallow the letter instead.
- 4. In view of the consitiveness of the source of the above information, it is requested that no further dissemination be made of the information without prior clearance with this francy.

CS C5-2768

Actachment - A copy of a lotter (Addressed 1955)

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distribution.

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201-18446

FBI DOCUMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

DATE: 26 MAY 1955 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS FBI 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
SUBJECT: LIU TSUN-CH'I (M) AKA
T.C. LIU, LAU CHIN-KI
FBI FILE #: 100-365280 (BUREAU)

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FBI DOCUMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

DATE: 26 MAY 1953 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAAC FBI FILE #: 100-286243 9 (BUREAU)

DATE: 18 FEB 53
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
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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FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

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

FBI REPORT

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FBI REPORT
DATE: 26 MAY 1952
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SUBJ: GEORGE HERRING, WAS:
RING, PAUL RUEGG
FBI FILE #: 100-344906 (BUREAU)

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addressed to Harold R. Isaacs while Isaac							
the return addresses on this mail was Smi	th and Isaacs, 344 East 149th Streed						
Bonnx , New York. Harold R. Isaacs, ment	ion above, was identified by T 17 as						
	thies who resised in Shahghai in the Early						
thirties.							

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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 Memorandument winted states government

DATE: 7 February 1982

FROM : Chief, St 22 3, 783 Mislow
FROM : Chief, Contact Division, C)

subjects of Information-Pro-Communic Sentiment of US Nationals in China

1. Inclosed is a copy of an orticle present for publication in the Caristica Science Toblica by a former editor of the Sanachai Anglished of a company. It has not jet be muchtished and probably will not be published because of its limits.

Signosum (A) as listed above

.: COPY

ace fores

Strong Section

- 1. A happy enting has been written in the case of ferris in fipolana, former Communist who is now secretary of the Communist who is now secretary of the Communist of Denver. He has been pressed in assistant of "disclosing his Communist part", and his board of directors has voted confluence in his and continued him in his job.
- 2. No doubt all this is fitting and proper but it doesn't ensuor the question of why nobody in Donyor soons to have known anything shout Appelments Rud-tinged pant, or why there was anything scusational about his revelation of it in Washington. This the police rate is rightly anothems 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 Appalments not that he did anything particularly reprehensible, but that what he did was quite in the open. According to the Easthington tentiment he served the Commist party, apparently without special concealment, in Runnia, Germany and other points in Luroje, going around the world between 1924 and 1938. He southt to relieve the and Grace transit in the editornhip of a Shanghai haplish-landware Commist majazine, "The Voice of China", in 1937, he testified, but didn't not off his ship in Shanghai because of the hostilities there at the time.
- 4. This shells something of a light on the supposedly fearless and ruthless Communist operations throughout the world. I was in Champhai when fighting broke out there between Jajan and China on Aug. 13, 1937, and can testify that we had three months of diag-dong 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. Possibly 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 bere a virtual advertisement of its Communist allegiance on its front cover, to those familiar with mathods of converting Chinese into English. The name "Voice of China" appeared in both indish and Chinese a populiar Soviet-originated system of Remainization was used so that what is ordinarily, by conventional "ade system, written "Chung Nea" for China was spelled "Chung Num"— an extraordinary effect frankly explaining the publication's emergation.
- 6. But what was more, Empold Isance, 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 headed "I break with Stalinism." Dils gave a cardid elucidation of the Communist financial backing of the "Voice of China" and if anyone either in or out of official life had previously suffered any illusions as to its nature, Isaacs' article—published class where than in the "Voice", of course—certainly should have dispelled them.

- 7. The Granichs seem to have lived quietly in Shanthal and mero little known, which under the circumstances was hardly surprising since they more running an obviously Communist organ. Unions fai-elek's forces could not moddle with them openly, for at that the Shanthal 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 Laws, now with the import—xport hank in washington, D. C., was a sert of Old Curaudjeen of the Shanjhal 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. Usuas can't have suffered greatly for this in the eyes of his superiors, for he was later promoted to a bassador both to China and to Australia.
- 8. This background has some present importance since an Arerlaan magazine is being operated today in Communist Shanhai, which tolorates no criticism or opposition. Originally pro-Mationalist under the late.

 J. B. Powell, it has been friendly toward the Operatists under his son, John William wheel, and it stayed on after most other American enterprises—including the daily Shanhai Evening Test and Beroury, edited by myself—had shut down and American officials had loft Red China.
- 9. Refere they departed, these efficials had reason to compile an extensive file on what is now the China bothly Review. One incident which is known to have irred then was the Haviour's treatment of the case of Fillias Olive, American consular official, in the summer of 1949 seen after the Communists had taken ever. Clive blumbered into a traffic conflict with the Communist police, was taken to first one and them a second police station, and in the course of several days' imprisonment he was severely beaten with fists and gunbutts, kicked and otherwise maltrented. Formil's Review blandly professed to have little information on the matter but gave an account unfavorable to Clive. Then consular officials asked Powell 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 Euroa 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 Powell unless

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or until he decided to return to his em country—and even ther, the country nature of American love on this peneral subject make it hard to trill what could be done solds from perhaps denyin; another passport to go alread again.

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

CONTRACTOR M

State genunda

COMPIDENTIAL

SECURITY DEFORMATION

Chief, 3t ff d, Confibra Miss Juje Sinelow Calef, Contact Division, Co

14-00000

7 Pearucry 1958

CS Information-Pro-Consumiet Sentiment of the National's in China

1. Prolosed is a only of an article preserved for publication in the Ciristian Solence Soution by a former editor of the Shanghai Englished and probably will not be prolished because of its rength.

TIME A. F. &

Section Letter (1) as listed above.

