

with Mr. Robert R. Mullen as being close and cordial. Mr. O'Malley stated that Mr. Mullen was in the habit of confiding to him information concerning other Mullen business contacts and projects. In response to a specific question, Mr. O'Malley stated that during the period of his contact with the Mullen Company dealing with the Free Cuba Committee, Mr. Mullen told him the Howard Hughes Organization was a client of the concern.

3. Mr. O'Malley reiterated his previous statements that Mr. Hunt was referred to his office for placement assistance through the Office of the Executive Director, then Colonel L. K. White. Mr. O'Malley stated that in view of Mr. Hunt's interests in the public relations field, it was thought advisable to put Mr. Hunt in touch with Mr. Robert Mullen for the purpose of gaining the benefit of Mr. Mullen's guidance. Mr. O'Malley recalled, after the initial meeting, Mr. Mullen mentioned having met Mr. Hunt some years previously in Paris, France. Mr. O'Malley's office arranged interviews with various organizations including Reader's Digest and the Kennecott Copper Company. Through the offices of the Mullen Company an interview was arranged with the General Foods Corporation, a Mullen client. Mr. O'Malley stated there was disappointment that Mr. Hunt had been unsuccessful in "selling himself" during any of these interviews and that no job offers had resulted. In response to a question as to whether or not executive level interest was still being shown in Mr. Hunt's post-employment placement, Mr. O'Malley recalled that Mr. Richard Helms, then Director of Central Intelligence, was listed as a character reference on Mr. Hunt's resume and that Mr. Helms signed a letter of recommendation to the Kennecott Copper Company on Mr. Hunt's behalf. Mr. O'Malley recalled being contacted in the last month of Mr. Hunt's Agency service by Mr. Mullen, who stated that a decision had been made to expand their operations. In view of this expansion, Mr. Mullen had decided he would himself offer Mr. Hunt a job. Mr. Mullen had stated that he was interested in having Mr. Hunt begin work immediately. However, Mr. O'Malley recalled that Mr. Hunt completed retirement formalities and actually started work for the Mullen Company approximately a week to 10 days later.

4. Mr. O'Malley stated that contact was maintained with Mr. Hunt while at the Mullen Company on a continuing basis, because Mr. O'Malley was interested in Mr. Hunt for possible referral of other Agency retirees. Mr. O'Malley also understood that there was Cover and Commercial Staff interest in the Mullen Company, and that Mr. Hunt became instrumental in discussing several aspects of the cover operations in his capacity as an officer of the company. Mr. O'Malley recalled referring various Agency officers to Mr. Hunt for guidance when these individuals expressed an interest in entering the public relations field. Mr. O'Malley did recall disappointment in feeling Mr. Hunt had generally been less helpful on these occasions.

5. Mr. Hunt contacted Mr. O'Malley on several occasions requesting referral of retiring Agency employees with specific qualifications. These instances occurred apparently after Mr. Hunt had assumed his responsibilities with the White House. In one instance Mr. Hunt requested referral of a recently retired Agency secretary. As in previous memoranda and discussions, Mr. O'Malley was unable to recall the name of this individual. He did, however, state that he is quite certain Mr. Hunt turned down the individual whom he referred. As a point of clarification, Mr. O'Malley said that this individual had not previously been known to Mr. Hunt, nor had she previously worked for him in any capacity. Mr. O'Malley also recalled a request from Mr. Hunt for an individual having skills in the area of locks and surreptitious entry. A resume of Mr. Thomas C. Amato was provided to Mr. Hunt at that time. It is Mr. O'Malley's recollection that Mr. Hunt specifically stated that a person with Mr. Amato's qualifications was needed in connection with a requirement of the Howard Hughes Organization in Las Vegas, Nevada. Mr. O'Malley stated the opinion that it was his impression that the duties involved would include the monitoring of a listening device in an undisclosed location. Mr. O'Malley reiterated his understanding that Mr. Amato did not accept Mr. Hunt's offer of employment.

6. Mr. O'Malley then recalled request from Mr. Hunt for a recommendation of a security service organization to carry out an electronic countermeasures "sweep." Mr. O'Malley recommended the Wackenhut Corporation. Mr.


