

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS STAFF MEMBERS

FILE TITLE/NUMBER/VOLUME: ISAACS, MAXID

201-18446

INCLUSIVE DATES:

CUSTODIAL UNIT/LOCATION: _____

ROOM:

DELETIONS, IF ANY: THIRD AGENCY DOCUMENTS

THIRD AGENCY DOCUMENTS

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201 No. 18449

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L
When Filled In

9 January 1975
(date)

Review of 201 File on U.S. Citizen

In accordance with the DDO's notice of 9 December 1974, I have reviewed the 201 file on TSAACS (surname) (201 number indicated below), and have determined that it can most accurately be categorized as indicated below:

- ☐ should be closed.
- ☐ witting collaborator. OI Code A1.
- ☐ potential witting collaborator; date opened _____
OI Code A2.
- ☐ former witting collaborator (relationship terminated).
OI Code A3.
- ☐ potential witting collaborator never contacted (security reasons, derogatory information). OI Code A4.
- ☒ counterintelligence case (i.e., involving a foreign intelligence or security service). OI Code A5.
- ☐ all others. OI Code A6.

Signed Barbara Booth CH/FCCI
(name) (title) (component)

This assignment of category has been entered into STAR.

Signed Kam 24 JAN 1975
(initials) (date)

This document is a permanent part of this file.

201- 18476

When Filled In
C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

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CL BY 054979

SECRET

4 October 1974

XAPZ-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. Paul Hartman

M. Paul Hartman
C/CIRA/RS

Attachment

FILE	SEARCHED	INDEXED	SERIALIZED
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Copy: 48138
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9: 7 - Isaac, Harold

SOURCE: NEW MASSES, New York City,
October 22, 1936 - Page 12

EUROPE'S CRISIS: JAPAN PREPARES

By Hansu Chen

*** There are numerous American journalists of different political color and shades of opinion who are "cooperating" in this way with Japanese imperialism, but whoever has followed the writings of Harold Isaac, Alexander Eushman, Frank Glass and Wilbur Burton in The China Press, The China Weekly Review, Asia, Pacific Affairs, New International, etc., realizes that these American Trotskyist journalists are the most vicious and most dangerous of the whole lot of reactionary journalists.

Hiding behind a barrage of Marxist phraseology (which none of them has yet learned to manipulate with facility), these people are energetically conducting a campaign of lies against the Communist International, the Chinese Communist Party, the Soviet Union, the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army, a campaign which aims to undermine the confidence of the outside world in the Chinese Soviet movement and the Red Army.

RECORD COPY

Harold Isaac

201-18446

H/w ATT CI To XAAZ-3586

201-18446

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SUR COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES FILES
Date *Oct. 23, 1957*

SOURCE: DAILY WORKER

File No.

9100 Isaacs
X 4202 China

TROTSKYITE BOOK MOURNS OVER CHINESE REVOLUTION

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By Harold D. Isaacs. Stanford University Press. 352 pp. \$5.

By ROBERT FRIEDMAN

The presses are spewing forth anti-Chinese books these days at a pace which bids to match the anti-Soviet torrent. All the 'old China hands' who served Western imperialism as banker, soldier, spy, or whatever in the Orient are now busy at the typewriter, engaged in profitable vilification of 450,000,000 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 avowed Trotskyite tract (complete with introduction by Trotsky) calling the defeat of the Chinese workers in 1927 a "betrayal" by Stalin and the Chinese Communists, the same book emerges now, refurbished, to mourn the victory of the very same Chinese workers a generation later.

Filled with the murky intricacies

of devious Trotskyite polemics, Isaacs' book has been reissued, partly to cash in on the hate-China racket, and partly because any stick is useful to Big Business against the liberation-bound masses.

Isaacs now says he no longer loves Trotsky, whose introduction has been dropped as a liability. Instead, he is an open defender of imperialist intervention against the people of the Far East.

But typical of his Trotskyite weaseling is Isaacs' attack on the Chinese Communists of the 1920's, first because they supported Chiang Kai-shek despite the fact that he was to become the butcher of the Chinese revolution, and second because they allegedly cringed before Chiang when he turned on the workers in 1927.

This nonsense, which would rule out every political alliance in history on the chance that today's ally might be tomorrow's enemy, is ironic in view of the fact that Chiang sits today on Taiwan, a discredited gangster save only in the eyes of Isaacs' political mentors.

Meanwhile, the Chinese people will go about their business building socialism, unconcerned by Isaacs' tears for the tragedy of 1927 or 1951.

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H/w ATT 02 TC XAA2-35286

201-18446

COPY: MK:SS
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Enclosure No. 1
To Des. No. 3317

700-1 Isaac, Harold

8/13/35

REM

1 Fa Yong Yi Ping Hutung
Fai ping, 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. Glass 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,

encl.

(Harold R. Isaacs)

(Copied by RD)

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11/1 ATT 13 TO XAA2-35536

201-18446

8/15/34 (Chinese) / Special Agent Paul C. / 58

C O P Y

Letter of H. R. Isaacs to the C.C.P. concern-
ing the China Forum

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 "betrayers" and "counter-revolutionary". In so doing you didn't have the courage or the simple honesty to state that you presented the China Forum with an ultimatum and forced its suspension because in reply its editor raised questions which are being placed before the whole movement today by the International Left Opposition. Nor did you state that you deliberately smashed the Forum for this reason despite my repeated and extended offers to continue publication as before on a straight anti-Kuomintang, anti-imperialist 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 against 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. Everything 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 shop 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

against

In denying the factual truth of this premise, whence flows the whole policy of the Communist Party in China, I deprecate not a bit the magnificent militancy and courage of Chinese workers, striking again and again and fighting

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

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

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

against terrific odds in defense of their very lives! not the heroic struggles waged by peasants all over the country; not the fight of the Red Armies against the Kuomintang, I merely respect the cold, indisputable fact that these struggles are defensive, not offensive, that they are isolated, desperate and unorganized. With very few exceptions - a few small strikes here and there and the larger exception of the Red Army - they are without organized revolutionary leadership. Moreover the development of this leadership, the task of the C.P., is proceeding at a tragically retarded pace owing to the false policies and inept tactics of the party.

In denying the presence of a mighty revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a vast, organized 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 1926 in Greater Shanghai there were 257 strikes. In 1933 there were 82. Let us remember that on the eve of the workers' seizure of power in Shanghai in March, 1937, there were more than 800,000 workers, handloom weavers and petty traders out on the streets fighting with arms in hands for demands of a far-reaching political character. A close check for the entire country in the latter half of 1933 showed me that less than one-thirtieth of that number were engaged in strikes and other disputes during any given month and that almost invariably the demands were defensive demands against wage cuts 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 devastating failure and relatively easy betrayal by the yellow "labor leaders" and "mediators" of the Kuomintang. 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 accompanied by vast sympathy strikes which broke like a series of tidal waves over the entire country. In January, 1935, 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 Chinese

Chinese workers. It is not evidence that a revolutionary 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 it is largely because this terror has not been fought effectively that the Kuomintang regime, despite the fact that it is rotting and crumbling, can still keep the lid down on the boiling, simmering hatred of the people it rules. Unless the martyrdom of thousands of China's finest workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals is to be in vain, we must turn resolutely away from the folly of calling to insurrection when what is needed is painstaking education, organization and the sponsorship of day-to-day struggles of the masses for democratic demands, the slow building up of a party and mass organizations and a movement which will be able to command the forces capable of carrying out an insurrection.

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

Party

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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 uphill 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 created 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

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

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

I ask you to recall the views I set forth in August and September, 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-hsiu 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-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 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 Ting-kai. You lumped the Left Opposition with the Third Party and the so-called Social Democrats among the petty bourgeois satellites of the Fukien militarists. It was as much to satisfy myself on this very point as to perform a mission for you that I went down to Foochow and spent two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of people prominently concerned that the Left Opposition were stoutly and clearly opposed to the 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 there. The important thing here is that on my return you demanded that I write slanders which flew in the face of everything I myself had learned. It is interesting, as a sidelight on your methods in factional strife as you conceive it, that your representative in Foochow sent back a report, through me, ironically enough, that one of the most prominent of the youthful pseudo-radicals in Foochow, Wu

Chi-yuen

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Chi-yuen to be exact, was a leading "Trotskyist". It so happened that I had met and had several lengthy interviews with Wu and by the time I left Poochow I understood his position and his personality exceedingly well. He was as much a Trotskyist as Wei Lan-fang is! Yet you actually demanded that I ignore my own knowledge of the man and in my article on Fukien set him down as a "Trotskyist". I was faced on the one hand by your demands that I write falsehoods to suit your policies and on the other by my deep desire to set forth the actual facts about the Opposition's attitude towards the Fukien regime. But once more, to preserve the shreds of our relationship, I drove a middle course and did neither, leaving the whole question out of my article.

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

IV.

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

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

raise

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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 to. In reply to my questions on China you simply quoted back to 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 necessary..." and went on amazingly to say: "but we know the true facts and we base our policies on them, not on these exaggerations!" A new slant on modern-day C.I. 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 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.I. You declared I had no right to offer critical comment on the dangerously opportunistic foreign and domestic policies of the U.S.S.R., most notably on the entry of the U.S.S.R. on a straight nationalist basis into the disgusting corridors of imperialist intrigue. To the contrary, I was to lovingly fawningly fondle and hail the policies which have meant disaster in China, Germany and elsewhere and are rapidly leading the U.S.S.R. into the vacuum of nationalist isolation from the world wide proletarian movement. This I was to do, to begin with, by publishing Stalin's face on the front page and columns of the customary panegyrics to his infallibility. Above all and before all, I was to take up cudgels against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". That was to be the main point of my reformation - to raise no questions myself and slander anybody else who did so.

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

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

the

Peking, China
May 30, 1934.

Harold R. Isaacs.

Let 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 hypocritical, 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.

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.

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 flattery 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 visit someday - but I had to refuse your offer on your terms. I had to refuse, in short, to become a back prostitute in the name of the Revolution.

the meanwhile I throw 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, then I'll write well (i.e., 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".

OUR COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES FILES

Date: July 6, 1950

SOURCE: DAILY WORKER

File No. 9100 Isaac

POST WRITER ADMITS ALL KOREA OPPOSES INVASION

The Korean people are united behind the Liberation Armies from the North and are hostile to the American troops sent there by Truman's interventionist order, the New York Post's Far East expert, Harold R. Isaacs, admitted yesterday.

Isaacs' article gave the lie to the Post's own editorial line of support to the police-state regime of Syngman Rhee and the Truman attack on Korea as an act to defend "democracy."

Isaacs declared that the U. S. has "much more reason to count on general Korean hostility than on heroic support." He admitted that "South Korean civilians have been infinitely harder hit by the American action so far" than by their fellow-Koreans from the north.

The South Korean government was an "unpopular one in the election held only four weeks ago," Isaacs said, "the regime of President Syngman Rhee was decisively repudiated."

Isaacs declared that the guerrilla movements in South Korea "could have operated only with a considerable measure of popular support," and he acknowledged the "intense desire of all Koreans for reunification of their dismembered country."

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 concocted the dis-

honest headline: "S. Koreans Don't Know Why Help Has Come."

(In late editions the Post indicated its own awareness of the phoniness of this headline by dropping it. The new one complained: "Weak S. Korean Regime Hampers GIs at Front.")

But Isaacs made clear that "if in China during the Japanese war the Americans had a friendly population on their side, this is by no means the case now in Korea."

He concludes: "Even if the war remains localized, even a victory won in due course will be a temporary one, and such a victory will not be easily won."

RECORD COPY

20-15446

7100 - Isaac, Harold

December 2, 1932.

No. 1480.

SECRET:

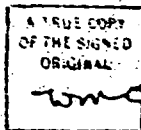
MEMORANDUM.

With reference to R.A. Memorandum No. 1305 of December 4, 1931, regarding Harold ISAACS and his connection with Hilaire NGUENNE, it has just been learned that one Viola ROBINSON arrived in Shanghai on August 28, 1932, by the C.T.R. s.s. EMPRESS OF ASIA. On August 29, Miss ROBINSON, 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 ROBINSON is a follower of the Suffragette, Lucy STONE, who, some fifteen or twenty years ago, advocated among American women the retention of the maiden name after marriage. According to officials of the United States Consulate General, Viola ROBINSON, therefore, will not be known as Mrs. ISAACS.

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

"You are in the swim, Viola. I'm coming back to dive in and swim alongside. What do you think? It is all extremely fortuitous from our standpoint that I should have seen the light at last. Your work with WUG and the future in it is far more important than anything 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 WUG mentioned in the above extract.



RECORD COPY

1442 -

H/W ATT 66 To 35286

201-18446

No. 5019*900 Isaac, Harold*Confidential.

AMERICAN CONSULATE SERVICE.

American Consulate General,
Shanghai, China, December 10, 1931.

Subject: Harold H. Isaacs.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

Sir:

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

Mr. Harold H. 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 care of the American Express Company.

According to Police reports Isaacs arrived in Shanghai from Manila as a first-class passenger on the S. S. PRESIDENT JEFFERSON on December 17, 1930. He was employed by the SHANGHAI EVENING POST AND MERCURY and later by the CHINA PRESS but apparently lost both

positions.

H/W ATT-07 To XAAZ-30556

REC

201-1546

-2-

positions. He has resided with a British subject named C. Frank Glass at 129 Weihaiwei Road and made a trip with Glass to Szechuen during June, 1931. The police file contains a copy of a letter written by him to a Miss Viola Robinson, care of the American Consulate, Dresden, Germany, dated July 24, 1931, at Chongtu, Szechuen. This letter, it is stated, was returned unopened to Shanghai from Dresden, addressed to Harold R. Isaacs in care of the American Express Company, Shanghai, and was opened by the Post Office Censor at the request of the Commissioner of Posts. The letter is very long and shows that Isaacs, although previously holding communist views, only decided definitely to turn "Red" during July of this year. He states that he was influenced in this decision by certain conversations with C. Frank Glass, above referred to, during their trip to Szechuen.

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 General, who apparently cabled information regarding it to London. The police report states that a reply was subsequently received 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 Isaacs' family."