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OFFICIAL DISPATCH

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LLOYD GEORIE Chief, FE

COORDINATING OFFICES

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FOOM NO. 61-66

CLASSIFICATION

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

ISAACS, Harold Robort

Born 13 3-pt 1910,HTC

Hetil American

DESCRIPTION.

Rollint . 5090

Build . modium !

Halr block, wavy, brushed back

Combatter Comment

Eres brown

DOCUMENTATION

In 30s was traveling on passport & 177026

Arrived in China from Menila on 10 Dec 1930

Upper to arrival joined the editorial staff of the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury

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

On 12 June 1931, ISAACS and his friend WASS took a trip up the language During this trip ISAACS wrote his figures, Viola ROBINSON, that he had decided to team " Red as a result of conversations with GLASS."

The two returned to Shanghai in Aug 1932 and took up residence at # 128 Weihaiwei

ISAACS later started and became the editor and published of the "China Forum" and the at first wan job-printed but from Oct 1932 on was printed by the Level Publishing Go. ISC, \$ 33, Lans 478 Tiendong Road, Shanghai .ISAACS openedly stated he was manager of the printing oo and exame Los of its shared.

On 7 Aug 1933; ISAACS and his wife Viola ROBINSON 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 Havassews Agency around Dec 1933.

The Des 1939, ISAACS was in Poochow to gether let hand info re the newly formed "Peolpho" Revolutionary Government of the Republic of China.

In the spring of 1934, ISAACS and his wife left for Thentoin on route to Peking at which city he resided at \$2 Time Fu Chia Pao, East City. Foking eniling address was \$ Mr.; UHLMANN, Grand Hotel:

Ch 3 January 1934, ISAACS visited Hr and Hrs. HOULENS while they were on a langer strike in prison

On 14 January 1936; the parents of ISAACS, Mr and Mrs I.H. ISAACS arrived in Shanghai from Los Angeles; During their stay in Shanghai they resided at the Metro-pul Motel Annex. On 20 February they left Shanghai for Port Said on route to Marseilles on the 33 Rewalpindi:

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

The second of th

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

In Shanghal GLASS made the acquaintance of one Damaree C.B333, American from Lansas City, born 1893. This was some time after April 1932:

Hame C.F. GLASS r Cecil Frank OLASS . 25 Harch 1901, Birmbaghes, England

Pessport British passport, # 96153, issued 5 Jan 1931 in Pretorie, South Africa Pol Affiliation Kember 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 Durhes May 1931

On 12 June 1931 made a trip terough up the Yeststoo Yangtozo with Harold IS American Communist and water for the editor of the China Forum: A letter written by ISA CS to his fiances, Miss Viola BOBINSON, during this trip contained information bint ISAACS had decided to turn " Red" as a result of his convergation with GLASS;"

In Sept 1931, CLASS before a member of the "MEALING Defense Committee" and two months later was appointed Shanghal Representative of the Anglo-Asiatic T clegraph Agency(Angasta) a news agency with HQ in Harbin, which position he held until 1933; In Augl933; he was living in Room 510,4 1276, North Sacchuen Road, Changhai

FCS 1811; Shanghai Municpal Files, file: 16-4-2-37

BUSINSON: Phola e fusi him isvice

10 July 1910, HTC Rence Nat'l Anortean

Description Regard Build Comple

In 1932 holder of US passport # 382046 issued HTC 14 May 1991-

In 1931 known to have visited Germany

Known Communist and follower of Lucy STONE

Arrived in Shanghai on 23 Aug 1932

The state of the s

THE RESERVE TO SERVE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY

14 Sept 1932 married Harold Robert IS:ACS, 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 CI

After her arrival in China was employed at the Deb Chung Middle School? Shanghai as a beacher?

She lived in the Babankment Building Bldg, North Scochos Road

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

In Boy 1933; info was received to the effect that Miss R. 31M3CN was a teacher at the Comparative Law School, Shanghail

AUG 14 1351

Harold Robert ISAACS with aliases LO Saw (penname used in China)

Harold Robert ISAACS was born in New York City on 13 September 1910 of American parents. Rad father has been reported as a decidedly of the commercial type. ISAACS has been described as intelligent, critical, servous—and nervously organized.

Little is known concerning the activities of ISACS prior to his arrival in the 1. W. URACS IN Tony page 1820 China from Manila on 10 December 1930; however, who Misited ISACS in Tony page 1820 China 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 Yangteze 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,
cheted be of his trip with GLASS, are observed to decicate.

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

the first of the first the second state of the second

Upon his arrival in China, 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;

ISAMUS also started and later became editor and publishes of the "China Forum." It is believed to have been Be-wee a monthly English language paper issued at first as a cormercial job from the Hereury Press. From October 1932 on it was printed by the Level Publis ing Company Inc., 33, Lane A78, Piendong Road. ISAMUS is reported to have openly stated that he was manager of the pringiting company, owing AOS of the shares.

It has been stated that those who knew ISIACS in Shanghai found no reason to think he was a "pay off" man for A erican Constitutes, and that during the first cart of his stay in Chine, he was not a follower of Trotaly. However, he is reported to have finally become convinced that the tuties of the Chinese Constitutes were arong and that Trotaly was stable in criticising them, and the Joviet Covernment under Stalin. He therefore wrote an article antitled; "I Break with Spella to Stalinists," in which among other things; he is reported to have stated that the expense of publishing the magnatine had been b mod 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 sale not being turned back to the Chinese Communists but to have been given to the Tretaly causes.