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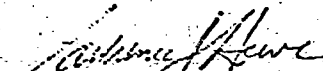
O'Malley recalled that Mr. Hunt expressed dissatisfaction with that suggestion in part because of what Mr. Hunt viewed as that firm's political orientation. Mr. O'Malley did not elaborate further on that remark. Mr. O'Malley then suggested the use of Anderson Security Consultants, Incorporated, a commercial cover entity of the Office of Security. Mr. O'Malley stated that insofar as this organization was advertised in the yellow pages and that Mr. Hunt could be assured of the reliability of the services, he felt this to be a reasonable suggestion. Mr. O'Malley stated that during a subsequent phone call when Mr. O'Malley asked how his suggestion had worked out, Mr. Hunt responded, "Yes, they had done a fine job." At this point Mr. O'Malley was asked whether or not from his associations with Mr. Hunt he felt Mr. Hunt was in the habit of making glib comments which were not necessarily accurate in order to pass over a subject. Mr. O'Malley stated that this was categorically so. He said he was sure that Mr. Hunt had lied to him on a number of occasions and that, therefore, he was in no position to be sure that Mr. Hunt had actually, in fact, used the services of Anderson Security Consultants. Mr. O'Malley volunteered the opinion that he suspected the electronic countermeasures "sweep" was to be carried out in the offices of the Committee to Re-elect the President.

7. In response to a question as to whether he had ever referred anyone to McCord Associates, Mr. O'Malley replied that he remembered having referred Walter Brayden. Mr. Brayden for a time acted as bodyguard to Mrs. Martha Mitchell. As an aside Mr. O'Malley mentioned that Mr. Brayden had refused to carry a firearm in spite of the fact that Mr. McCord told him he could do so on the authority of the Attorney General. Asked specifically if he had ever referred either William Shea or Teresa Shea to Mr. McCord, Mr. O'Malley stated that he did not recall specifically referring Teresa Shea and that he was sure that he had not referred William Shea to him. So, contrary to previous statements, it is now Mr. O'Malley's belief that in all probability Mrs. Shea was not referred by this Agency to Mr. McCord.

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8. Returning to Mr. O'Malley's previous responsibilities in coordinating funding for the covert action activities of Mr. E. Howard Hunt, the issue was raised as to whether or not the funding of Mr. Hunt's projects continued between July 1965 and September 1966 while Mr. Hunt was a contract employee stationed at Madrid, Spain. Mr. O'Malley recalled that at the time of Mr. Hunt's assignment to Madrid the statement disseminated for consumption within the Agency was that Mr. Hunt was retiring. Mr. O'Malley stated that this was not generally believed. Mr. O'Malley was quite certain that during this period his office handled no project funding for Mr. Hunt. In response to specific question Mr. O'Malley stated that on Mr. Hunt's return to staff employment the projects and funding which stopped in July 1965 were again resumed. Mr. O'Malley was not aware of any project names or funding mechanisms or post-assignment accountings in connection with Mr. Hunt's activities in Madrid.

  
Frederick N. Evans

  
Lawrence J. Howe

SECRET

21 February 1974

*Interviewed  
IS # 11  
Sub # 38*

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Office of Finance Records - E. Howard Hunt

1. On the instruction of Mr. Steven L. Kuhn, Chief of Operations, PSI, the undersigned made an appointment for the afternoon of 20 February 1974 to interview Mr. William Caufield, Chief, Certification and Liaison Division, Office of Finance, and Mr. Joseph Hudson of Finance on the subject of Mr. E. Howard Hunt. At the outset of the interview Mr. Caufield advised the undersigned that instruction had been received from the Director of the Office of Finance, Mr. Thomas Yale, that discussion on the subject of Mr. Hunt was to be carried out only with the Office of the Inspector General. Mr. Caufield stated that he had informed Mr. Yale of the requested interview and had received this instruction with the suggestion that the undersigned contact Mr. Yale directly with any inquiry.