The police state that Harold R. Isaacs in November, 1931, established a news agency under the name of the

"Far

-3-

"Far Eastern Press Correspondence," cable address
 Fenprecop, P. O. Box 1926. On October 8th Isaacs and
 C. Frank Glass moved from 122 Weihaiwei Road to House
 No. 6, Passage No. 177, Avenue Dubail. The police state
 that this address was formerly known as Number 25 Avenue
 Dubail and is the boarding house at which Agnes Smedley
 resided from May, 1929, to May 1930. The police report
 that Agnes Smedley frequently visits Isaacs and Glass
 at this address.

In my monthly political report for November, on
 page 15 it was stated that the bodies of numerous members
 of the family of a certain Kou had been murdered, allegedly
 by communists in retaliation for Kou's turning traitor to
 the communist cause. In connection with this matter
 Isaacs addressed an open letter to the various newspapers
 of Shanghai, under date of November 24, 1931, in which
 he scored them for branding these alleged murders as
 "horrible" and "dastardly," while at the same time they
 did not raise their editorial voices against the whole-
 sale murders committed by Chiang Kai-shek, the Garrison
 Commander of Shanghai and other Chinese militarists.
 None of the papers saw fit to publish this letter but I
 1/ 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. Isaacs.

Respectfully yours,

Erwin S. Cunningham,
 American Consul General.

Enclosure:

20-11406

Enclosure:

1/- Copy of open letter from Harold
R. Isaacs, dated November 24, 1931.

A true copy of
the signed orig.
PRJ MB
CCCB / 3

In Quadruplicate

No Copy to Legation.

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 1019 of Edwin S. Cunningham,
American Consul General at Shanghai, China, dated December
16, 1931, on the subject: "Harold H. Isaacs."

CONF

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE FOREIGN NEWSMEN OF SHANGHAI.

Your publication of the "chastly" (Shanghai Times),
"horrible" (China Press), "dastardly" (Evening Post and
North China Daily News) murders allegedly committed by
Chinese Communists in the French Concession brings
forcibly to mind certain other aspects of the Chinese
scene whose chastiness and barbarity find their way
into your columns only at rare intervals - and then
only in brief cool paragraphs.

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

Betrayal has its price under any social norm,
whether we turn the dirty work of vengeance over to the
ineffable mercies of the Lord or employ the less aesthetic
but more effective instruments of the gallows, electric
chair, lethal chamber, the guillotine or the more refined
weapons of social ostracism; whether we consider the
traitor 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 typewriters quivered
with the horror of these alleged deeds of murder in
Frenchtown can still without a qualm condone 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 editors - at the moment sending your men
out to run down the last threaded folks to this particular
story - why don't you send them out to Lunghua some fine
sunny morning? Why don't you give them an opportunity
to witness the torture and murder of young men and women
whose only crime is a realistic appreciation of the
social and economic factors at work in the world and
a demand for their readjustment?

You editors, who wield your editorial powers so
self-righteously, why don't you consistently examine and
logically expose a government 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

-2-

Only when it is convenient for your foreign interests, however, do you find it politic to trot out some of your favorite blasts against the Nanking regime, attacks which are almost always immediately offset by the nauseating eulogies and blatant lies that follow.

Considered from your own point of view, Messrs. Editors, the murderers of these Fenchowtown people should be brought to justice and made to pay for their crimes. But similarly from your own point of view, to what bar of justice should Chiang Kai Shek be brought, before what tribunals can we arraign the garrison commanders of Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, the warlords of Shantung, Szechuen, Kwangtung 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 justice, is the mass murder of thousands by the machine gun, the bomber, the rifle, the sword, the axe any more just than the furtive strangulation of nine hopeless relatives of a self-branded yellow cur? This perpetual warfare has been waged on the pretext of suppressing "banditry." If this be so, we are confronted with the startling fact, vouches for and advertised by the government boasting the recognition of all foreign powers, that vast portions of the Chinese population are criminal! On this promise, Chiang Kai Shek & Co. backed by the cohorts of the Soong Monage swoop down on whole provinces, massacre thousands, take heavy tolls from the meagre life earnings of peasants and workers. And with all their guns and planes and hundreds of thousands of soldiers, they still fail to eradicate the "bandits."

Who are the bandits, the robbers, the murderers? Answer this question, Messrs. Editors - and answer it honestly if you dare!

Japan, in violation of so-called principles of justice, but in full accord with the lessons of history, is helping herself to a good slice of Continental Asia, allegedly part of the Nanking Government's domain. Lacking the courage, the ability, the inclination to turn its guns on the invader, the Kuomintang sits in solemn conclave at Nanking and discusses further measures which, it hopes, will permit the extermination of new portions of China's vast "criminal" population to progress more effectively.

Let us take some of the facts sporadically reported by your own and the Chinese press during May-December, 1936. You reported 4,749 executions. From other, more meticulous sources are derived statistics which show that no less than 96510 were executed during the last four months of 1936 alone! This figure sounds fabulous, doesn't it? Yet for every digit there is somewhere in China a rotting corpse.

During the period following the close of the so-called "military" period of the Kuomintang in 1928

to

to the opening of the Third Plenary Session of the Party in 1930 approximately 450,000 workers, peasants, and students met death at the hands of China's "revolutionary" armies. One Shanghai daily (Chinese) late the next year editorialized as follows:-

"All China's problems could be satisfactorily settled if the good work of the past few months can be continued. From August to October (1930) alone 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 tortures applied by these righteous saviors of China? Shall we speak of the burnings in oil, the bugging alive (as were five young men and women at Lunghua on Feb. 7 last) the strangulations, the unspeakable mutilation of human bodies before death? These aren't wild nightmares. You have all seen and shuddered at the photographs which can still be bought here and there in Shanghai depicting these processes in all their grisliness.

And at these, Messrs. Editors, do you raise your editorial hands in saintly horror? Do you splash your columns with the adjectives "dastardly, horrible, ghastly?" 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 impartiality. Here is at least one opportunity to invest them with some quality of verisimilitude.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Harold R. Isaacs
177 Avenue Dubail,
House 8.

November 24, 1931.

Copied by LB
Compared with K H

EE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES FILES

3000-Isaacs, Harold R.

FILE NO.

SOURCE: D.W.

DATE: 8-4-32

EDITOR OF CHINA PAPER IN DANGER

Threat to Turn Isaacs Over to Nanking

SHANGHAI, 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," to the Nanking hangmen.

As editor of the "China Forum," Isaacs has committed the crime against imperialism of supporting the Chinese Revolution and ruthlessly exposing the mass murder of revolutionary Chinese workers and peasants by the Nanking regime and the United States and other imperialist brigands. He has exposed the shameful sell-out of the Chinese masses by the Nanking traitors to the Japanese, American and other imperialists.

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

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

American workers and intellectuals and their organizations should at once send vigorous protest to the State Department at Washington, opposing its attempt to send Isaacs to death in the Nanking Courts.

the President of the United States

RECORD COPY

H/W ATTN TO 1422-3X16

201-1422-1

Press Conference
7/30/32

-5-

9500 Isaacs

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 officers in China warned Mr. Isaacs that he would be likely to lose his extraterritorial status because of his activities. 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.

BOLIVIA-PARAGUAY

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

REC'D COPY

11/2 ATT OF T. 1942-3506

201-18446

FBI REPORT
DATE: 10 AUGUST 1953
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
FBI FILE #: 100-286243 - BUREAU
105-1247 - NEW YORK

Secret

ZOTOV, IVAN PAVLOVICH
19 MORDOVIAN REPUBLIC ASSR

S211600/1970

WEST GERMANY 1970



~~SECRET~~
201-254377

25 Jan 19

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201-018446

Secret

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

SECRET

(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE				
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
		2. RI FILE NO.		
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED		10. DISSEMINATED IN
				11. DATE
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
<p>ISAACS, HAROLD R. 201-018446 SEX M DOB 13 SEP 10 USA, NY, NYC CIT USA OCC JOURNALIST @ LO, SEN NEWSWEEK CORRESPONDENT IN SHANGHAI IN 30s. INVOLVED IN CP FRONT ACTIVITIES. CONTACT OF SMEDLEY AND NOULENS. POSS IDEN W/ALIAS JACOB, A MBR OF SORGE GRU RING IN SHANGHAI.</p> <p>201-000415 XAA2-24958 13 APR 67 P4</p> <p>R 6707240926</p> <p>FILE IN 201-<u>118446</u></p>				
14. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.				

DISPATCH		CLASSIFICATION	PROCESSING ACTION
		SECRET	
TO	Chief, DO		XX
INFO			NO INDEXING REQUIRED
FROM	WOTACE Representative, Boston		QUALIFIED DESK
SUBJECT	ISOLOG/WUSPARROW/Operational		EXAMINER INDEXING
ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES		MICROFILM	
<p>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 named a Professor.</p> <p>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 <u>New Yorker</u> magazine and as books, <u>The New World of Negro Americans</u> and <u>India's Untouchables</u>. Subject plans to publish in August 1967 a book on the American Jews in Israel and is working on another on the Philippines.</p> <p>3. WUSPARROW/1 first met Subject in 1946 after he had just completed a long and friendly interview with Ho Chi Minh as Far East correspondent for <u>Newsweek</u>. At that time, Subject felt that the United States was making a mistake in not accepting Ho as the leader of a united Vietnam, feeling that Ho was independent enough of China to make him at worst a sort of Tito.</p> <p>4. Subject presently is despairing of United States foreign relations in that our people from Washington, or elsewhere, seldom seem to establish a deep rapport with Asian or African nationals. Subject feels that such relations as do exist never reach more than an ineffective superficial level.</p> <p>5. Subject first went to the Far East about 1930 when he was a crew member of the Matson Line's <u>Malolo</u> and disembarked at Honolulu to work for the <u>Honolulu Advertiser</u>. (WUSPARROW/1 went to work for the same 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 <u>Royal Mail</u>, to fill in for St. Clair McELWAY, now of the <u>New Yorker</u>.</p>			
CONTINUED . . .			
Distribution: 2 - C/DO			
C. S. Copy filed 200-6-360/3 File in 201-12446			
CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE	
	UTBA - 543	11 August 1967	
	CLASSIFICATION	MCS FILE NUMBER	
	SECRET	200-6-360/3	

CONTINUATION OF
DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER

S E C R E T

UTRA - 543

6. Subject's mind was set on China and in late 1931 he went to Shanghai and joined The China Press, working alongside Tillman DUDIN, now of the New York Times. Subject lost his job with The China Press after a flare-up with Hollington TONG, part-owner of the paper. Subject then joined the Newsweek foreign staff. Subject was in and out of Bangkok after World War II and WUSPARROW/1 became friendly with him. According to WUSPARROW/1, many people regard Subject's Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution as a significant work and a recent writer on China, Dennis BLOODWORTH, holds a good view of Subject's Scratches on the Mind.

7. Subject now seems permanently settled with MIT, having bought a home at 96 Farlow Road, Newton. Subject hosts there at pool-side "seminars" on Saturday afternoons, with MIT faculty friends and journalist friends such as Bob SHAPLEN coming by. Subject invited WUSPARROW/1 to participate as well.

8. However, as WUSPARROW/1 ascertained, Subject has little contact with foreign students save for an occasional adult foreign graduate student. We hope, considering Subject's background, that he will prove with WUSPARROW/1's guidance to be a profitable unwitting spotter and assessor of foreign graduate students.

LOUIS K. ROLLOFIER

100
1000 230

DISSEMINATION CONTROL

S E C R E T

DISSEMINATION

CONTINUED

15-02-8

PAGE NO.

N/C Tracer
4-6347
DW-7

US

SECRET

2nd Tracer

Priority Urgent

RECEIVED
NOV 24 1965

Telephone Request for Name Check For Use of RI Name Check Control Office

FROM PSB/FBI DATE 24 NOV 1965

TAKEN BY Gerry F. CHECKED BY REPLY

ROBINSON, Viola

NAME

ALIAS AND SPELLING VARIATIONS

U. S.

6/20/10

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH

OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA

REFERENCES

NAI to CSCI 316/04352-65
dated 26 Oct. 65
subject: ISAGS, Harold Robert
per Trace by Diann
on 10 Nov. 65

WPKM
24/11/65

26 NOV 1965 201-18446

Special

RETURN TO: Tainor
10/14/65 caw
FILE #151-1423
PC
BUDED: 11/11a

NAME: ISAACS, HAROLD ROBERT

BORN: Sept. 19, 1910, NYC, NY

MS: married Viola Robinson, dob June 20, 1910, NYC, NY
married Shanghai, Sept. 14, 1932

ADDRESSES:

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

EDUCATION

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

SSN: 082-03-4029

EMPLOYMENT:

1953, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Camb, Mass., academic, research
1943 to 1950, Newsweek, WDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter,
war corres. assoc. editor
1943, Lockheed Aircraft Corp., WDC, radio writer,
1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NYC, WDC, writer
1934 to 1935, self employed, Peking, China, writer
1932 to 1934, Havas News Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor
1931 to 1932, China Press, Shanghai, China, city editor
1930 to 1931, Shai Evening Post, Shanghai, China, reporter
1930, Honolulu Advertiser, Honolulu, 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, Newsweek assignment
Philippines, 1950 to 1950, cover Baguio conference
Europe: Mainly UK, 1957 to 1957, travel, visit university
Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 1960, academic research project
Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Robert Isaacs, deceased
Mother, Sophie Dorlin, deceased
Wife, Viola Robinson Isaacs, dob 1910, same

REFERENCE:

Sergeant Shriver, Peace Corps., PRC, known 17 yrs.