ISAACS had been engaged for several years to Viola RUBINSON who arrived in Shanghai an 28 August 1932. On 14 September 1932, she and ISAACS were married and took Apt 201 the Apt 201 the Presidence in the Embandment Building on North Southon Road. Prior to the fall of 1933 Irone MITMATES or TAINETIES of TAINETIES of the a subject in the SOUGE Case is reported to have lived in the Embandment Building with one Renes ICAEL. Bold AUDOUARD and his wife who have been reported as South sympathians and were the user 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 ROBINCON ISAACS was employed at the Dah C'ung Middle Cebool, and by Hovember 1933 was reported as a teacher at the Comparative Law School in Shanghai.

On T August 1983, the ISAACS left Strong at for Japan, and on 16 August 1933
December
Proceeded to Cairen, returning to Stronghal by rail on 26 August 1933. In Horseles
1933 ISLACS left Shanghal for Process to gather first hand information on the newly
formed o People's Revolutionary Government of the Republic of China.

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

It has been stated by friends of ISAAS even during the neight of his Trotshrist 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 Communican
by Shahear idealism.

It has been further reported that immediately after Pearl Harbor; ISLACS broke with the Protection group as he had broken with the Communists; and began writing propagands for the United States Governments.

Schooline in the late 1930s, TS/ASS returned to the United States. By the Soli. 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, Nowport Ave., 4938.

Heather's laring this period, he had a great deal of trouble about consorahip, and reportedly was defined permission to visit Communist areas. It has been stated that actually be was marely unfortunate in that he applied just after the government had restored its ban on journalistic travel in that direction. At the time he and was decied permission, Fleedy MUITE of line had just been allowed to go, and ISAACS falt that he was being discreminated againstalt has been stated that MHITE, upon his return gave much a cold account of administration in the Red areas that this, added to other aimilar experiences, solidified the government's determination no to let any more amortican membersees as your and become Communist converte. In March 1945, ISAACS

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

Born . Hat'l 10 July 1910; MIC

13 Sept., 1910, HTC Amorican

American .

5150

Height Build

Complx

gi99 ... meditum

alim.

Hair . Eyea

black, wavy, brushed back

fair.

Passports in early

1930a US Passport # 177026

Use passport # 382016 Assued MIC 14 May

In addition to Agree SHEDLEY and Frank GLA 3, ISAACS to known to have been in contact with the following while in China is and the second s

Tillness DURDIN. For a time during his stay in China, Islics is reported to have Lived with DURDIN, then correspondent of the HT Times and means at one time, managing party editor of 9 China Pressis

CONTROL SHOWS CHARLES AND ASSESSMENT OF THE SECOND SHOWS ASSES

Sobol M. MURAY, Shanghoi representative of the Pacific Here Agency in Vapsource, All Al is also known to have been in contact with E.E. MISCH, Agnes SUDIEY, Irons UNINGVIER or WINDHINTER and one 71 BOVER curing his stey in China.

INTERNATION IN

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Publications

Brote on article entitled "I Break with the Stalinists" which allegedly among other things, that the expenses of rublishing a magazine which he was putting out that been borned by the Chinese Communister

At one time, ISAACS published a monthly English Language magazine, Iroued first ab a conservable loy(sic) from the Horoury Press and later printed from a small Brinting outfile purchased by ISAACS. It has been stated that after publishing the orticle "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 cale was not turned back to the Chinese Communists but was turned over to the Trotaky Cause.

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inclues 18 and ou Tit VOA.	of was interviewed	i, in accorda	nce eith	your rec	uest, and t	he.
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DURDIN said that he kn	ows Harold Isaacs	well and that	t he last	t saw him	at the con	fer
n Baguido in the Fhilipp AACS was formerly with N	ines, which was ne EWSWEEK but that h	id in Novembe	er 1947.	He state	id that IEE	23
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FBI REPORT

DATE: 5 DEC. 51
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJ: PAUL RUEGG, WAS: HILAIRE NOULENS,
AND OTHERS
FBI FILE #: 100-344906 (BUREAU)

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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or of sile on your

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. Kenneth Patrum 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

SECRET

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION DATE: 85 Sections 157

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Chief, Foreign Striction &

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In converting with a current lowestigation, MARMARI has pagesested that Tillran harden he interviewed alon, the lines just out below, It is requested that if familie is not now in may fact of is not expected to be there for some time you as interview on which a copy of this dispatch and be sent to the proper station. It is not down for while for you as any member of your staff to understand the property of this dispatch of ballous property. It is suggested, therefore, there a procise of this dispatch of their actions of a ditable Marking of the interview in a ditable Marking of the interview in the process of the little country of the forested to be a displied, and then he interview burden and interview of the forested.

8. A reliable Critic il informations stated that in 1933 begin was in français, assing as also edited of the "China Press." At tent time he was said to have shared an apartment of the Press Installati, who is described as an American witten than in Think so a hope reporter. According to the information of Silain was at that time a close associate of Barold March, who was said to have been explaint to thermal in 1933 as exitor of the "Think Fernal", described as a Granulat publication. A CANEARIS course of unbown reliability has attached that in 1933 ISAND was a "natural recited appearance and one suspended of boding as agent for the third internal scale.

8. In 1949, Wallan representatives interviewed one terris lands ATLERN in Remar, Colorado, ATLERN schitted having been a CP number from 1924 to 1937. So stated that in 1935 and 1984 to a Duralla in Sharpful, and that costing that period, has farely Leads, from the and Alexander Frank Class, from the partit, half meetings at the hors of fill. Period in Branchal, Frank Class is a British subject propositly living it less Angeles, BV III is an American the also lives in les Angeles, ATLERN Contribed EARCS and Class as from Myltes in 1945-24, and described EU-123 as a former contribution in 1945-24, and described EU-123 as a former control of the Colorado Communication less begans in the Colorado Class as Eland core supposited of boing

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agents for the Third International in Franchal.