2. Accompanied by Mr. Caufield, the undersigned briefed Mr. Yale on the nature of the request and identified the "Task Force" effort being undertaken by the Office of Security in concert with the Offices of the Inspector General and Legislative Counsel. Mr. Yale responded that he recognized the legitimacy of the inquiry. Mr. Yale explained that subsequent to initiation of the complete audit being undertaken by Mr. Quinn of the Audit Staff, the Deputy Director for Management and Services, Mr. Harold L. Brownman, had requested the Office of Finance to discontinue their investigation of Mr. Hunt to avoid duplication. Mr. Yale added parenthetically that it was the nature of Finance Officers not to leave a job half done and that an "informal" inquiry into Mr. Hunt's financial records had nevertheless continued at a more subdued pace.

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3. A review of the circumstances surrounding Mr. Hunt's conversion to Contract Type A employment and assignment was then undertaken by Messrs. Yale, Caulfield, Hudson and the undersigned. The contract and payroll files of Mr. Hunt were reviewed for possible indications of the nature of the operational activity undertaken in Madrid. A review of travel vouchers indicated that Mr. Hunt and his family made accountings indicating departure from Washington, D. C., on 5 August 1965 with an arrival in Madrid, Spain, on 16 August 1965. The costs of this travel were charged to the budget of the Western Hemisphere Division, Deputy Directorate for Plans, Madrid Station Support account. A subsequent accounting summarized PCS travel expenses and included a payment for apartment rental for 16, 17 and 18 August 1965 with a payment in the amount of \$125 to Mr. F. Reid Buckley for this purpose.

4. It was determined that an allottee bank account in Mr. Hunt's name had been established at the Riggs National Bank of Washington. All salary and other non-operational reimbursements were made to Mr. Hunt through sterile check to this account. An operational account was established for Mr. Hunt with the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York City. A review of all payments made to Mr. Hunt through the Chase bank account through Mr. Hunt's operational advance subsidiary account, or 1442 account, had been made. There was no record of any operational accounts or advances being processed through this channel. Mr. Yale stated that this fact defined his concern. He felt that it was inconceivable that Mr. Hunt could have undertaken operational activity without some transfer of or accounting for funds. To date, no such records have been developed. No reference to a project or project diagram or operational FAN number has been located. All expenses connected with Mr. Hunt identified to date were charged to the Madrid Station Support. A review made of Madrid Station records has not indicated any "Developmental and Target of Opportunity (D&TO)" funds or "Other Operational Activity (OOA)" funds expended by or on behalf of Mr. Hunt. These two accounts would normally be the source of operational funding not charged against a specific project activity.

SECRET/SENSITIVE

5. A review of all of the travel vouchers on record for Mr. Hunt during this period also failed to identify a project. In addition to the PCS and return vouchers, two other accountings are on record. One accounting covered a trip by the entire Hunt family to Paris "for the renewal of visas." A second voucher covered a TDY trip from Madrid to Washington with return to Madrid made by Mr. Hunt from 5 January to 3 January 1966. The voucher states in the space provided for the citation of the travel order number - "no travel order." The accounting was approved and signed by Mr. Thomas Karamessines, then Deputy Director for Plans. No justification or statement of purpose for this TDY was given on the accounting.

6. Mr. Yale determined that further review of possible sources or identification of operational funding was in order. Mr. Yale gave instructions that the entire 1442 advance account of Mr. Hunt be reviewed for other possible channels of funding outside of the New York Chase account. After discussion, it was agreed that particular attention be taken to any items connected with publishing or book royalties. Mr. Yale noted that the royalty offset waiver provision amended to Mr. Hunt's contract was, in his experience, somewhat unusual.

7. Mr. Yale was informed by the undersigned of the intention to interview Mr. Edward Ryan, currently Chief, Division D, who was at the time of Mr. Hunt's Madrid assignment, Deputy Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division. Mr. Yale suggested that Mr. Davis Powell also be interviewed. The undersigned informed Mr. Yale that this had been done and briefed Mr. Yale on the generally negative results of the interview. Mr. Yale then recommended that Mr. Sam Halpern be interviewed. Mr. Yale noted that Mr. Halpern had been an assistant to Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald when the latter was Chief, Western Hemisphere Division and had accompanied Mr. Fitzgerald when he became Deputy Director for Plans. Mr. Yale recalled that subsequent to Mr. Fitzgerald's passing that Mr. Halpern remained on the staff and acted as an Executive Officer for Mr. Thomas Karamessines. Mr. Yale stated that from his experience, Mr. Karamessines would have delegated all the arranging of "details" surrounding an assignment such as Mr. Hunt's to Mr. Halpern. Mr. Yale offered the parenthetical observation of his surprise at what he interpreted to be reticence to date to interview Mr. Halpern.