FILE IN 201-18446

(Amended 201)

NAI to information furnished in

~~OSCI-316/04352-65 dated 26 October 1965~~

subject: ISAACS, Harold Robert

10 NOV 1965

- 1 NOV 1965

possible source

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)				
FROM: <i>01</i> RID/CE US UNITED STATES		EXTENSION	NO CSCI 316/04352-65	
			DATE 25 October 1965	
TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
	RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. CI STAFF 2C 35	26 OCT 1965		<i>06</i>	
2.				
3. RID/CE GA-10 Attn: Sarah Marmaduke	26 OCT 1965		<i>ER</i>	
4. RI/TV				
5. RID/AN GA 50			<i>46</i>	
6.				
7. RI/TV			<i>12</i>	
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12.				
13.				
14.				
15. RID/FI 1B 4003				
TO: PSB/FBI				
FILE TITLE				
FILE NUMBER				
ENCLOSURE				ABSTRACT X
DOCUMENT DATE 26 OCT 1965				INDEX

FORM 3-62

610

USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS
OP-18
9-64☒ SECRET☐ CONFIDENTIAL☐ INTERNAL USE ONLY☐ UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

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. 1 name check
1 attachment as stated above

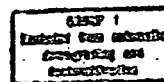
RID/CE: JMA/CPL/ell

Based on: CSCI-316/04169-65

CS COPY

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

201-18446



Special

OCT 15

U8T

RETURN TO: Tainor

10/14/63 caw

FILE #151-1423

PC

BUDED: 11/11a

NAME: ISAACS, HAROLD ROBERT

BORN: Sept. 12, 1910, NYC, NY

MS: married Viola Robinson, dob June 20, 1910, NYC, NY
married Shanghai, Sept. 14, 1932

ADDRESSES:

Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow Rd., Newton, Mass.

July, 1953 to Aug., 1965 Mass.

Feb., 1944 to July, 1953, 339 Central Pk. West, NYC, NY

Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4938 Newport Ave., Friendship Hts., Md.

1940 to Sept., 1941, 72 Pk. Terraco West, NYC, NY

1937 to 1940, 40 Monroe St., NYC, NY

EDUCATION

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

SSN: 082-03-4029

EMPLOYMENT:

1953, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Camb, Mass., academic, research

1943 to 1950, Newsweek, WDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter,
war corres. assoc. editor

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

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

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

1932 to 1934, Havas News Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor

1931 to 1932, China Press, Shanghai, China, city editor

1930 to 1931, Shai Evening News, Shanghai, China, reporter

1930, Honolulu Advertiser, Honolulu, Hawaii, reporter

FOREIGN TRAVEL:

China, 1930 to 1935, travel, writing

China, Burma, India, 1936 to 1945, war corres. Newsweek

PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949, Newsweek assignment

Philippines, 1950 to 1950, cover Baguio conference

Europe Mainly UK, 1954 to 1957, travel, visit university

Czech., Israel, India, 1958 to 1960, academic research project

Malaya, PI., etc., 1962 to 1964

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Robert Issacs, deceased

Mother, Sophie Dorlin, deceased

Wife, Viola Robinson Isaacs, dob 1910, same

REFERENCE:

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

FILE IN 201-

18 OCT 1965

14-00000
RETURN TO: Tailor
10/14/65 caw
FILE #151-1423
TC
DATED: 11/11A

615
CCI 21

NAME: ISAACS, HAROLD ROBERT

BORN: Sept. 13, 1910, NYC, NY

MS: married Viola Robinson, ~~1940~~ Lob June 30, 1910, NYC, NY
married Shanghai, Sept. 14, 1932

ADDRESSES:

Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow Ed., Newton, Mass.
July, 1963 to Aug., 1965 Mass.
Feb., 1944 to July, 1953, 223 Central Pl. West, NYC, NY
Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4038 Newport Ave., Friendship Hts., Md.
1940 to Sept., 1941, 72 Pl. Terrace West, NYC, NY
1937 to 1940, 40 Monroe St., NYC, NY

EDUCATION

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

SSN: 082-03-4020

EMPLOYMENT: 1935-1940 HAVAS News Agency
1940-1953 Self-employed - writer NYC
1953, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Camb, Mass., academic, research
1943 to 1950, Newsweek, WDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter,
war corres. and soc. editor
1943, Lockheed Aircraft Corp., WDC, radio writer,
1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NYC, WDC, writer
1934 to 1935, self employed, Peking, China, writer
1932 to 1934, Havas News Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor
1931 to 1932, China Press, Shanghai, China, city editor (CHINA FORUM)
1930 to 1931, Shai Evening Post, Shanghai, China, reporter
1930, Honolulu Advertiser, Honolulu, reporter
1928-1930 New York Times - 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, Newsweek assignment
Philippines, 1950 to 1950, cover Baguio conference
Europe Mainly UK, 1957 to 1957, travel, visit university
Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 1960, academic research project
Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Robert Isaacs, deceased
Mother, Sophie Berlin, deceased
Wife, Viola Robinson Isaacs, dob 1910, same

REFERENCES:

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

FILE IN 201-12446
(includes 201)

possible source

22 OCT 1965

20/10/65
JH

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

1 NOV 1965

DMS

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET					
SUBJECT: (Optional)					
FROM: <i>gtr</i> RID/CE US			EXTENSION	NO CSCI 316/ 04169-65	
				DATE 11 October 1965	
TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)		DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across columns after each comment.)
		RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. CI STAFF 2C 35		12 OCT 1965		<i>CB</i>	
2.					
3. RID/CE GA-10 Attn: Sarah Marmaduke		13 OCT 1965		<i>EX</i>	
4.					
5. RID/AN GA 50				<i>S</i>	
6.					
7. <i>RID/MIS</i>				<i>M</i>	
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15. RID/FI 1B 4003					

TO: PSB/CSC

FILE TITLE

FILE NUMBER

201-18 446

ENCLOSURE

DOCUMENT DATE 13 OCT 1965

ABSTRACT ☒

INDEX

FORM 3-62 610 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS ☒ SECRET ☐ CONFIDENTIAL ☐ INTERNAL USE ONLY ☐ UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

13 OCT 1965

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

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

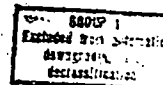
SUBJECT: ISAACS, Harold Robert

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

2. According to undated information from a reliable source, Subject born 13 September 1910 in New York City, arrived in Shanghai, China, from Manila, Philippine Islands, in December 1930. First employed in Shanghai by the English language daily, Evening Post and Mercury. Subject became associated a few weeks later with the China Press, with which he remained until May 1931. In June 1931 Subject traveled up the Yangtze River with the British Communist, Cecil Frank GLASS, a suspected agent for the Third International in China. Also in 1931, Subject became the Shanghai secretary of the Comité Internationale 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 Agnes 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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SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM



201-18446

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

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 Communists and began writing propaganda 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 anti-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.

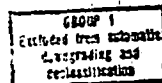
CSCI-316/04169-65

Encl. 1 name check

RID/CE: JMA/DS/lpm

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

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM



#451

14 SEP 1965

HS

✓
✓
✓
H.R.
H
ISAACS, Harlod Robert

HUNT

9-14-65

9-13-19
New York

ISACKSK
ISAAKSN

N USA

11/9/65
JL

Mass

possible song 52473

DD 10-5

MEMORANDUM FOR		
DATE	05 Oct 65	3
TO	ANALYST	Dms
FROM	SEARCH	
FE	COOS	NEW
FE	TKOJO	20
RE	FEED	97
BY	FEED	


FILE IN 201-18446*

15 SEP 1965

201-18446

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT				DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
Suspected Soviet Agents domiciled in Shanghai				2. RI FILE NO.		CHINA-CIAOP-L	
				3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
				SMP-D 4718		Box 193	
				7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO.	
						9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED		10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
JEP		3 Dec. 1963					
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION							
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE				13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
XXX							
PERTINENT INFORMATION							
<p>14. Interested parties in the subject of <u>HAROLD ISAACKS</u> are referred to this document. The bulky nature of this document plus numerous refs to other individuals and the poor quality of paper this makes it necessary to leave the file in its present classification.</p>							
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.							
				261-18446			

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☐ INTERNAL
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☐ CONFIDENTIAL

☒ SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:

RID/CE

FE

Japan

NO.

CSCI-3/ 778,850

DATE

22 November 1963

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

REC'D

FWD'D

OFFICER'S
INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across columns after each comment.)

1.

CI STAFF 2C 35

2.

3.

4.

5.

RID/AN GA 50

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

RID/FI 1B 4003

TO: ACSI (Telephonic)

FILE TITLE

FILE NUMBER

ENCLOSURE

DOCUMENT DATE

ABSTRACT

INDEX

FORM
1 DEC 55

610

USE PREVIOUS
EDITIONS

☒ SECRET

☐ CONFIDENTIAL

☐ INTERNAL
USE ONLY

☐ UNCLASSIFIED

OP-58
5-62

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

27 NOV 1963

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

FROM: Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: ISAACS, Harold Robert

1. 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, Subject is the author of a number of books, including No Peace in Asia, Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction, and The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. The files contain no information concerning Subject's teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; however they do contain the following summary of unevaluated information based on several predecessor organization reports. Additional information concerning Subject is contained in our SODB 20568, 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 Shanghai from 1930-1935. He was also editor and publisher of the China Forum, a communist periodical, from January 1932 to an unspecified date. In July 1932 ISAACS wrote and published the above-cited Five Years of Kuomintang 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.

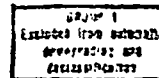
b. In 1933 Shanghai authorities listed Subject's wife, Viola ROBINSON, as a suspect Soviet agent residing in Shanghai. Prior to their marriage on 14 September 1932, ISAACS stated in a letter to Miss ROBINSON that he had definitely turned "Red." All the members of the ROBINSON family were described as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

1 End

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NO FOREIGN DISSEM

CS COPY

FILE IN 201-18446



SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

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 Forum, published by Subject. Subject's magazine allegedly published Communist propaganda; in this connection a protest was to be lodged against him with the American Consulate.

d. Subject was described as a "self-confessed Communist" in 1933. The following year he wrote an article entitled "I Break With The Chinese Stalinists" which appeared in the September-October 1934 edition of The New International, a Communist propaganda organ published in New York.

2. An undated report from an unknown source indicated that Subject had turned against the Stalinist Government of the USSR, 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 conspiracies 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.

3. 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 Eastern 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-3/778,880

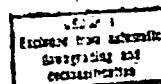
Encl: 1 attachment as stated above.

RID/CE: JHA/MI/dcl

Based on: FE/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 OPI, SMPD 4685 & 4685/C
CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 5454-8, 21-12-33
CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 6628
FDZ, 201-488-8
SO for NAVY referral.

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM



16633

FE

DW-7

crcc-3 1778,350

A 404
A 404

TELEPHONE REQUEST FOR NAME CONTROL FOR INDEXING RI NAME CHECK CONTROL OFFICE

ACSI - Lt. Whipple via Jane Roman

DATE 14 Oct 63

FORWARDED BY Moran

CHECKED BY

Reply

ISAACS, Harold Robert

NAME

ALIAS AND SPELLING VARIATIONS

born 1910

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH

OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA

REFERENCES

Author of many books on China - S. E. Asia

Harold R. Isaacs authority on China

Harold R. Isaacs teaches at MIT

are all the names the same person?

MEMORANDUM COORDINATION		
Copy	NOV 1963	INITIALS
RI ANALYST		ML
DIV.	BRANCH	
FE	China	MW
FE	JAPAN	KS
RI EDITOR		
RI TYPST		

Summary of
All info

Reproduction

ES COPY

Cy

FILED 201 18446 *


End # 1
15/10/63 7N5067
201-18446

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT				DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
				2. RI FILE NO.			
				3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.			4. DATE
				7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST <i>LA</i>		6. DATE <i>10 Sep 58</i>		10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION							
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE				13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
PERTINENT INFORMATION							
<p>14.</p> <p align="center">THERE IS A RESTRICTED CI/CA FOLDER ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS 201 HELD UNDER CI <i>5237</i></p>							
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.				<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 5px; display: inline-block;">201-15446</div> </div>			

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
<i>State Counsel General Reports, Shanghai</i>		2. RI FILE NO.	<i>16-5-16</i>
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	<i>ONHA-12913</i>
		4. DATE	<i>6 June 58</i>
5. ANALYST		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.
<i>MS</i>		<i>Smith</i>	
6. DATE PROCESSED		10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
<i>30 OCT 1965</i>		<i>16</i>	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>14. <i><u>H. R. ISAACS</u></i></p> <p><i>American Communist, Suspected of working for the Komintern and the R's.</i></p>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			
		<i>201-18446</i>	

175

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY	
FILE NO. JO - 5237	SOURCE CI/OA	DATE OF DOCUMENT	ANALYST	
SUBJECT ISAACS, HAROLD R. Born - 1910 - nationality - American			DATE 26 JUN 1966	
PERTINENT INFORMATION THERE IS A RESTRICTED CI/OA FOLDER ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS 201 HELD IN RI/AR FILE, WASH-CIA-PERS-4.				
CROSS REFERENCE FORM			FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.	
			<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div></div> <div>17446</div> <div></div> </div>	

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

52 May 1956

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 Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: RI/ANALYSIS				TELEPHONE NO.	NO. NPK-A-4284
				DATE	
TO	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	TELEPHONE
		REC'D	PRO'D		
1. NE	109	7 MAY 1956		id	
2. KLB				6	
3. CTK				CTK	
4. PG				id	
5.					
6.					
7.					
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9. Det		20 AUG 1956		LV	
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15. RI/FI	1409 L				

Comments:

Enos. E. M. T. R. S.
F. H. G. E. A. N.

Acton

Have a suggested
into Study requested
from Barbara Wood
on 24 May 56 when

RECORDED BY: [Signature]

INDEXED BY: [Signature]

ABSTRACT [X] INDEX [X]

DATE 14 MAY 1956

FORM NO. 610

REPLACES FORM 610-10
WHICH MAY BE USED

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

VIA AIR
Priority Air or Sea RouteDISPATCH NO. HPK-A-4284**SECRET**

CLASSIFICATION

TO Chief, NEA

DATE 5 May 1956FROM Chief of Station, Karachi *hwb*SUBJECT

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

1. The program of the 8th Annual Meeting of the Far Eastern Association, held in Philadelphia 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.
2. 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 Meeting 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 Miscellany" should be of considerable interest, particularly Stanley Maron's "The Future of East Bengal". 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

Distributions:

5 - NEA
2 - Karachi*NEIL R. HYDECKER*
NEIL R. HYDECKER**SECRET**

CLASSIFICATION

FORM 82
MAR 1949 51-28A

RI COPY, 7862-212

TOP SECRET

DEC 5, 1955

TO: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Attention: Mr. S. J. Papich

FROM: Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: Fernando SUGUERRA, also known as Fernando Laguarda AGRES

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 letter written by subject and addressed to the post office box mentioned in the referenced memorandum. The letter was signed by subject as FELY, his feminine pseudonym. It should also be explained that English is not subject's native language; therefore, the grammar and spelling used by subject in his letters are to be expected.