- 4. In addition to the above individuals, Durdin is also reported to have been an acquaintance in Shangari about 1932-35 of Ocorps Alexanius Refficult, who is presently employed at Yale University. RETHIUT was an acquaintures of ISAACS and was also reported to have been associated with "Left-wing groups" and was also reported to have been associated with "Left-wing groups" and many at that time.
- 6. In view of the above LANGIATH desires that Durain be interviewed as soon as possible relative to the expendence acquaintance and association with MELSHAIT, IMAGE, CLASS, BUCKER, MINERIT. Durain is requested to occured particularly concerning my activities individuals on behalf of the CP or the Inited International, and with any may have been encared in aspirage activities on behalf of the Seviet Union, either during the early 1970's in China, or at any subsequent periods

GEORGE W. MALLORY



NOTE . NAME NOTES TO

United States Department of distiles Lederal Surray of Investigation Sarbington 24, D. C.

CCHTICKETTILL BY SPECIAL MASSENCES

DFB-11880

201-6556 Lept 14195L

Da ta :

September 11, 1951

Tor

Mrector Contral Intelligence Agency 2430 B Street, H. W. Enchington, D. C.

Attention: Major Descal W. C. Byenn Office of Special Operations

Pron :

John Edgar Hoover - Director Foderal Bureau of Investigation

Subjects

TILLMAN DURDIN INTERNAL SECURITY - R

In correction with an afficial investigation being conducted by this Bureau, we are desirons of estaining contain information from ir. Fillman Durdin, who is presently located o/o Heng Kong, Tigger Standard, LOS Findsor House, Victoria, Bong Kong. It would be appreciated if you would have one of your representatives interview in Partin in Fong Kong along the lims set out toler.

For your information, Dardin is a fureign correspondent for the law York Times respecter. He is an American citizen born Heren 19. 1907, at Elibert, Texas, and has been exployed as a foreign correspondent for the Hew York Times for many years, possibly since at least the early 1930's.

A reliable informant has advised that in 1939 Derdin was in Shanghai, China, acting as City Editor of the navepaper Tales Pross. At that time Derdin was said to be sharing an apartment with From Joseph Beisblatt, described as an American citizen than in China as a navepaper reporter.

According to our informant, Whisblatt was at that time a close associate of one Earold Issaes. Issaes, an American citizen presently living in New York City, was said by our informant to have been explored

in Changest in 1933 as Editor of the "China Forus," described as a Communist publication. A source of wakmown reliability has stated that in 1933 forace was a "notorious redical sympathiter" and was suspected of being an arent of the Third International. Issues was said to have urganized the Changest for the Defence of the Russian regionage and Certific Russian regionage activities.

In March, 1969 that Sureau interviewed one Korrie Louis Appleman, an American citizen presently living in Denver, Coloredo, and Appleman edulited having been a member of the Communist Party from 1921 to 1937. Appleman stated that in 1923 and 1934 he know Durdin in Sherchai, and that during that period, he, Appleman, Harold Issaer, Frank Tiero and Alexander Suchrar, frequently held meetings at the home of Tillman Durdin in Shanghai.

Prana Class is a mittab cities presently Living in Les Angeles, california. Buthean is an American cities also presently living in Los American cities also presently living in Los American is an American described Isaaca and Glass as Including the in 1923-3%, and described Euchean as a former member of the Communist Youth League in the United States. An informant of unknown, reliability has also reported that during that period Class and Isaaca were suspected 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 Shinghal in about 1932-33 of George Alexander Kennedy, an American citizen presently employed at Tale University. Kennedy was an acquaintance of Enrold Isaacs at that time, and was also reported to have been associated with "left-wing groups" in Thanghal 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 interviewed relative to the extent of his acquaintance and association with the following: Frank Joseph Beisblatt, Sarold Isaacs, Prank Jake, Alexander Buchman, and George Alexander Kennedy.

it is requireted that Durdin be questioned particularly as any information he may possess concerning any activities of these individuals on behalf of the Communist Party or the Third International. Durdin excell also be saved vistour he has any information indicating any of these individuals may have enjoyed in employage 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 he obtained from

Mr. Duritic relative to any information be may furnish concerning poskible subversive activities on the part of any of those individuals.

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

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FORM NO. 81-10

SECRET

SECRET

From Hanol

Report No.: ZFII-89

No. of pages 1

Snelosures: None

Report Fade by Walter J. Ingold

Approved by James N. Lanier

Distribution: None

Referencer HANO 2/12 and MASH 01125

Source Cryptonym: Tunic-2

Remarks:

- 1. In our last message to Tunic-2 on 30 July we used the discrepancy concerning Leo-Pigueres' visit to NVN as an example in a gentle lecture on the virtues of accurate reporting. By I 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.

BECRET

IIS GUPY

SECRET

Subject: Leo Figueres

Report No. : 2FH-89

Date of Infor as indicated

Place Acquired: Viet Nam, Handi

Date Acquireds 1 August 51

Evaluation: B-3

Date of Reports 2 August 51

Sources

- 1. According to who works in the Viet Ninh Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Leo Figueres was in Salgon in early 1990. The French did not allow him to remain in Salgon and he was forced to return to France. Figueres later went to Hong Kong in late August 1990, and then proceeded to the Viet Bac via the Hoa Mam (F.C.: South China 1) read to attend the Third Congress of the FCI held in early October 1950.
- 2. There had been several previous cases of individuals who were unable to reach Viet kinh territory from Saigoi because of French interference. In July 1949 Fr. A. Acth, Eitter of the Sunday Tribune, arrived in Saigon and obtained all necessary papers; the French did not allow him to proceed because of his pro-Communist articles. Others were Valter Srings of the Christian Science Monitor, Harold Tonacs from Newsweek, and S. J. Percipan (because he criticized Rao Dai in Mostward, No.).