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3. The undersigned assured Mr. Yale that he would be informed of any information identifying any possible project activity developed in subsequent investigation. Mr. Yale stated that any information in this area would greatly facilitate the job of checking computerized financial records.

Lawrence J. Howe

SECRET/SENSITIVE



## CHASE MANHATTAN BANK ACCOUNT

<u>Check No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Payee</u>	<u>Amount</u>
8	20 October, 1965	Unknown	\$ 1,650.00
	(2 months rent as deposit plus 1 month in advance at \$550 per month. Substantiated by lease)		
9	26 November, 1965	Casa Guggenbuhl	\$ 69.34
	(for storage of trunks during 3 mos. temporary housing)		
10	10 December, 1965	Security Storage Co.	\$ 1,070.82
	(final destination charges per attached invoice. Insurance charge of \$1.00 is personal expense.)		

**第 一 章**

## Expenses

November 18, 1965	Flowers for Sra. de Max Borrell	Ptas. 150	4	2
December 20, 1965	Dinner at House of Ming. Ex-Bolivian Ambassador and wife. (Per my letter of 21 December, 1965)	Ptas. 2250	3	1

Howard Hunt  
Howard Hunt



PCS to Madrid - Per diem/misc exp	\$ 998.30	
Air fare (self & family)	2,257.50	
HHE, POV, etc	7,547.76	
TLA, quarters, etc	6,662.00	
Education allowance	<u>1,440.00</u>	\$18,905.56
TDY Madrid/Paris - reentry visa		384.61
Air fare only for self & family		
PCS to Hqs - Per diem/misc exp	\$ 178.82	
Air fare (self & family)	1,394.55	
HHE, POV, etc	10,731.97	
TLA	<u>599.34</u>	12,904.68
Operational entertainment - Madrid Nov 65		40.00
Approved expenditure - LKD - Madrid 1 July 1966		<u>1,600.00</u>
Total expenditures		\$33,834.85
Less advances received (bank deposit, \$30,000; cash \$3,500)		<u>33,500.00</u>
Cash settlement to close A/C		\$ 334.85

15 February 1974

*16 Feb 11 Feb 38*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Interview of Mr. Davis Powell  
on the David St. John Novels

1. On the morning of 15 February 1974, the undersigned interviewed Mr. Davis Powell, currently a Budget Officer on the staff of the Deputy Director for Management and Services. Mr. Powell is located in Room 7C18. During 1965 Mr. Powell was Chief of Support of the then designated Western European Division. In July 1965 a contract was written authorizing salary and benefits to Mr. E. Howard Hunt for an assignment under non-official cover to Madrid, Spain. The purpose of this interview was to determine if Mr. Powell had any information on Mr. Hunt's activities during this period.

2. Mr. Powell responded that from his recollection it was Mr. Hunt's habit to deal only with the most senior officer available. In this case Mr. Hunt dealt directly with the then Chief of Western European Division, Mr. Rolf Kingsley. Mr. Powell states that, in his capacity as Chief of Support, any activity undertaken to support Mr. Hunt's assignment to Madrid was undertaken second and thirdhand on receipt of instructions from Mr. Kingsley's office. He further stated that he was never briefed on the purpose of Mr. Hunt's mission and could add little in terms of speculation. Mr. Powell recommended that Mr. Edward Ryan, who was then Deputy Chief of Western European Division, be contacted. Mr. Powell also suggested that Miss Martha Seville be interviewed. Miss Seville was the Executive Secretary in Western European Division during the time that Mr. Hunt's contract was written and Miss Seville subsequently served in Madrid herself. Mr. Powell understands that Miss Seville is currently assigned to the office of the Chief, European Division.

Lawrence J. Howe

15 February 1974

*IG Feb 11, Feb 38*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Interview of Mr. Rogers Brooks  
on the David St. John Novels

1. At 0930 on the morning of 15 February 1974, the undersigned interviewed Mr. Rogers Brooks, Chief, Contract Personnel Division, Office of Personnel. The purpose of this interview was to determine if Mr. Brooks had any information not contained in the Contract Personnel file of Mr. E. Howard Hunt on the latter's activities while a Contract Type A employee.