3. This office interprets subject's letter as follows:

a. Aunt Josephine is Jose LANSANG, with whom subject has been in contact the past several months and who has been indoctrinating subject with leftist ideology. LANSANG has not admitted to subject that he is a Communist, although in his conversations with subject he sticks very close to the current line of the Philippine Communist Party (PKP).

b. Harold ISMACS (FBI File No. 100-256243) is well known to the Bureau.

c. Uncle MANUEL is probably the late Philippine President Manuel QUESON, who sponsored Jose LANSANG's entry into the United States in 1937 when LANSANG studied at Columbia University. William CARTER, Jr. has not yet been identified by this office.

d. PABILLIC, from is probably Dr. Filadelfo PABILLIC, former Associate Professor of Mechanics at the University of the Philippines. PABILLIC received his B.S. from the University of the Philippines and his M.S. and Ph.D. at the University of Michigan.

3. COPY OF 12. 100-256243

Sent
Lucy Laughlin
for

21-18446

TOP SECRET

-2-

According to a usually reliable source of this Agency, PANGILIO was never able to completely readjust to Philippine life after having lived in the United States. He is known for his strong pro-American views and according to source probably his greatest desire is to reside permanently in the United States. Although it is known that PANGILIO was on friendly terms with Jose LANSANG there is no record that he shared LANSANG's political views.

d. Fr. BRENNY is probably Father DELANEY, Jesuit Chaplain at the University of the Philippines.

f. Cyprus or Cyprus University may possibly be Syracuse University.

g. His name is probably Ricardo LARDEZ, Philippine newspaperman who was allegedly associated with Harry BRIDGES in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in Honolulu. LARDEZ was born on 3 April 1915 in Manila; however, most of his life has been spent in Hawaii. He was naturalized a U.S. citizen in 1948 and returned to the Philippines in 1949, where he lost his U.S. citizenship in 1952. There is no information in the files of this office which indicates that LARDEZ has returned to Hawaii. For additional information concerning LARDEZ, reference is made to a memorandum to the Bureau, dated 23 November 1949, subject: "Ricardo LARDEZ (aka Ricardo LARDEZ)", our reference SO CS-20307.

h. Uncle BEN is Ben CUYUGAN, Uncle BERTIE is Baltasar CUYUGAN with whom the Bureau is familiar as a result of previous correspondence concerning his daughter, Carmen Jane CUYUGAN (FBI File No. 105-52561). From the wording of subject's letter this office assumes that Baltasar CUYUGAN is aware that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is investigating her CUYUGAN. It also appears that Baltasar CUYUGAN gave subject a letter to deliver personally to his brother Ben CUYUGAN, possibly to avoid a mail intercept by the Bureau. It should be noted that subject stated that he mailed the letter instead.

4. In view of the sensitiveness of the source of the above information, it is requested that no further dissemination be made of the information without prior clearance with this Agency.

CS 65-2763

Subject: BL - 200 (CS-2763), 14 September 1955
Attachment - 2 copy of a letter (to Addressee only)

10 September 1955
FBI - Chicago
Distribution

2-211 COPY OF 2-211

TOP SECRET

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)

XXXXXXXXXXXX

DATE: 27 JAN 54
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: LIU TSUN-CH'I (M) AKA
T.C. LIU, LAU CHIN-KI
FBI FILE #: 100-365280 (BUREAU)

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
X LIU TSUN-CH'I		2. RI FILE NO.	201-41745		
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		DFB--30147		24 Sept. 53	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION	
3. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
JP	3 Dec. 63				
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
XXXX					
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
<p>14. Comments made by Francis McCracken Fisher</p> <p>Fisher also recalled that sometime after the subject had gone over the Communists after 1950, he Fisher, met Harold Isaacs, a writer who formerly was a Trotskyite in his views, at which time Isaacs advised Fisher that he had known that subject was a Communist as early as the 1930's in Peking, China. Isaacs stated that the subject had worked for the Tass News Agency in Peking after having graduated from college and had even been sent to jail due to his communist activities.</p>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. ,		 <div>201-18446</div>			

FBI DOCUMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

DATE: 26 MAY 1953
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAAC
FBI FILE #: 100-286243 2 (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)

SECRET

(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
General Willing's File - Documents, Letters to Serge, and the Shanghai Municipal Police Files		1. RI FILE NO.	200-7-	212-	1
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC.	SYMBOL NO.		4. FILE
		RT	Encl. 25		5. DATE
6. ANALYST		7. DATE PROCESSED		8. EVALUATION	
Charles Sherman		29 Sept 65		51 Oct 52	
9. DISSEMINATED IN		10. DATE		11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS-REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
14. Shanghai MP, Special Branch, S-2, report of interception of propaganda-type letter to Harold R. ISAACS and Volume 3, No. 1, 31 Oct 32 Issue of "The Chinese Workers Correspondence" addressed to the China Forum.					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.					
		20182446*			

FORM 8-51


867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-46)


SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
General Wellington's File Documents Relating To Richard Sorge and the Shanghai Municipal Police Files		2. RI FILE NO.	200-7-212-1		
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		A1		Encl. 23 31 Oct 52	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
Heaven Sherman	29 Oct 64				
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
14. Photo copy of Special Edition of China Forum called 'Five years a Kuomintang Section' placed on my desk concerning it.					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.  201-12446*					

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE


SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
General Willoughby's Files - Documents Pertaining to Richard Sorge, and the Shanghai Municipal Police File		1. RI FILE NO.	200-	7-	212 -1
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		RI Encl. 18		31 Oct 52	
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
Dean's Review		29 Sept 65			
10. DISSEMINATED IN					
11. DATE					
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE			13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
<p align="center">PERTINENT INFORMATION</p> <p>Shanghai Municipal Police Report Report by S.I. Ross 19 April 34. CWC, Vol. 4, No. 13, 13.4.34 Addressed: Mr. H.R. TRAACS, Embankment Building, North Soochow Road, Local</p> <p>Forwarded extracts of Chinese Workers Correspondence relating to labour disputes in Shanghai during March 1934 -</p> <p>The publication which was obtained from a confidential source was delivered through the post, addressed to TRAACS as above.</p>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.  201-18446					

14-00000

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

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
General Willoughby's File - Document Pertaining to Richard Rogers and wife Changhae Municipal Police File		1. RI FILE NO.	200-7-212-1	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	RI	4. DATE Encl. 8 31 Oct 52
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST Desmond Sheverson	6. DATE PROCESSED 29 Sept 65	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
14. Photographic copies of letters from Willi MUENZENBERG to ISACCS regarding International Committee for defense of Paul + Bertrude RUEGG.				
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			201-18446*	

14-00000

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

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE


SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
<i>Arthur Brown Oswald STEIN</i>		2. RI FILE NO.		201-391-57	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		164B-17243		15 Apr 52	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO.	
9. ANALYST		10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED		7. EVALUATION	
JES		20 Oct 65		incl. 1	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE			13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
14. <i>A. C. ISAACS, and others, among American newspaper correspondents in Shanghai around 1930 to 1932.</i>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.				201-18446	

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE				
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT Agnes Smedley, was.		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
		2. RI FILE NO.	201-414	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	DFB-16151	4. DATE 5 Mar. 52
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST jep	6. DATE PROCESSED 21 Nov. 63	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE XXX		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
<p>14.</p> <p align="center">h</p> <p>According to confidential informant T-17, of unknown reliability, Agnes Smedley attempted to obtain from the American Express Co. in Shanghai certain mail addressed to Harold R. Isaacs while Isaacs was absent from the city. One of the return addresses on this mail was Smith and Isaacs, 344 East 149th Street Bronx, New York. Harold R. Isaacs, mention above, was identified by T 17 as an American Journalist of Communist sympathies who resided in Shanghai in the Early thirties.</p>				
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		➡	201-18446	


SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
AGNES SMEDLEY,		2. RI FILE NO.	201-434		
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		DFB-16129		14 Feb. 52	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
JEP	3 Dec. 63				
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
XXXX					
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
14. Subject of the document is mentioned as having visited the residence of <u>Harold R. XXXXXX Isaacs</u> and C. ² R Frank Glass, two notorious local Communists sympathizers.					
15.					
FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			201-18446		

FBI REPORT
DATE: 31 JAN. 52
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJ: TILLMAN, DURDIN
FBI FILE #: 105-15218 (BUREAU)

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
IDA FRANCES TREAT BERGERET		1. RI FILE NO.	201-818416
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		DFB-24411	12 Feb. 52
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.
		9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
JEP	3 Dec. 63		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
XXXX			
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
14. Subject remembers meeting <u>HAROLD R. ISAACS</u> , an American Journalist, at a party at the home of Madame SUN YAT SEN.			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 201-18416	

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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.

FROM:

NO

DCE 4385

DATE

TO—	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
		RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. etc	1603			U. W.	
2.					
3. JE/SO				J	
4. China			4964	J	rounded
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9. STC/SIB			MAR 10 1952	J	CONSOLIDATION EFFECTED BY 26-124
10.					
11. STC/ICB				M	DEF REC
12.					16 7 12/10
13.					12 12/10
14.					
15. 2.1					

FORM 51-9

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10-50112-1

see 4585

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Chief, Staff, CSO
Attn: Mr. Ross Wilson
FROM : Chief, Contact Division, CS

DATE: 7 February 1952

SUBJECT: CS Information—Pro-Communist Sentiment of US Nationals in China

1. Enclosed is a copy of an article prepared for publication in the Christian Science Monitor by a former editor of the Shanghai English-language newspaper. It has not yet been published and probably will not be published because of its length.

Ats. Series
S. H. A. 100-100000

ENCLOSURE (A) as listed above.

INDEX
1-2-52

1 COPY
100-7-24-117
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1. A happy ending has been written in the case of Morris L. Appelmann, former Communist who is now secretary of the General Rose Memorial Hospital of Denver. He has been praised in Washington for "disclosing his Communist past", and his board of directors has voted confidence in him and continued him in his job.
2. No doubt all this is fitting and proper but it doesn't answer the question of why nobody in Denver seems to have known anything about Appelmann's Red-tinted past, or why there was anything sensational about his revelation of it in Washington. While the police state is rightly anathema to American citizens, it seems remarkable that official records should not be in existence and reasonably accessible to people with reason to check up on such a point as past Communist service.
3. The point about Appelmann is not that he did anything particularly reprehensible, but that what he did was quite in the open. According to the Washington testimony he served the Communist party, apparently without special concealment, in Russia, Germany and other points in Europe, going around the world between 1924 and 1938. He sought to relieve Max and Grace Granich in the editorship of a Shanghai English-language Communist magazine, "The Voice of China", in 1937, he testified, but didn't get off his ship in Shanghai because of the hostilities there at the time.
4. This sheds something of a light on the supposedly fearless and ruthless Communist operations throughout the world. I was in Shanghai when fighting broke out there between Japan and China on Aug. 13, 1937, and can testify that we had three months of ding-dong warfare before the campaign 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 Communism would at least have paused in nearby Kobe or Hongkong till things calmed down a little. Possibly the Communists are as subject to qualms about personal safety as anyone else—or more so.
5. About "The Voice of China" there could hardly be any illusion in the mind of anyone who had cared to pay the slightest attention to it. Each issue bore a virtual advertisement of its Communist allegiance on its front cover, to those familiar with methods of converting Chinese into English. The name "Voice of China" appeared in both English and Chinese, and in the Chinese a peculiar Soviet-originated system of Romanization was used so that what is ordinarily, by conventional Wade system, written "Chung Hua" for China was spelled "Chung Hua"—an extraordinary effect frankly explaining the publication's ownership.
6. But what was more, Harold Isaacs, the editor who preceded the Graniches, had done considerably more than was conveyed by press 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

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completely with an article headed "I Break With Stalinism." This gave a candid 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, James' article—published elsewhere than in the "Voice", of course—certainly should have dispelled them.

7. The Granichs seem to have lived quietly in Shanghai and were little known, which under the circumstances was hardly surprising since they were running an obviously Communist organ. Chiang Kai-shek's forces could not meddle with them openly, for at that time Shanghai was an international city operated under extraterritoriality. But the Nationalist secret police did create some trouble for the "Voice" and then Consul-General Clarence E. Gauss was allegedly reprimanded by the State Department in 1937 for not doing more to help them as Americans. Technically they were entitled to full American protection but Gauss, now with the Import-Export Bank in Washington, D. C., was a sort of Old Curmudgeon of the Shanghai American community and it seems that he thought it his moral obligation to let them fry in any trouble they might get into as Communist agents. Gauss can't have suffered greatly for this in the eyes of his superiors, for he was later promoted to ambassador both to China and to Australia.

8. This background has some present importance since an American magazine is being operated today in Communist Shanghai, which tolerates no criticism or opposition. Originally pro-Nationalist under the late J. B. Powell, it has been friendly toward the Communists under his son, John William Powell, and it stayed on after most other American enterprises—including the daily Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, edited by myself—had shut down and American officials had left Red China.

9. Before they departed, these officials had reason to compile an extensive file on what is now the China Monthly Review. One incident which is known to have irked them was the Review's treatment of the case of William Clive, American consular official, in the summer of 1949 soon after the Communists had taken over. Clive blundered into a traffic conflict with the Communist police, was taken to first one and then a second police station, and in the course of several days' imprisonment he was severely beaten with fists and gunbutts, kicked and otherwise maltreated. Powell's Review blandly professed to have little information on the matter but gave an account unfavorable to Clive. When consular officials asked Powell to come to the consulate and look Clive 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. More recently, copies of the Review have been slanted strongly against the Americans and the United Nations cause in Korea and one issue editorially spoke of the United States as "the enemy." 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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SECURITY INFORMATION

or until he decided to return to his own country—and even then, the complex nature of American laws on this general subject make it hard to tell what could be done aside from perhaps denying another passport to go abroad again.

11. The important thing, as shown by a long list of cases gravely investigated by congressional committees, is to have the postwar Central Intelligence Agency or some comparable group such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation keep track of the wealth of information available. Too much waste effort goes into the many duplications of inquiry.