SECRET

FBI REPORT DATE: JULY 51
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJ: UNKNOWN

FBI FILE #: 100-68282 (NEW YORK)

25 Juno 1951 KENORANDUK FORT

SUBJECT

- . Barold R. Isaacs, Request for an information namecheck on.
- 1. 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 competed with Communist activities.
- 2. We have been infermed 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 onlied 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 unswere of the CIA connection with this covert agent.
- 3. When the report is completed, the information should be routed to J. Bruce Asstute, FE-1/QPC.

DOUGLAS D. PIRKID Deputy Chief, FE-1

FU-1/JBA/ph:

Dist: Orig & 1 - Addressee

2 - Registry

1 - FE-1 files.

MAME: Harold R. Isanos

ADDRESS (last known - '48): 885 Contral Park West, H.Y.C.

DATE OF BIRTH: 1910

NATIONALITY: American

- BUSIMESS CARIER: (a) Staff writer for Havas News Agency (1930-1935)
 - (b) Editor of China Forum
 - (a) City Editor for China Press, Shanghai,
 - (d) For Eastern Dar Correspondent for Hovewook (1944-1945)
 - (e) Special Projects Editor for Kowswesk (1947 1)
 - (r) Advisor to Ford Foundation

PUBLICATIONS:

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

- 1. Two-Thirds of the Borld: Problems of a new approach to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin-America. 1955
- 2. Now Cycle in Asia, Solocted documents on Major International developments in Far Sast. 1943 and 1947 notes and introduction 1847.
- 3. No Fence for Asia 1947.
- 4. Tradery of Chinese Revolution 1938 -
- 5. Five Years of Euo Min Tang Reaction 1932
- 6. Shither Provide 1936 Leas Trotaky wrote the book and Issaes translated it.

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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 isk isk 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 "Group 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 signers were critical of the treatment recieved by CHAO. THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUAL Maxwell S. stewart. Elizabeth Ames, Maroline Slade, signed the letter: Alfred Kazin , Eric Severeid, Richard Wasts, jr. H. R. Isaacs, Agnes Smedley and Theordore White.

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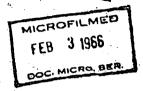
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REALEANDUR FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Attentioni & Dr. Pose H. ingeresh

Subjects offereld hobert Inskills



1. This to in reply to br. Jack b. Real's request for information concerning harold Robert ISAMCS, made by telephone on 29 Hovenher 1919, 301-1840

2. According to information obtained from a source considered relience, harold subert ISAACS ass born in Sem lork City on 19 September 1919. A sea arrived in hanghal from smalls in Seconder 1930 and saw in possession of American passport 177026. I.M.CS was first employed in changent by the changest evening out & Tereury, as inclin language daily published in changhai. After a few weeks, he became associated with the China trans. another fuglish-language daily published in then that, and each with this paper until say 1931. In sume of the sace your That made a trip up the language elver with Cacil Frank CLAC. /a British subject and mumber of the critish Communist Party, suspected of teing an agent for the Tilled International in China.

3. On 15 June 1931, Willeire NOVLENS, with allases, nec arrested by the Minghai Municipal Colice on charges of applicance in benefit of the Third international. ISAACS became the shammal secretary of the Coulte interconstitued four la Sefense de faul et Gertrude Ruege (RRUENE), a commistee formed to sid the NOULENSs in their defense egainst charges of espionage preferred by the Chinese government. Our files reflect that 184472 was in correspondence with fill BURNLEBERG, the Freuisient of the Comittee with hosequartors in Berlin. AND MERG was an active agent in derency for the third International. ISAACS is also known to here been an antact with agree SMEDLEY in thangral at this time. WARS HAROLD RETSAMES TILLSA OCC-COMMUNIST AGENT? WIFE OF HAROLD ROPPIRT ISAACS (201-18446)

4. Co 29 wrust 1932, thanks gave natice to the avertes, Ameulate userral in themshal of his intended carriage to (see) Violation in a merican citisen torn 10 June 1910 in ten 1918 110 / 188 (11.00) arrived in hanchel on 26 August 1937 from vancouver, canada, abourd the

issued in New York on 14 May 1931. The modding mas held on 14 september 1912 at the american Consulate General, also SOFT will man believed to

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have been enumered with los maiet activities in the United States and Union. Serrespondence tother allows and State Union a prior to their marriage, solicates that they were both appointable to activities being conducted by the terminates in thins. On 20 Perspect 192, class 1914.08 was entrusted by Dr. Gacar Linu 17550; the N. Linb defense ettoracy, with teaching the anglish language togling No.1. W, the Tourspear old son of allaire and Sertimes NOUL AS.

b. During Forld Far II IDARCH as a war correspondent for because in China. In July 1945 he was refused entry into China by Chinaco Sullanalist authorities, presumably as a result of anti-Mathematics articles written by IDARCH for Epsamok.

7. Parold Mobert 1.4.65 is currently Special Features Editor for <u>Secondary</u>, 152 heat 42nd Street, New York, New York. He is the author of equaral books, including No Feats in Asia and The <u>Francis of the Chinese Royalution</u>. ISANCS current political beliefs are unknown to this gondy.

6. Should Issaed deave this sountry, this igency sould appreciate being advised of his intended doutleation, date of departure and any other pertinent details.

EDE THE DIRECTOR OF CESTRAL DETELLIGENCE.

BOREAT A. BOHOT Assistant Director

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Para. 17

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 Muolens 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 lanking w letter whritten by Isaacs to his fiance, Viola Robinson stated that he was turning "Red" as a result of conversations with CLASS. Ather statements indicated athat Miss Robinson an American then in Germany, was an active member of the community Party. Isaacs used the pseddonym of Lo Sen and published in the Mew Militants organ of the New York Dist. borkers Party, an attack on Stalin entitled Stalintern Ready to Embrace Chiang Kai shek. In 1949 Isaacs was in the employ of the ?American magazine NEWSWESK, New York City, as special projects editor.