2. Mr. Brooks summarized his recollections by saying that, although it was not common practice it was not entirely unusual for highly sensitive contracts to be administered without the contracting officer being made aware of the operational objective involved. Mr. Brooks stated that he recalls some of the controversy involved in preparing the contract dealing with the question of offset and housing allowance, but he was unable to recall any of the details. It was Mr. Brooks' suggestion that the Office of Finance be contacted and that their contract personnel records on Mr. Hunt be checked for information.

Lawrence J. Howe

14 February 1974

IC Feb 11, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Interview with Mr. Raymond A. Rocca  
on the David St. John Novels

1. On the morning of 14 February 1974 Messrs. Frederick Evans and Lawrence Howe interviewed Mr. Raymond A. Rocca, Deputy Chief, Counter Intelligence Operations. The purpose of the interview was to follow up on information contained in Office of Security files which stated the belief that individuals in the Counter Intelligence Operations office had knowledge of the writing activities of Mr. E. Howard Hunt. This belief was a matter of record in the files of the former Security Research Staff and was attributed to Mr. Paul Gaynor, now retired, and Mr. Edward Sayle.

2. During this interview Mr. Rocca was specifically asked whether or not he had knowledge of the existence of any form of official sponsorship or encouragement to Mr. E. Howard Hunt to write novels to improve the image of this Agency. Additionally, Mr. Rocca was asked whether or not any assistance was ever requested of the Counter Intelligence Operations office to be provided to Mr. Hunt or whether or not that staff had ever had any relationship with Mr. Hunt whatsoever. In response to these questions Mr. Rocca responded "on the record" that he has no knowledge of any such arrangements nor at any time was he party to any assistance or any requests for assistance to Mr. Hunt. Mr. Rocca stated that the particular section which he had been most actively concerned in the past years was responsible for handling a variety of tasks categorized under the area of "setting the record straight." In this sense, the "image" mission of the office was to counter misinformation currently in the media or otherwise believed to be part of an effort to discredit the Agency. Mr. Rocca feels that any assumption that Mr. Hunt was engaged in any form of Agency sponsored image activity would have probably lead to the conclusion that it was done under the Counter Intelligence Operations. However, Mr. Rocca emphatically stated that this was not the case.

3. Mr. Rocca was thoroughly candid and cooperative during the course of this interview. He was unable to suggest alternate means of attempting to determine if any official Agency sponsorship of Mr. Hunt did in fact exist. Mr. Rocca did venture the opinion that he felt that in all probability an official acquiescence on the part of senior officials might have been involved rather than an official sponsorship. It was agreed by all in this discussion that the nature of any informal support given to Mr. Hunt would be far more difficult to define in the absence of any formalized agreements.

Lawrence J. Howe

6 February 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Possible Agency Sponsorship of the  
David St. John Novels

1. The details summarizing an interview on 4 February 1974 with Mr. Walter Pforzheimer, Curator, Historical Intelligence Collection, were set forth in a memorandum addressed to Mr. Steven L. Kuhn dated 6 February 1974. Mr. Kuhn was briefed by the undersigned on this information during the afternoon of 5 February 1974. Later the same afternoon, at Mr. Kuhn's direction, a conference was held with Messrs. Scott Breckenridge and John Richards of the Office of the Inspector General.

2. During this conference the speculation was entertained that Mr. E. Howard Hunt had, in fact, been under Agency sponsorship with the knowledge of Mr. Richard Helms in his preparation of a series of spy novels under the pseudonym, David St. John. If it can be accepted as a reasonable supposition that Mr. Hunt had some highly compartmented financial arrangement authorized by senior Agency officials to write these books, then it is likely that this relationship continued after Mr. Hunt officially retired. It is specifically noted that Mr. Hunt retired 30 April 1970. Subsequent to the retirement, a David St. John book appeared in print in 1971 and another in 1972. These manuscripts were apparently prepared during the time that Mr. Hunt was employed by the Robert R. Mullen Company.