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SECURITY INFORMATION

1-7-67-167

CONFIDENTIAL**SECURITY INFORMATION**

DCE 4355

Chief, Staff C, COM
Attn: Miss Jane Rinkelow
Chief, Contact Division, CO

7 February 1952

CS Information--Pro-Communist Sentiment of US Nationals in China

1. Enclosed is a copy of an article prepared for publication in the Christian Science Monitor by a former editor of the Shanghai English-language newspaper. It has not yet been published and probably will not be published because of its length.

A. W. ABERNATHY**ENCLOSURE (A) as listed above.****COPY**

11-2-52-117

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OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: AAP

SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

DISPATCH NO. 2784

CLASSIFICATION

6 February 1952

TO : Chief of Mission, FEI/FEI

DATE:

FROM : Chief, FE

SUBJECT: GENERAL - Counter-espionage

SPECIFIC - Transmittal of OE Study on "The NOULENS Case"

Attachment: (1) Subject OE Study (4 copies)

The attached study entitled "The NOULENS Case", compiled by our OE office, is forwarded for your information and for retention in your OE files.

BERNHARD VON AMMON

Originator: John L. Witzleben

RELEASING OFFICER
LLOYD GEORGE
Chief, FE

COORDINATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER
John Chrislaw
FE/B/SO

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

ISAACS, Harold Robert

Born 13 Sept 1910, NYC
Nat'l American

DESCRIPTION

Height 5'9"
Build medium
Hair black, wavy, brushed back
Eyes brown

DOCUMENTATION

In 30s was traveling on passport # 177026

Arrived in China from Manila on 10 Dec 1930

Upon 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 Friends of the USSR

On 12 June 1931, ISAACS and his friend GLASS took a trip up the Yangtze. During this trip ISAACS wrote his fiancée, Viola ROBINSON, that he had decided to join "Reds" as a result of conversations with GLASS.

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

ISAACS later started and became the editor and publisher of the "China Forum" which at first was job-printed but from Oct 1932 on was printed by the Level Publishing Co., Ltd., # 33, Lane 478 Tiendong Road, Shanghai. ISAACS openly stated he was manager of the printing co and owned 40% of its shares.

On 7 Aug 1933, ISAACS and his wife Viola ROBINSON whom he had married in Sept 1932 left Shanghai for Japan on the SS Nagasaki Maru. On 16 Aug, they proceeded to Japan, returning to Shanghai on Aug 26th.

In addition to his other activities, ISAACS was also employed with the Hava News Agency. He covered connection with this Agency around Dec 1933.

In Dec 1933, ISAACS was in Foochow to gather 1st hand info re the newly formed "People's Revolutionary Government of the Republic of China."

In the spring of 1934, ISAACS and his wife left for Tientsin en route to Peking at which city he resided at # 2 Tung Fu Chia Tao, East City. Peking mailing address was # Mr. ULLMANN, Grand Hotel.

On 3 January 1934, ISAACS visited Mr and Mrs. NOULENS while they were on a hunger strike in prison.

On 14 January 1934, 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 Metropol Hotel Annex. On 20 February they left Shanghai for Port Said en route to Marseilles on the SS Rawalpindi.

On 4 April 1936, ISAACS under the pen name of Lo Sen had an article published in the New Militant, the organ of the NY District Worker's Party. The article was an attack on Stalin and was entitled "Stalinism ready to embrace Chian Kai Shek, Officer Chinese Red Army in return for resurrection of disastrous 1927 bloc!" At this same time, ISAACS was also lecturing on Japan, China, and the USSR and the War Crisis in the Far East.

GLASS

1. Shanghai Hani Police Files, filed, 16-4-2-37, p 2

In Shanghai GLASS made the acquaintance of one Damaree C. B333, American from Kansas City, born 1899. This was some time after April 1932.

Name C.F. GLASS Cecil Frank GLASS
Born 25 March 1901, Birmingham, England

Passport British passport, # 94153, issued 5 Jan 1931 in Pretoria, South Africa
Pol Affiliation Member 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 Shanghai from Dartmouth May 1931

On 12 June 1931 made a trip through up the Yangtze with Harold ISAACS American Communist and writer for the editor of the China Forum. A letter written by ISAACS to his fiancée, Miss Viola ROBINSON, during this trip contained information that ISAACS had decided to turn "Red" as a result of his conversation with GLASS.

In Sept. 1931, GLASS became a member of the "SHANGHAI Defense Committee" and two months later was appointed Shanghai Representative of the Anglo-Asiatic Telegraph Agency (Angasta) a news agency with HQ in Harbin, which position he held until 1933. In Aug 1933, he was living in Room 510, # 1276, North Szechuen Road, Shanghai.

ECIS 1811; Shanghai Municipal Files, file: 16-4-2-37

ROBINSON, Viola
 @ MRS. W.D. ISAACS

Born 10 July 1910, NYC
 Nat'l American

Description
 Height 5'4"
 Build slim
 Complex fair

Documentation

In 1932 holder of US passport # 382046 issued NYC 14 May 1931.

History

In 1931 known to have visited Germany

Known Communist and follower of Lucy STONE

Arrived in Shanghai on 23 Aug 1932

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

After her arrival in China was employed at the Dah Chung Middle School, Shanghai as a teacher.

She lived in the Embankment Building Bldg, North Soochow Road

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

In Nov 1933, info was received to the effect that Miss ROBINSON was a teacher at the Comparative Law School, Shanghai.

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Harold Robert ISAACS with aliases

LO SAN (pennane used in China)

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

Little is known concerning the activities of ISAACS prior to his arrival in China from Manila on 10 December 1930; however, ^{ma. I. W. ISAACS} who visited ISAACS ~~in Shanghai~~ ^{in Tientsin & Peking} ~~date in Shanghai~~, 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 Yangtze together.

It has been stated that ISAACS became interested in Communism with specific relation to China, but letters written by ISAACS to his fiancée, Viola ROBINSON, ~~stated to~~ ^{it has been stated that} of his trip with GLASS, ~~are stated to indicate~~.

IT has been stated that ISAACS became interested in Communism ⁱⁿ specific relation to China; it has also been stated that letters between ISAACS and his fiancée, Viola ROBINSON, which were written during the Yangtze trip indicated Communist sympathies on the part of both, and one of the letters contained the information that ISAACS had decided to turn "Red" 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 Road. In September 1931, both men are reported to have become members of the HOLLANDS Defense Committee, ISAACS being the Secretary.

ISAACS is also reported to have been a member of the Society of Friends of the USSR.

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, with connection he is reported to have severed around December 1933.

ISAACS also started and later became editor and publisher of the "China Forum." It is believed to have been a monthly English language paper issued at first as a commercial job from the Mercury Press. From October 1932 on it was printed by the Level Publishing Company Inc., 33, Lane 478, Tiandong Road. ISAACS is reported to have openly stated that he was manager of the printing company, owning 40% of the shares.

It has been stated that those who knew ISAACS in Shanghai found no reason to think he was a "pay off" man for American Communists, and that during the first part of his stay in China, he was not a follower of Trotsky. However, he is reported to have finally become convinced that the tactics of the Chinese Communists were wrong and that Trotsky was right in criticizing them, and the Soviet Government under Stalin. He therefore wrote an article entitled, "I Break with Stalin & the Stalinists," in which among other things, he is reported to have stated that the expense of publishing the magazine had been borne by the Chinese Communists. He is then reported to have discontinued the magazine 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 Trotsky cause.

ISAACS had been engaged for several years to Viola ROBINSON who arrived in Shanghai on 28 August 1932. On 14 September 1932, she and ISAACS were married and took up residence in the Embankment Building on North Soochow Road. Prior to the fall of 1933, Irene WEINSTEIN or WEINSTEIN ~~of the~~ a subject in the SOMER Case is reported to have lived in the Embankment Building with one Renee HENRI L. Rold AUDOUARD and his wife who have been reported as Soviet sympathizers and were who were known to have

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

After her arrival in China, Viola ROBINSON ISAACS was employed at the Dah Chung Middle School, and by November 1933 was reported as a teacher at the Comparative Law School in Shanghai.

On 7 August 1933, the ISAACS left Shanghai for Japan, and on 16 August 1933 proceeded to Dairen, returning to Shanghai by rail on 26 August 1933. In December 1933 ISAACS left Shanghai for Foochow to gather first hand information on the newly formed "People's Revolutionary Government of the Republic of China."

In January 1934, ISAACS is reported to have visited Mrs. and Mrs. NOULINS while they were on a hunger strike in prison. In the spring of 1934, ISAACS and his wife left for Tientsin en route to Peking at which city, they resided at 2 Tung Fu Chia Tiao, East City. His mailing address was 3 of one Mr. UREMAN, Grand Hotel, Peking.

As has been set out heretofore, ISAACS is reported to have turned against the Stalinist Government of the USSR, becoming a Trotskyite. During this period he wrote the "Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," allegedly as a single gesture of interpretation and protest to show how, in his opinion, both the Kuomintang and the Communists had gone wrong in China. Also in April 1936, under the pen name of Lo Jan, ISAACS had an article published in the "New Militant," the organ of the NY District Workers' Party. The article was reportedly an attack on Stalin and was entitled, "Stalinists ready to embrace Chiang Kai Shek... Officer Chinese Red Army in Return for resurrection of disastrous 1927 bloc."

It has been stated by friends of ISAACS 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 are also reported to have stated that ISAACS was attracted to Communism by Eshbach Idealism."

It has been further reported that 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.

Sometime in the late 1930s, ISAACS returned to the United States. By the fall of 1941, 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 Friendship Heights, Newport Ave., 4936.

By late 1944 or early 1945, ISAACS was in Chungking as a representative of Newsweek. During this period, he had a great deal of trouble about censorship, and reportedly was denied permission to visit Communist areas. It has been stated that actually he was merely unfortunate in that he applied just after the government had restored its ban on journalistic travel in that direction. At the time he had was denied permission, "Reddy" WHITE of Time had just been allowed to go, and ISAACS felt that he was being discriminated against. It has been stated that WHITE, upon his return, gave such a good account of administration in the Red areas that this, added to other similar experiences, solidified the government's determination not to let any more American newspapermen "go up and become Communist converts." In March 1945, ISAACS was reported as about to leave Chungking permanently.

The following descriptions of Harold and Viola ISAACS are set out for your information:

Harold ISACCS		Viola R. ISACCS	
Born	10 July 1910, NYC	13 Sept., 1910, NYC	
Nat'l	American	American	
Height	5'9"	5'5"	
Build	medium	slim	
Hair	black, wavy, brushed back		
Eyes	brown		
Complex		fair	
Passports in early 1930s	US Passport # 177026	US passport # 382046, issued NYC 14 May 1931	

In addition to Agnes SUDLEY and Frank GLASS, ISACCS is known to have been in contact with the following while in China:

William DUNDIE. For a time during his stay in China, ISACCS is reported to have lived with DUNDIE, then correspondent of the NY Times and once at one time, managing editor of 3 China Press.

John M. MURRAY, Shanghai representative of the Pacific News Agency in Vancouver. MURRAY is also known to have been in contact with E.E. KISCH, Agnes SUDLEY, Irene WEINSTEIN or WEINSTEIN and one W. ROVER during his stay in China.

AUG 14 1937
 INFORMATION REPORT
 RECORDED
 INDEXED


ISAACS

PUBLICATIONS

Wrote an article entitled "I Break with the Stalinists" in
other things, that the expenses of publishing a magazine which he was putting out
had been borne by the Chinese Communists.


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

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
<i>Gene Frank Hls</i> <i>WEITEMEYER</i>		2. RI FILE NO.	<i>201-9046-1</i>
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		<i>LCB-14433</i>	<i>20 Dec 51</i>
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.
		<i>PS-5</i>	
9. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
<i>GS</i>	<i>20 Oct 65</i>		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
14. In Sept. 1931 it was reported that an 'Adl Committee to the Secretary of the Am Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (Members) had been formed in Shanghai, and that in addition to WEITEMEYER its members included <u>MORRIS ISAACS</u> and others, - all well known local radical journalists.			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			
		<i>201-18446</i>	

SECRET

(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE				
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT Alexander Hassler Buchman		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
		1. RI FILE NO.	201-6783	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	SODB-45339	4. DATE d 5 Dec. 51
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST James A. Plaugher	6. DATE PROCESSED 3 Dec. 63	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE XXI		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
<p>14.</p> <p>1. Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning the captioned subject and in particular to your communication of 10 July 51, your file number 105-11929 in which it was requested that Tilman Durdin be interviewed regarding his knowledge of the background, beliefs and xxx activities of the individuals named below. Durdin, who travels continuously and extensively in the Far East, was finally located in Djakarta Indonesia, and on 14 Nov. 51 was interviewed, in accordance with your request, and the following information elicited.</p> <p>2. Durdin stated he knew nothing definite regarding the present activities and alleged communist connection of Frans Joseph WEISBLATT, Harold ISAACS, Frans GLASS, ALEXANDER BASSLER BUCHMAN and George Alexander Kennedy, and that he could furnish info on their early activities only.</p> <p>XX</p> <p>3. DURDIN said that he knows Harold Isaacs well and that he last saw him at the conference in Baguio in the Philippines, which was held in November 1947. He stated that ISAACS ISAACS was formerly with NEWSREEL but that he now believes he is a free lance lecturer and writer. He gave his opinion that Isaacs, although left wing, is not necessarily a communist.</p>				
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 201-15446		

SECRET

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

INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET

Page No.

From:

To:

Action:

Information:

15 NOV 51

IN 40810

Telephone Not Required. Handle as SECRET Correspondence per Para. 31(1) of LAR-300-1

JAKA-588

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (OUT 31993)

1. SUBJECT VISITED CURRENT OFFICE [REDACTED]

ACCORDING APPROACH PREVIOUSLY AGREED UPON. SUBJECT QUOTE: "I HAVE

[REDACTED] ONLY ABOUT THIRTY PERSONS LEFT ALIVE."