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X.2 BRAN^{CH} REPORT

Classifications : References: Source. Details:

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HEADQUARTERS, DETACTION AGA-A STRATEDIO SERVICE UNIT BATALIA, JAVA

SN: ZM2477

REPORT NO: ZB-10

REPORT DATE: 8 Doc 45

CAPT. BLUNCHELL, ATTN: LT BARNETTE INFO DATE 1 7 Dec 45

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SUBJECTI INTERVIEW SETWEEN MR. EAROLD ISAACS. MR. CHARLES TAMBU, AND ER. DIAM.

Zr. Farold Isanos, correspondent for Revsweek magazine. Er. Charles Tabbu, Malaya born Tamil, formerly employed SOURCES: on Singapore newspapers, newspaster for Singapore radio, English-speaking amounder on Batavic Radio during occupation, and presently editor of newspaper Independent.

Br. Glan, editor of Merdeka, nationalist newspaper, Batavia.

E/ACUATION: 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 elronlation of MEROEKA, Mr. Diah replied with the following; ME-DEAA is the largest Indonesian newspaper on the island of Java. At present it is printed only in Batavia, with a daily total direculation of about 13,000 copies. Of this number, approximately 6,000 copies are sent out of the city by train to Bandoeng, Soerakarta, and Djokjakarta, leaving a Catavia circulation of between 10,000 and 14,000 copies. Source expressed the opinion that while the Indonesian population of Catavia is in the neighborhood of 500,000 persons, the literacy rate is perhaps only twenty percent of this flyure. Thus, he admitted, ME(DENA is probably reaching less than four percent of the total Indonegian 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 reading population, source replied that he was landicapped 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 paper is on hand rate of or sumption, he estimates that success parts from preven stacks to critique publication of MERDEKA for one year 102

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LIEPT PROTATE

THE INDEPENDED

On December 7, 1945, the EMIDEEA press commonded publication of a daily Anglish language newspaper entitled INDEPENDENT. The masthcad of this paper states also that it incorporates the INDONESIAN NEWS BULLETIN, a former English language newspaper published by ANTARA news agency.

The INDEPENDENT is at present being edited by Mr. Tarbu, with some assistance from Mr. Diah, and using the paper and facilities of METDERA.

The first issue of IMPROMENT was remarkable only for its avoidance of any discussion of local affairs, only two articles having anything wistenever 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 Mationalist cause, because, (U-3), the British are unfavorably disposed towards MEROMAA 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 wors given away, although the stated price is 1 Japanese guilder the copy.

To: Lieutenant Colonel ROGER A. PFAFF

From: John I. Coddington

Subject: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

Mr. GEORGE N. KATES of OS3, R&A, 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

HAROLD ROBURT ISAACS, continued

THE HAVAS News Agency. Shortly after this, in Shagghai, 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 CEING 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, HAROLD 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. CUNNINGHAM, 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 SYEDLET. 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 LIU, 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 interested 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 after 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.

ISEACS is a very smart ran 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.

fo:

Lieutenant Colonel ROGER A. FFAFF

From:

John I. Coddington 9.16.

Subject: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

HAROLD 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 Trotskyist 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 Communisté 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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501 pp. Library of Congress Call No.: DS 774.17

(b) Translations

Lev Trotskii (Leon Trotsky), Whither France, translated by John G. Wright and Harold R. Isaacs (New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1936). Library of Congress Call No.: DC 398.77

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"Job by Experts," Newsweek, p. 30, 7 Aug. 1944.

"Surprising the Japs," Newsweek, pp. 35-36, 7 Aug. 1944.

"Blowing the Top," Newsweek, pp. 45-6, 4 Sept. 1944.

"Last night in Kweilin," Newsweek, pp. 31-32, 25 Sept. 1944.

HAROLD RORSET ISAACS, continued

- "One Man's Fight against Corruption: the Story behind the Stilwell Incident,"
 Newswork, p. 44, 13 Nov. 1944
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- "Doath for Kwelyang," Newsweek, p. 36, 18 Dec. 1944
- "Dorn of the Salween," Newsweek, pp. 26-27, 1 Jan. 1945
- "First Truck to Kunming," Newsweek, p. 34, 29 Jan. 1945
- "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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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

March 9, 1945

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MUDINARIORANDUM

TO:

MR. SPENCER PHENIX

FROM:

ROBMET DeVECCHI

NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

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. Issues, in his opinion, is a very solid and substantial citizen, knowledgable, hard working, good character, and an able correspondent.

Mr. Isuacs 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 Chine 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....

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 areas originally from my discovery of the gross distortions and exaggreations which I found to be characteristic of communist propaganda in China and abroad. I define propaganda 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 Bolshevik commades 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

duty to work in any other way, although I soon found that the present-day Communist party press makes a practise of distinguishing between propaganda and truth.

Bramples of exaggeration and distortion most a 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 about a rould publish accurate facts about China if they could get them. Accordingly with a friend I trice to set up an independent mail news service and sent weekly building to papers allower the world giving brief, charp, factual accounts of what was going on. This was in the full 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.

papers, including the New York Military.