3. Minutes from the Office of General Counsel make references to a concern of Senator Baker over an alleged financial relationship between Mr. Helms and Mr. Hunt which continued subsequent to Mr. Hunt's formal retirement. Senator Baker has reportedly made reference to a payment of some thirty thousand dollars with the parenthetical comment that Mr. Helms would not have that amount of money



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to provide Mr. Hunt from his private funds. Mr. Richards of the Inspector General Staff opinioned that if the Agency had sponsored the St. John books, it was likely that Mr. Hunt had so informed Senator Baker.

4. Adding possible weight to this line of speculation is the fact that subsequent to publishing the last St. John novel, Mr. Hunt published a novel entitled, Eduardo, using his old Agency issued alias, Edward J. Hamilton. The suggestion is that this writing effort was done by Mr. Hunt free of any fiduciary relationship with the Agency involved in the use of the St. John pen name.

5. Mr. Howard J. Osborn, Director of Security, was briefed on the above by the undersigned in the presence of Mr. Kuhn on the evening of 5 February 1974.

Lawrence J. Howe

6 February 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Steven L. Kuhn

SUBJECT: The David St. John Novels

1. On 4 February 1974, Mr. Walter Pforzheimer, Curator, Historical Intelligence Collection, was interviewed by the undersigned concerning his knowledge of a series of novels written by Mr. E. Howard Hunt. This interview was undertaken at your request in an effort to determine if Mr. Hunt had acted in any capacity in cooperation with Counter Intelligence Operations. It has previously been alleged in Office of Security records that Messrs. Paul Gaynor and Edward Sayle of Security Research Staff, believed that Mr. Hunt had written novels at Agency request and that this effort had been known to Mr. James Angleton, Chief, CI Operations.

2. Mr. Pforzheimer provided a verbal summary of his knowledge of Mr. Hunt's fictional writings under the pen name, David St. John. Mr. Pforzheimer stated that when the first St. John book, On Hazardous Duty, appeared in 1965, he undertook to identify the true name of the author. Mr. Pforzheimer related that he checked with a source in the copyright office only to find out that the true name was not given on the copyright application. The mailing address given for the author was checked against a telephone cross reference directory. The address on the copyright application was identified with Mr. E. Howard Hunt. Mr. Pforzheimer stated that after making the identification, he called Mr. Thomas Karamessines and related his discovery. Mr. Pforzheimer recalled from the nature of Mr. Karamessines' reaction that he had uncovered a sensitive matter of senior officer concern. Mr. Pforzheimer stated that he then recommended to Mr. Karamessines that "if the Agency is involved in this thing why not see to it that Hunt leaves his address off the copyright applications in the future." Mr. Karamessines reportedly

accepted the suggestion and Mr. Pfortzheimer recalls that subsequent copyright applications were submitted without the address. Within five minutes of the conversation with Mr. Karamezines, Mr. Pfortzheimer recalls being called by Mr. Richard Helms, then Deputy Director of Central Intelligence. Mr. Pfortzheimer recalls the substance of the conversation as being, "for Christ sake Walter, this is the first book to come along and say something good about the Agency." "Why not leave the Goddamn thing alone."

3. The undersigned asked Mr. Pfortzheimer, who to his knowledge, would be in a position to confirm or deny whether Mr. Hunt was under any form of Agency sponsorship in his writing of the David St. John novels. Mr. Pfortzheimer replied that he was never officially briefed on the matter and that only Mr. Helms or Mr. Karamezines could provide the answer. Mr. Pfortzheimer was then asked if either Mr. Angleton or Mr. Rocca of Counter Intelligence Operations would have any knowledge of this activity. Mr. Pfortzheimer replied that he doubted it seriously.

4. Mr. Pfortzheimer went on to relate that he was occasionally tasked to do research for Mr. Hunt. He recalled on one occasion being asked to research the Indian religious rites involving use of funeral pyres. Mr. Pfortzheimer remembered that this theme figures significantly in Mr. Hunt's subsequent novel Tower of Silence which appeared under the St. John pen name in 1966. Mr. Pfortzheimer parenthetically pointed out the origin of the pen name as being the names of Mr. Hunt's two sons--David and St. John.