[REDACTED] THEIR EVASIVE ACTION TO AVOID [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ONLY HAD RECOLLECTION MEETING WEISLATT

ABOUT 193 (AS RECEIVED). DID NOT LIVE WITH WEISLATT ALTHO POSSIBLY

QUARTERED SAME SACHS LONGER WERE SHORT PERIOD. NO INFO PRESENT AND

[REDACTED] SUBJECT WOULD BE ABLE TO TELL. SAW HIS LAST EXPOSURE

1960. FORMERLY WITH NEWSTEER BUT BELIEVES ISAACS WAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

SECRET

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO MAKE A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE

COPY

SECRET

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

CLASS: AB

DISPATCH NO.

FORM 1100

CLASSIFICATION

DATE: 24 September 1951

Chief of Station, Hong Kong

Chief, Foreign Division 2

SUBJECT: GENERAL

Information

SPECIFIC

Request for Interview of William Larkin.

1. In connection with a current investigation, TASSHARI has requested that William Larkin be interviewed along the lines set out below. It is requested that if Larkin is not now in Hong Kong or is not expected to be there for some time you advise Headquarters as soon as a copy of this dispatch can be sent to the proper station. It is not deemed desirable for you or any member of your staff to undertake this interview personally. It is suggested, therefore, that a proxi of this dispatch be made available to a suitable TASSHARI officer (a representative of the TASSHARI Security Office, if one is available), and that he interview Larkin and inform you of the results.

2. A reliable TASSHARI informant has stated that in 1933 Larkin was in Shanghai, acting as city editor of the "China Press." At that time he was said to have shared an apartment with Frank Joseph McMillan, who is described as an American citizen then in China as a news reporter. According to the informant, McMillan was at that time a close associate of Harold HARRIS, who was said to have been employed in Shanghai in 1933 as editor of the "China Review", described as a Communist publication. A TASSHARI source of unknown reliability has stated that in 1933 HARRIS was a "notorious radical sympathizer" and was suspected of being an agent for the Third International.

3. In 1949, TASSHARI representatives interviewed one Morris Louis APPELBAUM in Denver, Colorado. APPELBAUM admitted having been a CP member from 1924 to 1937. He stated that in 1933 and 1934 he saw Larkin in Shanghai, and that during that period, he, Harold HARRIS, Frank McMillan and Alexander FARMAN, frequently held meetings at the home of William Larkin in Shanghai. Frank GLASS is a British subject presently living in Los Angeles. McMillan is an American who also lives in Los Angeles. APPELBAUM described HARRIS and GLASS as Trotskyites in 1943-44, and described McMillan as a former member of the Communist Youth League in the U.S. A TASSHARI informant of unknown reliability has reported that during that period GLASS and HARRIS were suspected of being

RELEASING OFFICER

LEWIS GEORGE
CHIEF, SEC

COORDINATING OFFICER

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

GEORGE W. WALLACE

CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 11-51
SEP 1951

11001

CONFIDENTIAL

agents for the Third International in Shanghai.

4. In addition to the above individuals, Durdin is also reported to have been an acquaintance in Shanghai about 1932-33 of George Alexander KENNEDY, who is presently employed at Yale University. KENNEDY was an acquaintance of ISAACS and was also reported to have been associated with "left-wing groups" in Shanghai at that time.

5. In view of the above ZASLAW desires that Durdin be interviewed as soon as possible relative to the agents and his acquaintance and association with WILSELAFF, ISAACS, GLASS, BUCHANAN, and KENNEDY. Durdin is requested to comment particularly concerning any activities of these individuals on behalf of the CP or the Third International, or whether any may have been engaged in espionage activities on behalf of the Soviet Union, either during the early 1930's in China, or at any subsequent period.

GEORGE W. MALLORY



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE NO. 105-16219

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: September 11, 1951

To: Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Major General W. G. Hyman
Office of Special Operations

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: WILLIAM DARDIN
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DFB-11880

201-6556

Sept 14/95L

In connection with an official investigation being conducted by this Bureau, we are desirous of obtaining certain information from Mr. William Dardin, who is presently located c/o Hong Kong, Tiger Standard, 108 Windsor House, Victoria, Hong Kong. It would be appreciated if you would have one of your representatives interview Mr. Dardin in Hong Kong along the lines set out below.

For your information, Dardin is a foreign correspondent for the New York Times newspaper. He is an American citizen born March 19, 1907, at Elkhart, Texas, and has been employed as a foreign correspondent for the New York Times for many years, possibly since at least the early 1930's.

A reliable informant has advised that in 1933 Dardin was in Shanghai, China, acting as City Editor of the newspaper "China Press." At that time Dardin was said to be sharing an apartment with Franz Joseph Weisblatt, described as an American citizen then in China as a newspaper reporter.

According to our informant, Weisblatt was at that time a close associate of one Harold Isaacs. Isaacs, an American citizen presently living in New York City, was said by our informant to have been employed

in Shanghai in 1933 as Editor of the "China Forum," described as a Communist publication. A source of unknown reliability has stated that in 1933 Isaacs was a "notorious radical sympathizer" and was suspected of being an agent of the Third International. Isaacs was said to have organized the Shanghai Committee for the Defense of the Russians, Paul and Gertrude Rung were convicted in China in 1932 for Russian espionage activities.

In March, 1949, this Bureau interviewed one Morris Louis Appleman, an American citizen presently living in Denver, Colorado, and Appleman admitted having been a member of the Communist Party from 1924 to 1937. Appleman stated that in 1933 and 1934 he knew Durdin in Shanghai, and that during that period, he, Appleman, Harold Isaacs, Frank Glass and Alexander Buchman, frequently held meetings at the home of William Durdin in Shanghai.

Frank Glass is a British citizen presently living in Los Angeles, California. Buchman is an American citizen also presently living in Los Angeles. Morris Appleman described Isaacs and Glass as Trotskyites in 1933-34, and described Buchman 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 Glass and Isaacs 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 Shanghai in about 1932-33 of George Alexander Kennedy, an American citizen presently employed at Yale University. Kennedy was an acquaintance of Harold Isaacs at that time, and was also reported to have been associated with "left-wing groups" in Shanghai 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: Franz Joseph Weisblatt, Harold Isaacs, Frank Glass, Alexander Buchman, and George Alexander Kennedy.

It is requested that Durdin be questioned particularly as to any information he may possess concerning any activities of these individuals on behalf of the Communist Party or the Third International. Durdin should also be asked whether he has any information indicating any of these individuals may have engaged in espionage activities on behalf of the Soviet Union, either during the early 1930's in China or at any subsequent period. It is desired that full details be obtained from

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

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

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET *2 Aug 51*

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 Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM:

IR

NO.

LFH-89

DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
		REC'D	FILED		
1. FDZ	2006	<i>9/1/51</i>		<i>J</i>	<i>Wessed</i>
2. REPORTS			<i>9/1/51</i>	<i>JR</i>	<i>COPY RETAINED FDZ/DR.2</i>
3. <i>B-2</i>				<i>JC</i>	
4. <i>Connell</i>		<i>Flung</i>	<i>Wang</i>	<i>J</i>	
5.					
6.					
7. <i>McMorris</i>				<i>W</i>	<i>No Dissem - inaccurate Paris queried re recent whereabouts Figuieres.</i>
8.					
9.					
10.					<i>X ref filed 100-4-21-6</i>
11.					
12.					<i>201-18446</i>
13.					<i>3</i>
14.					<i>INTELLIGENCE P/L Aug 51 RECORDS</i>
15. IR	1409				<i>ABSTRACT</i> <i>INDEX</i>

FORM NO. 81-10
FEB-1950

SECRET

16-51100-1 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

SECRET

From: Hanoi

Report No.: ZF71-09

No. of pages: 1

Enclosures: None

Report Made by Walter J. Ingold

Approved by James M. Lanier

Distribution: None

References: HANO 242 and WASH 01125

Source Cryptonym: Tunic-2

Remarks:

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

SECRET

1177-3
113 6307

SECRET

Subject: Leo Figueres

Report No.: ZFH-89

Date of Info: as indicated

Place Acquired: Viet Nam, Hanoi

Date Acquired: 1 August 51

Evaluation: B-3

Date of Report: 2 August 51

Sources:

1. According to Hoang Mai, who works in the Viet Minh Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Leo Figueres was in Saigon in early 1950. The French did not allow him to remain in Saigon and he was forced to return to France. Figueres later went to Hong Kong in late August 1950, and then proceeded to the Viet Bac via the Hoa Nam (F.C. South China ?) road 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 Minh territory from Saigon because of French interference. In July 1949 Mr. A. Roth, Editor 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 Walter Briggs of the Christian Science Monitor, Harold Ignace from Newsweek, and S. J. Perelman (because he criticized Bao Dai in Westward, Ho!).

SECRET

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

14-00000

*John -
Pls. make a
file & index
only on this*

25 June 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: PT/CS

SUBJECT : Harold R. Isaacs, Request for an information
namecheck on.

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

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

3. When the report is completed, the information should be routed to J. Bruce Amstutz, FE-1/QPG.

DOUGLAS D. PIERCE
Deputy Chief, FE-1

FE-1/JBA/ph

Dist: Orig & 1 - Addressee
2 - Registry
1 - FE-1 files. ✓

SECRET

SECRET

NAME: Harold R. Isaacs

ADDRESS (last known - '48): 333 Central Park West, N.Y.C.

DATE OF BIRTH: 1910

NATIONALITY: American

BUSINESS CAREER: (a) Staff writer for Havas News Agency
(1930-1935)

(b) Editor of China Forum

(c) City Editor for China Press, Shanghai,
China

(d) Far Eastern War Correspondent for Newsweek -
(1941-1945)

(e) Special Projects Editor for Newsweek (1947 - ?)

(f) Advisor to Ford Foundation

PUBLICATIONS:

1. Contributed to Harper's Magazine and Toronto Star Weekly.

2. Books: (see attached)

SECRET


SECRET

1. Two-Thirds of the World: Problems of a new approach to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin-America. - 1950
2. New Cycle in Asia: Selected documents on Major International developments in Far East. 1943 and 1947 - notes and introduction 1947.
3. No Peace for Asia - 1947
4. Tragedy of Chinese Revolution - 1938
5. Five Years of Kuo Min Tang Reaction - 1932
6. Smither France - 1936 - Leon Trotsky wrote the book and Isaac translated it.

SECRET


SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION																																							
Sorge Espionage Case		1. RI FILE NO.	200-6-7-55																																						
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE																																					
		DAR-137		28 Dec. 1950																																					
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION																																					
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE																																					
James E. Plaughter	21 Nov. 1963																																								
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION																																									
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.																																							
XXX																																									
PERTINENT INFORMATION																																									
<p>1. Inclosed is Consecutive Exhibit No. 32 in the documentation of the Sorge Espionage Case. This Exhibit consists of two related parts: I and II. The second part is divided into two sections, A and B, because of its bulk. Part I is an index of each personality and organization listed in Part II. Part II consist of a resume of the contents of each Shanghai Municipal Police file, followed by a tabular listing of the contents of the files, with page references.</p> <p>Page 24.</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Isaacs, Harold Robert:</th> <th>G-2 Doc. #</th> <th>Page</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Anti-War Congress report, mentioned in</td> <td>59</td> <td>30-32</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Burton report, mentioned in</td> <td>10</td> <td>8-9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>"China Forum" editor of</td> <td>65</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>"Chinese Workers' Correspondence":</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> Investigation re</td> <td>32</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td> Received by</td> <td>94</td> <td>1-2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Envelope addressed to</td> <td>45</td> <td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>"Fiev Yaars of Kuomintang Reaction"</td> <td>65</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Granich, "Evidently another Isaacs"</td> <td>4</td> <td>107</td> </tr> <tr> <td>"I Break with the Chinses Shalinists"</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>author of</td> <td>16</td> <td>2-7</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>						Isaacs, Harold Robert:	G-2 Doc. #	Page	Anti-War Congress report, mentioned in	59	30-32	Burton report, mentioned in	10	8-9	"China Forum" editor of	65	1	"Chinese Workers' Correspondence":			Investigation re	32	4	Received by	94	1-2	Envelope addressed to	45	6	"Fiev Yaars of Kuomintang Reaction"	65	1	Granich, "Evidently another Isaacs"	4	107	"I Break with the Chinses Shalinists"			author of	16	2-7
Isaacs, Harold Robert:	G-2 Doc. #	Page																																							
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"I Break with the Chinses Shalinists"																																									
author of	16	2-7																																							
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">201-18446</div>																																							


SECRET

(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
AGNES SMEDLEY, WAS.		1. RI FILE NO.	201-434
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		DIS-1461	28 Apr. 50
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.
		9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST JEP	10. DATE PROCESSED 21 Nov. 1963	11. DISSEMINATED IN	12. DATE
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
13. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE XXXXX		14. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>15. page 69</p> <p>The July 30, 1932 issue of the "New York Times", under a Shanghai Dateline of July 29, 1932, states that <u>Harold R. Isaacs</u>, an American citizen, was warned by the U. S. consul in Shanghai that the U. S. may withdraw its its its extra territorial 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 Isaacs was as associate of Agnes Smedley, a correspondent for American newspapers.</p> <p>page 73. The March 7, 1946 issue of the New York Times reflects an article captioned "Group of Americans, including writers and journalists announced that they had sent a letter to Chiang Kai Shek concerning the death of Yang Chao, OWI employee, who was arrested by the Nationalists and held in prison. The signers were critical of the treatment received by CHAO. THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS signed the letter: Maxwell S. Stewart, Elizabeth Ames, Maroline Slade, Alfred Kazin, Eric Sevareid, Richard Watts, Jr., H. R. Isaacs, Agnes Smedley and Theodore White.</p>			
16. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 201-18446	

SECRET

(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE				
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
AGNES SMEDLEY was. Ayoo, Yahoo		1. RI FILE NO.	201-414	
		7. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE
		NEDFB-854		24 Jan 1950
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE	
JEP	3 Dec. 1963			
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
XXXX				
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
14. Passport files of State Dept. also indicate passport renewal application dated June 23, 1932 in which the subject listed as identifying witnesses ---subject mentioned <u>Harold R. Isaacs</u> , who according to information possessed by T-1 as 'RED'				
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 201-18446		

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEC 2 1949

AD-50 SODB-20568

via AD-50

2 DEC 49

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Attention: Mr. Ross H. Ingorsoll

Subject: Harold Robert ISAACS

MICROFILMED

FEB 3 1966

DOC. MICRO. SER.