It wasn't long before I began to perceive, with a deeper study of intermational events and the history of the Chinese vevolution, 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 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 over since the catastrophe of 1927 a mighty, upeurging revolutionary movement has been marching forward in China to the very brink of exigure 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 reliably exted to you by the dozen), runging from particular includets (the wilfully false picture given of the cotton mill strike in Shanghai in January 1932, dwen to the point of translosing 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 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 uncanized march toward the sel-zure 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 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 sere 257 strikes. In 1932 there were 82. Let us remember that on the eve of the workers' scilure of power in Snanghai in March. 1927, 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 A close check for the entire country in character. 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 lookouts. 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 sometimes 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 wast sympathy strikes which broke lize 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 tene 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 atrikes but a large scale lookout to which the overwhelming majority of Shanghai's

workers submitted without protest....

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 Kuo Min Tang is shaken from its bulwarks in the imperialist-controlled working class centers, their prospect of revolutionary triumph remains necessarily dim. He revolutionary purpose is served by taking refuge in the fiction that these armies have proletarian leadership because individual workers, undoubtedly

loaders of superior quality and courage, have been torn from their factories and from their fellow markers 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 mite ferror doson't carry off the workers' lenders as they arise, the C.P. Goes 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 encreachments of the imperialists, The party has not yet gripped and directed the deep and bitter and often inarticulate hutred of the masses the people for their oppressors and this includes large sections of the lower party bourgeoisie who could be won by successful 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 many 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 recelled 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 strict non-political attitude which Ruegs was forced to assume Yet the etrictly 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-"ar 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 farcies i 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 conderned 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 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 "Trotskyiste" 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 socialed Social Democrats among the petty bourgedia 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 conspent two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of recole prominently concerned that the Left Opposition was stoutly and cleurly opposed to the Foochow regime. I haven't place here to discuss the relations of the C.P., to the short-lived Fukien government or the character of the "negotiations" which were going on down thore. The importunt, thing here is that on my return you demanded that I write alarders which flew in the face of everything 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 Foochow, Tu Cui-yuen to be exact, was a leading "Trotskyist". It so happened that I had met and had several lengthy interviews with Au and by the time I left Foochow I understood his position and his reresonality exceedingly wall. He was as much a 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 men 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 and on the octain 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 shole question out of my article.

Nevertheless, 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, devoke 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 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 im ossible for me; finally, to even 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

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 aid so - primarily the people you call "counter-revolutionary Trotokyists" - 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 Inprecorr. You even declared: For propaganda purposes a certain amount of exaggeration is nocessary... and went on amazingly to say: "but we know the ture facts and we hase our policies on them, not on those exaggerations!" A new slant on modern-day C.I. tac'ics! Facts, you say are durious things. They have to be turned 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, Platnitsky 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.G.: You declared I had no right to offer critical comment on the danger usly 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 diagusting corridors of imperialist intrigue. To the contripy, I was livingly, fawningly to founde and hall the policies which have meant disaster in China. Germany and elsewhere and are rapidly loading 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 discussion

william of the

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 alongoids 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 meanwhile I threw the Forum open to your editorial board. My other proposals were unthinkable! 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. We would talk things over until spring, when if all went well (i.e. if I showed a satisfactory adaptation to your viewpoint). I could pake 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 accopt 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 standardus 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 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 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 stands in our way. No sycophantic, blind allegiance to a name, an empty facade, a torm 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.

COUNTRIES

1901-1936

China (D:B 7861)

1954 Horold Robert Isaacs working MIT Centre for Intrenti Studio. (darrica)

"Five Tears of Nuomintern 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 Chinak Kai-shek for alleged massacre of its political opponents, chiefly Communists, in order "that the bourgeoisio might continue to rule and the imperialists to draw their tribute from the capitalization of human misery". Chinase Communists are seen as the hope of the future. ISAACS continues to reside at 333 Central Park West, NYC, and is employed as free lance journal ist, as of 12 May 53. DFB-27426.

ISAACS

REFINELESS:

201-1844b

Silanghai Luncipal Folice Files, 233 135, Photo # 177. File 16-4-2-y5

DFB 1461,11 May 1950. Agnes Smadley file, 201-414

DFB 7864, 28 Feb 1951. Enclosing info re Richard SONGE gathered from FBI interview with ISAACS in April 1950.

DFB 11880, 11 Sept 51, 201-6556-1 Presently living in NYC-DFB-15017, 15 Jan. 52; 201-6556-4; no new info.

DFE-1//23, 20 Pec 1951, CC1-90/6-1, Subj member of an Aid Cormittee to the Secret of the Fan Pecific Trains Union Secretarist (MOVLENS) in Shanghailelong with women SUPDLYT, Irana Harden J. POWELL, Edgar Subs, Frank GLASS.

Shanghai Municipal Police Files, 208-1811, 16-4-2-37, 5 Feb 49.

pris_2002/3, 14 August 1000, 201_02/6_1

DFB-12747, 8 Jan 1952, 20140990-1 re APPHAMAN, Morris Louis DFB-27426- 12 June 53, 201-19446-4



ISAACS, H

Probably Harold ROPELT

@ JACOB. FBI think that there is a possibility that the JACOB, an unidentified young Amer journalist in Shanghat 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 coverny JACOB (DFB 7864)

addresses: May 1953 - 333 Central But West, NYC.

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ISAACS

The July 30 1932 issue of the fir Times under a Shanghai deteline of 29 July 1932, states that harold R ISAACS, an American citizen was warned by the US Consul General in Shanghai that the US may withdraw its extra-Terreborial rights and allow him to be tried in a Chinese court. ISAACS then the editor of the "China Forum," had violently attacked Chinas Exai Shen, calling him, among other things, "a butcher." The article further stated that ISAACS was an associate of Agnes Mindlan, a correspondent for American newspapers (DFB 1461)

Preceded the Graniches, as editor of The Voice of China". Wrote an article "I Bresk With Stalinism", which gave a candid elucidation of the Comm. financial backing of the "Voice of China". DCE-4385, 7 Feb. 52

One Harold Robert ISAACS was born 13 Sept 1910; 5'9" tall, med build, br eyes, & black wavy hair brushed back. Born in NYC, Ame citizen. Editor & publisher of the China Forum. Was seey of NOULENS Defense Committee & 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 Weihaivei Road. Started printing Forum later. Manager of Level Printing C., Inc in NY State & owned 40% of its shares. Employed with Mayas News Agency. ISAACS married Miss Viola ROBINSON Sept 32. Lived in Apt 204, Embankment Bldg., Shanghai. In 3 Jan 34 Subj visited NOULENS 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 NY Districts Worker's Party attacking STALIN. ISAACS was also lecturing on Japan, China, and USSR & Mar Crisis in Far East. (205-1511, 16-4-2-37, 5 Feb 59: Shanghai Municipal Fol Files.)

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According to APPELMAN, Subj is author of "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution" and APPELMAN met Subj thru Alexander BUCHMAN, Subj was the first editor of the CCP paper of which APPELMAN liter was to become editor. DEE-14747

The book "New Cycle In Asia" by ISAACS, pub in 1947 by the Institute of Pacific "elations as a collection of the official texts of various theaties and agreements among South Asian and "estern powers during the perild of Wm II and later. ISAACS supplies a brief editorial introduction to these taxts which is apparently non-political in nature. His article "kKorea and American World Policy" appears in the August 7, 1950 issue of the "New Republic". The article advocates withdrawal of US support from French colonial forces in Indochina and recognition of Red China in hope of driving a wedge between Russia end Chinese Communists. DFB 25069, 12 March 1953, 201-18446-3.

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26 June 1951 - Memo dated 25 June to PT/CS requesting informational namecheck on subj. for the purpose of determining the validity of charges that Subj. is sympathetic to and/or connected with Communist activities. See file for rest of memo.

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See DB-0962, dated 15 December 1947 in Doesters Winchianton Composing.

See 30 DB-24928, 31 May 1930, to Doom: THIRD (CONCURST) INTERNATIONAL PERSONNEL.

See IFD-7856, FDI investigative report, 28 Feb. 1951 (EID).

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former editor of Shanghai newspaper in article for the Christian

Division Division 7 feb. 62 Doe in Seg.

Subject alleged to have been expelled from Chine in 1985 for attacking Sectionalist Cevt, and to have been an active propagandist for the Fist Rich. 14 Aug. 1912 Revenout in Indochina. Alleged to have been on senberguis list of Fist Res-Americans Friendship. Secondation. Text of article by subject attacking French rule in Indochina set forth. Subject activated that he was expendented with their DELETT, THE LIGHT correspondent in Rescove during early 1970s. List of persons and organizations corresponding the subject set forth, See ref. doe, in El.

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Remarks III

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Pive Years of Roo-drieng Reactions, a 136 page posphist published in 1932 at DYD-Filed Stamphal, lists subject as editor. The pasphist consists of reprints of articles 12 Ame 51 which appeared in the "China Farms by "anonymous subbres and collaborators". The pumphet denounces the Roominiang and CHIND Rai-what for alleged messeers of its political opposents, chiefly Communists, in order "that the bourgeoists might continue to rule and the imperialists to draw their tribute from the capitalization of busses attacks. Subject continues to restee at 313 Central Parkiness, 17, and is employed as a free lance journalist. See ref. dos. (EI),

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Author of 'The Tragedy of the Chinese Espaintion' show Sorris L. AFFEIRAS (qv) and through Alex TUCHAN (qv) in Thompsol. Sellered to be foreign correspondent Acek". First editor of CCF paper of solch AFFIRMS later we to become editor.

Patrick J. HUGLEY advised that subject told his that John Ring FALEDLESS (qv) DFS-11876 to a Trotthylic Communist. See ref. doc. in RI-201-19076; 30 Oct. 1911

Cobject's book, "No Peace for Asia", published 1517, summarised. See ref. doc. in all 201-18446-2;

See 1FB-24411, 11 Feb. 1953, subject: Ids TREAT (qv) (NI 201-6205-7).

"New Crois in Asia" by subject published in 1947 by the institute of Pacific Sciences as a collection of the official texts of various treaties a appearant, among South Asian and issuers powers during the period of borld bar IL and later. Duby, supplies a brast extiral introduction to these texts which is apparently non-political in mature. His stricts "now a assituation borld polity" appears in the aug. 7, 1950 issue of "New Aspublic", bee doe, in (MI).

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Subj is a write and former Trothyrite. Stated that LIP, Thursch'i (0501/1115/2750) was a Commist as early as 1933 in Settin, China act not worked for Tass New Admer in Technical form college and had even seen sent to joil togates of his commists activities.

In article by ISAACS The Dimensions of the Crisis' to the "Saturday Review", d'Auquet 1951, ataive, "The haim origin is not areated by Bussian totalitarisalem, is apploited by, it' and makes the point that revelt of colonial peoples is Asia is assentially mains allette, that the U.S. should have along with and help gaide these revolutions into democratic samplele. His article "The Bind Alley of Totalitarium in "Funds of the Assertus Andemy", July 1951, states that past articles or the Assertus in Orient hard form and harved, were scally responsible for rise of totalitariumismo. In the "Saturday Review of Literature" of 19 July 1952, 19762 reviewed "Darrey to the Far Parille" by Gov. Themes S. DERIY. Criticis of the Assertus and the Far Parille" by Gov. Themes S. DERIY. Criticis of Crimis. See DES-10088 dated 2 "Crember 1853 in 11 (201-18464).

Subject presently rection at 92 Yarick End, taken, them, and is employed at full time Research Associate in the Center for Interestional Station, Rass. Laritates of Technology, Outsticep, Rass. Daily, then not have assess to may also still information.

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