1. This is in reply to Mr. Jack W. Reel's request for information concerning Harold Robert ISAACS, made by telephone on 23 November 1949.

2. According to information obtained from a source considered reliable, Harold Robert ISAACS was born in New York City on 13 September 1910. He arrived in Shanghai from Manila in December 1930 and was in possession of American passport 177026. ISAACS was first employed in Shanghai by the Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury, an English language daily published in Shanghai. After a few weeks, he became associated with the Shing Press, another English-language daily published in Shanghai, and was with this paper until May 1931. In June of the same year ISAACS made a trip up the Yangtze River with Cecil Frank CLARK, a British subject and member of the British Communist Party, suspected of being an agent for the Third International in China.

3. On 15 June 1931, Wilfrid NOULENS, with aliases, was arrested by the Shanghai Municipal Police on charges of espionage in behalf of the Third International. ISAACS became the Shanghai secretary of the Comité Internationale pour la Défense de Paul et Gertrude Ruegg (HUNTING), a committee formed to aid the NOULENS in their defense against charges of espionage preferred by the Chinese government. Our files reflect that ISAACS was in correspondence with WILLI RUDOLPH HUNTING, the President of the Committee with headquarters in Berlin. HUNTING was an active agent in Germany for the Third International. ISAACS is also known to have been in contact with Agnes SMEDLEY in Shanghai at this time.

EX-100-100 COMMUNIST AGENT? WIFE OF HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS (201-18446)

4. On 29 August 1932, ISAACS gave notice to the American Consulate General in Shanghai of his intended marriage to (Mrs) VIOLA MORIN, an American citizen born 10 June 1910 in New York City. Mrs MORIN arrived in Shanghai on 26 August 1932 from Vancouver, Canada, aboard the S.S. "Express of Asia", and was in possession of American passport 392046 issued in New York on 14 May 1931. The wedding was held on 14 September 1932 at the American Consulate General. Mrs MORIN was believed to

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have been connected with Communist activities in the United States and China. Correspondence between LEACCE and Miss MORGAN prior to their marriage, indicates that they were both sympathetic to activities being conducted by the Communists in China. On 27 November 1932, Miss MORGAN was entrusted by Dr. Oscar Isaacson, the LEACCE defense attorney, with teaching the English language to Mary MORGAN, the four-year old son of Claire and Bertrams MORGAN.

5. On 4 April 1936, LEACCE, under the pseudonym of LO SEH, published an article in the Yan Chingant, organ of the Socialist Workers' Party in New York, entitled "Maintain Ready to Embrace Chiang Kai-shek -- Offer Red Army in Return for Resurrection of the Disastrous 1927 Bloc." It is believed that LEACCE later joined the Fourth International, organized by Trotsky subsequent to the latter's exile from Russia.

6. During World War II LEACCE was a war correspondent for Newsweek in China. In July 1943 he was refused entry into China by Chinese Nationalist authorities, presumably as a result of anti-Nationalist articles written by LEACCE for Newsweek.

7. Harold Robert LEACCE is currently Special Features Editor for Newsweek, 152 West 42nd Street, New York, New York. He is the author of several books, including No Peace in Asia and The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. LEACCE's current political beliefs are unknown to this Agency.

8. Should LEACCE leave this country, this Agency would appreciate being advised of his intended destination, date of departure and any other pertinent details.

FOR THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE:

ROBERT A. RHOES
Assistant Director

80 88-20368

cc Federal Bureau of Investigation

PF
b10

- 2 -

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DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
Shanghai Municipal Police Files. American Citizens Suspected of Commie Connections.		1. RI FILE NO. 16-7-24-7y		2. DATE	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. ZCSA-746		4. DATE 24 Feb. 49	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO.	
		9. EVALUATION			
5. ANALYST James E. Plaughter		6. DATE PROCESSED 21 Nov. 1963		10. DISSEMINATED IN	
				11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE			13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
XXXXXXXX					
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
<p>14. Para. 17</p> <p>Harold Robert Isaacs was born in New York 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 Nuolens Defense Committee; a member of the Shanghai 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 1931 (May). In June 1931 Isaacs took a trip up the Yangtze with Frank Glass, a British Communist and suspected Third International agent. A letter letter written by Isaacs to his fiance, Viola Robinson stated that he was turning "Red" as a result of conversations with GLASS. Ather statements indicated that Miss Robinson an American then in Germany, was an active member of the communists Party. Isaacs used the pseudonym of Lo Sen and published in the New Militant organ of the New York Dist. Workers Party, an attack on Stalin entitled Stalintern Ready to Embrace Chiang Kai shek. In 1949 Isaacs was in the employ of the American magazine NEWSWEEK, New York City, as special projects editor.</p>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.				201-18446	

N.I. BRANCH
REPORT

205-1811

Report No.	Date	Period Covered	By
Subject			Status
Classification			
Reference			
Source			
Details			

REGISTRY COPY

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CONFIDENTIAL

HEADQUARTERS, DETACHMENT 404-A
STRATEGIC SERVICE UNIT
BATAVIA, JAVA

SN: ZM 2477

REPORT NO: ZB-10

REPORT DATE: 8 Dec 45

TO : CAPT. BLUNCHSELL, ATTN: LT BARNETTE INFO DATE : 7 Dec 45

FROM : GRABILL NO. PAGES : 2

SUBJECT: INTERVIEW BETWEEN MR. HAROLD ISAACS,
MR. CHARLES TAMBUN, AND MR. DIAN.

SOURCES: Mr. Harold Isaacs, correspondent for Newsweek magazine.
Mr. Charles Tambun, Malaya born Tamil, formerly employed
on Singapore newspapers, newscaster for Singapore
radio, English-speaking announcer on Batavia Radio
during occupation, and presently editor of newspaper
Independent.
Mr. Dian, editor of Merdeka, nationalist newspaper, Batavia.

EVALUATION: B-3, except as noted.

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

CIRCULATION OF MERDEKA

Asked about present circulation of MERDEKA, Mr. Dian replied
with the following: MERDEKA is the largest Indonesian newspaper on
the island of Java. At present it is printed only in Batavia, with
a daily total circulation of about 13,000 copies. Of this number,
approximately 6,000 copies are sent out of the city by train to
Bandung, Soerakarta, and Djokjakarta, leaving a Batavia circulation
of between 10,000 and 14,000 copies. Source expressed the opinion
that while the Indonesian population of Batavia is in the neighborhood
of 500,000 persons, the literacy rate is perhaps only twenty percent
of this figure. Thus, he admitted, MERDEKA is probably reaching less
than four percent of the total Indonesian population of Batavia,
despite the fact that Batavia is probably the most literate area on
the island of Java because of concentration here of all the govern-
mental functions, prewar and present.

When questioned as to why his circulation was so inconsistent
with the potential reading population, source replied that he was
handicapped 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 consumption, he estimates that sufficient paper is on hand
from prewar stocks to continue publication of MERDEKA for one year.

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CONFIDENTIAL

Wash-Rg Int'l - 102
ZM 2477

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THE INDEPENDENT

On December 7, 1945, the MERDEKA press commenced publication of a daily English language newspaper entitled INDEPENDENT. The masthead 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. Tumbu, with some assistance from Mr. Dish, and using the paper and facilities of MERDEKA.

The first issue of INDEPENDENT was remarkable only for its avoidance of any discussion of local affairs, only two articles having anything whatsoever to do with Java. Questioned about this, Tumbu admitted 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 Nationalist cause, because, (C-3), the British are unfavorably disposed towards MERDEKA 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 were given away, although the stated price is 1 Japanese guilder the copy.

(2)

CONFIDENTIAL

27 March 1945

To: Lieutenant Colonel ROGER A. PFAPP

From: John I. Coddington

Subject: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

Mr. GEORGE N. KATES of OSS, F&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 -- Mr. 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 Yangtze 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 ROBERT ISAACS, continued

THE HAVAS News Agency. Shortly after this, in Shanghai, he married VIOLA ROBINSON, who was, like HAROLD, a wide-eyed intellectual. This marriage probably took place in 1932. VIOLA was a great friend of AGNES SMOLEY, 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 CHIANG 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 Kuomintang, 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 extra-territorial 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 Kuomintang 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 SMOLEY. 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 Chinese translator named LIU, and there he settled down to write his book, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. 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.

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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 conviction was evidently accomplished, or ISAACS would not have received permission from the Chinese Government to go to China.

ISAACS is a very smart man 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.

13 March 1945

To: Lieutenant Colonel ROGER A. PFAFF
 From: John I. Coddington *J. I. C.*
 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 Pearl Harbor. 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 Communists were so powerful in this country that they were able to prevent the publication of the Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution here. This book received high praise from many serious students of Far Eastern affairs, including G.P. Hudson, Fellow of All Souls College at Oxford, and author of The Far East in World Politics, who said that ISAACS' book was the best one ever written on the Chinese Revolution. Hudson is now an official of the British Ministry of Information.

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

ISAACS, Harold Robert

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-2-

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

Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction (Shanghai, China Forum Publishing Co., 1932), 136 pp. Library of Congress Call No.: DS 777.47.C45

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (London, Secker & Warburg, 1938) 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.T7

(c) Articles in Periodicals

"Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution: a Marxist View," Pacific Affairs, vol. 8, pp. 269-283, Sept. 1935.

"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.

-3-

HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS, continued

"One Man's Fight against Corruption: the Story behind the Stilwell Incident,"
Newsweek, p. 44, 13 Nov. 1944

"Troupers of the CBI," Newsweek, p. 100, 13 Nov. 1944

"Ignorant Men and Modern Weapons: Inside Story of the Chinese Army," Newsweek,
p. 44, 20 Nov. 1944

"Death for Kweiyang," 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

Bibliography

SI Files #25,443: 6 October 1943

Books and Periodicals in Library of Congress

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14 402

Isaacs #1

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

10 March 1945

#78324

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, knowledgeable, 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

[Handwritten signature]
and file in 221

221-18 446

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221-18 446

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

W. H. Hughes
CONFIDENTIAL

March 9, 1945

MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. SPENCER PHENIX
FROM: ROBERT DEVECCHI *ad*

File 178278
Alan Grover, Vice-President of TIME, LIFE,
at my request checked with one of the men in his or-
ganization who knows Harold R. Isaacs personally.

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

Mr. Isaacs can be reached at the following
address:


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

*NY 51-Pers-3
f/4 Box 1*


201-18446

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(When Filled In)


DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
Various reports and newspaper clippings relating to operations.		7. RI FILE NO.	China CLA-OF-1
		9. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	8. DATE
		SMP-D-5760 "Box 203	26 Aug. 35
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
JEP	21 Nov. 63		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
17. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		18. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
XXXX			
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
14. THE NORTH-CHINA Daily NEWS Saturday 6 July 35			
Mr. Harold R. Isaacs, an American and Publisher of the communist Publication "China Forum". YUAN Haueh editor of the chinese section. of the "China Forum.			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.  201-18446			

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(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
VICTOR MUSSIK's visit to AMOY.		1. RI FILE NO.	CHINA CIA OP-1
		2. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	3. DATE
		D 1429	26 Jan. 34
4. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		5. DATE OF INFO.	6. EVALUATION
7. ANALYST	8. DATE PROCESSED	9. DISSEMINATED IN	10. DATE
JEP	13 Dec. 63		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
11. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		12. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
XXXX			
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>14.</p> <p>The Japanese Consular Authorities at Amoy are of the belief that H. R. Isaacs went Amoy between Dec. 24, 1933 and Jan 3, 1934, under the name of Victor Mussik, the local Japanese authorities, therefore, request for info regarding the movements of Victor Mussik during the afore mentioned period to ascertain if He actually visited amoy during this period</p>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 301-182448	

SECRET


(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
Attack on Bookstores		2. RI FILE NO.	China-cia-op-1
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		SMP-5454-S box 200	21 Dec 33
5. ANALYST		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION
JAMES E. Plaughter	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
21 Nov. 63			
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
XXXXX			
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>14.</p> <p>The second incident was seen in the entry by persons unknown on the night of November 14, of premises of the Lev el Printing Co., incorporated in New York printers and publisher of the "China Forum" a bi-lingual magazine under the editorship of an American named Harold R. Isaacs, which has decided communistic sympathies.</p>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 901-18446	


SECRET

(When Filled In)


DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
DISTRICT KUOMINTANG ISSUES SECRET ORDER FOR ANTI JAPANESE MOVEMENT.		2. RI FILE NO.	CHINA-CIN-OP-1		
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		SMPD 4685&SMPD 4685c - Box 193		22 July 33	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
JAES. E. Plaugher	3 Dec. 63				
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
XXX					
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
<p>14. The transportation of the China Forum has already been prohibited by the Nanking Govt. because the magazine had been publishing propaganda for the reds as well as attacks on the National Govt, that the publisher being an American citizen named Isaac the measures taken against the paper had no effect. This time a strong protest will be lodged with the American Consulate against Isaac.</p>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 201-18446			


SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE				
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
List of correspondents in Shanghai		2. RI FILE NO.	CHINA-CIA OP	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE
		SMPD 1528		23 Feb. 33
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE
JFE	#3 Dec. 363			
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
XXXX				
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
14. among the correspondents listed one H.R. ISAACS (American) address 509 Embankment Apartments. Repr. of the HAVAS News Agency.				
15.				
FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.				


SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
Copy of report by D. S. PITTS Copy of China Workers' Correspondence, Addressed to Harold R. Isaacs		2. RI FILE NO.	CHINA CIA OPI
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		SMPD 2713	BOX-179 10 Nov. 32
5. ANALYST		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION
JEP	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
	23 Dec. 63		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
XXX			
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>14.</p> <p>This document contains numerous references to <u>Harold R. Isaacs</u> and his wife. For further information the interested parties are requested to see the document itself due to bulky nature the poor quality of paper reproduction is virtually impossible.</p>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		 201-15446	

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
NEW YORK "NATION"		1. RI FILE NO.	CHINA-CIA-OP-1
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	
		17 Sept 32	
		5. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	17 Sept 32
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
JAMES E. Flaigher	3 Dec. 63		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
XXXX			
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>14. In continuation of a previous report on the subject of the New York "Nation", I have to state that further efforts to purchase this publication have proved successful, and I attach herewith three copies, respectively dated July 6, Aug. 10 and Aug. 24, 1932. From a cursory perusal of these editions, the "Nation's" political policy appears to be a socialistic nature, openly professing opposition to the Republican and Democratic doctrines prevailing throughout the United States, and advocating support for the Socialist Party's next candidate—Norman Thomas at the forth coming Presidential elections.</p> <p>Further articles appearing in these editions are nothing more nor less than scurrilous attacks on the Republican President of The USA.—Herbert Hoover.</p> <p><u>Harold S. Isaacs</u> mailing list has been carefully perused, but no mention is made of the "Nation" or any of the People connected with it.</p>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.  301-18446			

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE				
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT John M. Murray		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
		2. RI FILE NO.	CHINA-QIA op 1	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE
		SMP-D 3703		2 June 32
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
JEP		3 Dec. c. 63		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
XXXXX				
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
14. During the Summer of 1932 Murray is known to have been associated with the following local communist sympathizers: H.R. ISAACS.				
15.				
FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.				

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE

File No. 6628 REGISTRY.

Special Branch S.S. *Rekey*

REPORT

Date April 14, 1935

Subject The New International - Extract.

VIH-CIA-CP-1
SMPP-6628

Made by and

Forwarded by

D.S.I. Golder.

*Magazine detached
by Mr. Golder &
returned to file
on 4/14/35*

I forward herewith as directed by the D. C. Special
Branch 12 copies of an extract from "The New International",
a Communist propaganda organ published in New York, U.S.A.

Em Golder

D. S. I.

D. C. (Special Branch).

S2,

Please let me know what has
happened to Isaac. Is he still
detained by the Chinese Police at Peking?

*S. S. Golder**MS**4/14/35**See file
S 2713/36**200-7-212-1**18-46*

I Break with the Chinese Stalinists

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

XXXX

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 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 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, because here I could check allegations with known facts. I first wrote these down to the ignorance or incapacity of individuals. I felt that communist editors abroad would publish accurate facts about China if they could 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 pronouncements made by delegates before plenums of the K.C.C.P. 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

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 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 1932, even to the point of transposing it to February to heighten the impression given of the workers' role in the Shanghai war) to high-flown generalizations like the statement recently made before the plenum of the E.C.C.I. that the C.C.P. has "won over the majority of the Chinese working class and the peasantry".....

In denying the presence of a mighty revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a vast organized 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 these events to this very day, these errors, monstrosities accumulated, are still responsible for the tragedies of today. But for the purposes of our comparison here, let us take for example the single fact that in 1926 in Greater Shanghai there were 257 strikes. In 1932 there were 82. Let us remember that on the eve of the workers' seizure of power in Shanghai 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 character. A close check for the entire country in the latter half of 1933 showed me that less than one-thirtieth of that number were engaged in strikes and other disputes during any given month and that almost invariably the demands were defensive demands against wage cuts 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 Kuo Min Tang. In 1925 the shooting of thirteen students by British police in Shanghai was the touch-off for a general strike which paralyzed the city and which was seconded by vast sympathy strikes which broke 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....

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. No revolutionary purpose is served by taking refuge in the fiction that these armies have proletarian leadership because individual workers, undoubtedly

leaders of superior quality and courage, have been torn from their factories and from their fellow workers and sent down to occupy key positions in the Red Army districts and in the Red armies themselves. Indeed, this common practice of extracting the most conscious and progressive working class elements from their working class environment and sending them down to the Red districts is a good index to the criminal 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 face of military aggression and why the White Terror of the Kuo Min Tang has succeeded, by filling mass graves and innumerable prisons with the martyred dead and living, in downing the anti-imperialist movement or efforts toward the organization of such a movement and paving the way for the ever-increasing encroachments of the imperialists. The party has not yet gripped and directed the deep and bitter and often inarticulate hatred of the masses of the people for their oppressors and this includes large sections of the lower petty bourgeoisie who could be won by successful mass pressure from below. This is because the party has failed to translate the realities of everyday events into its program and tactics.....

x x x x x

But precisely because at 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 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 uphill fight which the Forum waged on behalf of Paul and Gertud Ruegg in the spring and summer of 1932 during which time I repeatedly warned against the emphasis which was being placed on the "legal" aspects of the case and the "negotiations" with the Kuo Min Tang to the detriment of mass pressure and the capitalization of the case for political purposes. You paid lip service to the need for mass pressure - particularly here in China - but in fact the "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 honorable 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 created the local defense committee and was chiefly responsible for the widespread press propaganda campaign 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 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 1933, on the

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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 Du Hsiu when he was condemned to 13 years imprisonment by the Kuo Min Tang. Your request was specific. I was not to deal with the issues which had brought Chen Du Hsiu from being the leader of the C.P. in 1927 to being leader of the Chinese Opposition in 1933. I was only to string together a vile series of labels in an effort to explain why the Kuo Min Tang even imprisoned the leader of the Left Opposition. As you know, that attack was never written or published.

Again in December 1933, upon my return from Fukien, you specifically demanded that I set aside the results of my own personal investigations in Foochow in order to write on your behalf (but over my signature!) an utterly baseless and slanderous attack on the Left Opposition. You will recall that you charged at that time that the "Trotskyists" were prominently identified with the new government set up in Fukien by Chen Ming-shu and Tsai Ting-kai. You lumped the Left Opposition with the Third Party and the so-called Social Democrats among the petty bourgeois satellites of the Fukien militarists. It was as much to satisfy myself on this very point as to perform a mission for you, that I went down to Foochow and spent two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of people prominently concerned that the Left Opposition was stoutly and clearly 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 there. The important thing here is that on my return you demanded that I write slanders which flew in the face of everything I myself had learned. It is interesting, as a sidelight on your methods in factional strife as you conceive it, that your representative in Foochow sent back a report, through me, ironically enough, that one of the most prominent of the youthful pseudo-radicals in Foochow, Fu Cui-yuen to be exact, was a leading "Trotskyist". It so happened that I had met and had several lengthy interviews with Fu and by the time I left Foochow I understood his position and his personality exceedingly well. He was as much a Trotskyist as Mei Lan-fang is! Yet you actually demanded that I ignore my own knowledge of the man and in my article on Fukien set him down as a "Trotskyist". I was faced on the one hand by your demands that I write falsehoods to suit your policies and on the other by my deep desire to set forth the actual facts about the Opposition's attitude toward the Fukien regime. But once more, to preserve the shreds of our relationship, I drove a middle course and did neither, leaving the whole question out of my article.

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 stringing beam 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 be active support to policies and tactics whose disastrous effects were being a thousandfold confirmed for me by the tragic events of every daily-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 squabbles 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 the incorrect. You even declared: "For propaganda purposes a certain amount of exaggeration is necessary..." and went on amazingly to say: "but we know the late facts and we base our policies on them, not on these exaggerations!" A new slant on modern-day C.I. tactics, facts, you say, are obvious 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 fast and so quickly that they turn into something like a dizzy top of fancy - or at best with-futuring misrepresentations.

To my questions on Germany you quoted Hecker, Stalinist 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 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 literally, turning to London and half the policies which have meant disaster in China, Germany and elsewhere and are rapidly losing the U.S.S.R. into the vacuum of national 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 penalties to his infallibility. Above all and before all, I was to take up cudgels against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". That was to be the main point of my reformation - to raise no questions myself and blunder 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

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of all basic revolutionary questions, with free play to unorthodox as well as orthodox views. If your views were correct, I argued, it would be a distinct advantage to you to have such an 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 criticize.

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 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 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 true interests of our movement lie. It was with a deep and aching 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 enemies 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 torn and shredded prestige 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 us from defeat to ultimate victory. To this struggle I shall continue to dedicate all my energies.

Peiping, China, May 20, 1934.

Harold R. ISAACS.

ISAACS

COUNTRIES

1921-1936

China (D-8 7861)

1954 Harold Robert Isaacs working MIT, Center for International Studies (dormice)

"Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction", a 13-page pamphlet 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 CHIANG Kai-shek for alleged massacre of its political opponents, chiefly Communists, in order "that the bourgeoisie might continue to rule and the imperialists to draw their tribute from the capitalization of human misery". Chinese 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 Journalist, as of 12 May 53. DFB-27426.

ISAACS

REFERENCES

Dossier
201-18446

Shanghai Municipal Police Files, 303 133, Photo # 177. File 16-4-2-75

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

DFB 7864, 28 Feb 1951. Enclosing info re Richard SORGE 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.

DFB-14423, 20 Dec 1951, 201-2016-1, Subj member of an Aid Committee to the Secy. of the Pan Pacific United Union Secretariat (HONLEMS) in Shanghai along with Arnes SMALLEY, Irene HONLEMS, J. POWELL, Edgar SNOW, Frank GLASS.

Shanghai Municipal Police Files, 303-1811, 16-4-2-37, 5 Feb 49.

DFB-20272, 14 August 1952, 201-2446-1

DFB-14747, 8 Jan 1952, 201-2250-1 re APPHMAN, Morris Louis

DFB-27426- 12 June 53, 201-18446-4.



ISAACS, H

Probably Harold R O'NEIL

@ JACOB. FBI think that there is a possibility that the JACOB, an unidentified young Amer journalist in Shanghai in 1931, 32 who was a member of the SORGE network in China might possibly be identical with ISAACS. ISAACS himself has advised that he does not believe that he could have been the indiv to whom SORGE gave the cover. JACOB. (DFB 7864.)

Addresses: May 1953 - 333 Central Park West, NYC.
DFB-27426.

(203-1011, 10-4-2-31, 5 Feb 59: Shanghai Municipal Pol Files.)

show anything on the guy or that person in case -
to Gene. Collins called Rusk again to see if JFS would release
this info now. He will see Rusk tomorrow.

11 Sept 51 - Collins has talked to Brewer about this some time ago.
Brewer said Collins couldn't get at House Records. Collins
said Brewer promised him report & he now wants it.
Asked Brewer & found he didn't have file in JFS

(over)

(over)

16-4-2-35

ZCS 128, Attach 2(3), Shanghai Police Files, # 177

ISAACS

The July 30 1932 issue of the NY Times under a Shanghai dateline 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-Territorial rights and allow him to be tried in a Chinese court. ISAACS then the editor of the "China Forum," had violently attacked Chiang Kai Shek, calling him, among other things, "a butcher." The article further stated that ISAACS was an associate of Agnes SMOLLEY, a correspondent for American newspapers (DDB 1461).

Preceded the GRANICHES, as editor of "The Voice of China". Wrote an article "I Break 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, Am citizen. Editor & publisher of the China Forum. Was secy of NOLENS Defense Committee & member of Society of Friends of USSR. Arrived in China from Manila on 10 Dec 30 & joined editorial staff of Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury. On 12 June 31, took trip on Yangtze with C.F. GLASS, susp Sov agent, & wrote his fiancée he decided to turn "Red" as a result of talking with GLASS. The 2 returned in Aug & took up residence at #128 Weihaiwei Road. Started printing Forum later. Manager of Level Printing Co., Inc in NY State & owned 40% of its shares. Employed with Havas News Agency. ISAACS married Miss Viola ROBINSON Sept 32. Lived in Apt 204, Embankment Bldg., Shanghai. In 3 Jan 34 Subj visited NOLENS 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 & War Crisis in Far East. (ZCS-1811, 16-4-2-37, 5 Feb 59; Shanghai Municipal Pol Files.) (C-55)

show anything on the guy to the person in charge of the file. Collins called Russell main to see if JTS would release the info now. He will see Russell tomorrow.

11 Sept 51 - Collins has talked to Brewer about this some more. Brewer said Collins couldn't get at House Records. Collins said Brewer promised him report & he now wants it. Asked Brewer to print he didn't even file in JTS

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the President of the Senate, dated January 1, 1877. The letter is signed by Rutherford B. Hayes and is addressed to Charles Schreyer. The letter is a copy of a letter that was sent to the President of the Senate by the President of the United States. The letter is a copy of a letter that was sent to the President of the Senate by the President of the United States.

FE-1 Amstutz

- 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.
- 14 Aug 51 - ~~Carroll~~ ^{Collins} (PTCS) advised he may have poor info. on Ohura. Keep away for time being. Unlikely not in. Notified F. Collins who is quite anxious to know. Wants to try to get Subj. and find where he is.
- 29 Aug 51 - Found Collins had been talking to Carroll & also been up to JTS. Carroll said had info. Long, King, Smalley et al. Do NOT TOUCH. - Notified Collins who said this isn't what he wants. Wants to get those East out of Foundation, not out of betraying OR interests. Needs to know House Records (Open) show anything on the way or that foundation can be referred to them. - Collins called Carroll again to see if JTS would release this info now. He will see Carroll tomorrow.
- 11 Sept 51 - Collins has talked to Brewer about this some more. Brewer said Collins couldn't get at House Records. Collins said Brewer promised him report & he now wants it. Asked Brewer & found he didn't even file in JTS

201-18476-3.
in hope of driving a wedge between Russia and Chinese Communists. DFB 25069, 12 March 1953,
withdrawal of US support from French colonial forces in Indochina and recognition of Red China
World Policy" appears in the August 7, 1950 issue of the "New Republic". The article advocates
to these texts which is apparently non-political in nature. His article "Korea and American

yet, called Collins to come up to 00/00/50. To discuss, but
she wasn't there. Brewer says cannot give info out if
it is going to be passed on. If high level man involved
in passing info, Col. Edwards' office will have to give it out.
Collins called Brewer & they made some arrangement.

13. Rept. - Brewer, Collins & I talked over case. Brewer told Collins
that House files don't contain particularly derog. info. It is
in other files tho, & Brewer refused to divulge info to
Collins. Said that any contact with Ford Foundation
must be made by high-level CIA man (like Braden)
and that Collins ~~under~~ (clearly) could not tell Ford
Foundation anything about Subj. - Collins agreed to this &
case is considered closed.

13 November 1951 - ^{7 Nov 51} undated memo from 00/00 advising that "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."
Copy to FG-1 Collins.

201-0018446