5. Tracing Mr. Hunt's career assignments, it is noted that he was assigned to the Office of the Deputy Director for Operations then designated, the DDP/Operations Group, in February 1965. The first David St. John book was published during 1965. From June 1965 through September 1966, Mr. Hunt was assigned to Madrid, Spain as a Contract Agent. During 1966, three St. John books appeared in print, the highest output for any year. Mr. Hunt published one book under the St. John pseudonym in 1967, and one each in the years 1968, 1969, 1971 and 1972. Mr. Hunt officially retired as an Agency Staff Employee effective 30 April 1970.

**Lawrence J. Howe**

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1 February 1974

26 Feb 9, Feb 23

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Kuhn

SUBJECT: General Gaynor's Recollections


1. This date, at your instruction, I called Gen. Paul F. Gaynor to seek his recollections regarding his knowledge of the writings of Mr. Hunt and any official who might be aware of the circumstances of any Agency involvement in that effort.

2. Gen. Gaynor advised that his memory is not altogether clear on the matter, and that he was "reaching," but stated that has he reconstructs the matter:

a. He became aware that Hunt, while in WH, was accomplishing a steady flow of spy books, and that security approval was not being requested on the manuscripts before submission to publishers. (He stated that this activity continued later, as he recalls it, in CI Staff, and agreed with idea that the volume of writings was sufficient to indicate that a great of time was involved in Hunt's writing.) Gen. Gaynor advised that he raised the issue "up front" on several occasions. The reaction he recieved to his raising the issue was that "keep your stinking nose out of this business." He stated that he was lead to believe that Mr. Helms desired to improve the image of the intelligence profession and the Agency and that Hunt's books were a part of the program to do so. He stated that he was never told outright that this was the case, but the responses he recieved lead him to believe this was the case.

b. He suggested that two people might be able to assist in clearing the issue, Ray Rocca and Walter Pforzheimer, both of whom were involved in the "image" materials. He stated that Pforzheimer seemed to be aware of all the details - on an up to date basis - of Hunt's departure from the Agency to join the public relations firm, to the degree that Gen. Gaynor gained the belief that Hunt was merely moving his desk outside the building, but being paid by the same source as before. He also advised that he kept Miss Ethel Mendoza fairly current on what he was learning about Hunt's activities because she followed the case for him, and suggested that her recall about what he had learned and when and what resulted, might be better than his at this date. (He also mentioned an incident in which Morse Allen while on a TDY was told by a COS to ask Headquarters to remove Hunt from the Area because of his direct liaison with the president of the country, and other activities which were confounding station operations. Later, the COS told Morse to forget about relaying the message, with the implication that Hunt was being directed by higher authority in the Agency and the COS did not wish to get in the middle by complaining. He said Morse would probably

c. He also suggested that another person--definitely no friend of Hunt--who might have some recall or have picked up information about the book-writing matter might be Anita Potocki of CI Staff, formerly of Division D. (I gather that she did not have official knowledge, but because of her dislike for Hunt, she made it somewhat her business to follow his career.)

  
Edward F. Sayle

26 Feb 12, Sub 2  
19 Jan 72

EVERETTE HOWARD HUNT, JR.

1. Subject, a former GS-15 Operations Officer assigned to DDP/Europe, is 53 years of age and married. He served with the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, and was employed by this Agency from November 1949 until his voluntary retirement on 30 April 1970. In 1971, Subject served as an advisor to President Nixon in relation to his trip to China. Subject is of current interest to the Central Cover Staff.

2. Subject graduated from Brown University in 1940. He served with the United States Navy from early 1941 until late 1942. After a year with Time, Incorporated, he entered the Air Force, where he was detailed to the Office of Strategic Services. He served in the Far East until January 1946. Subject engaged in writing, and then from May 1948 until February 1949 was employed by the Economic Cooperation Administration, serving in Paris, France, as an aide to Avarill Harriman.

3. A background investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in July 1949 revealed no indication of instability on Subject's part, but it was later learned that Subject had been refused an increase in salary with the Economic Cooperation Administration and had been permitted to resign. He was described as highly intelligent, but blindly selfish and egotistical.

4. Subject's wife, Dorothy Louise Goutiers Hunt, was investigated for Agency employment in 1946. Her former husband was described as a habitual drunkard, and Subject's wife was described as slightly unstable and not inclined to remain in one place for any length of time. She did not enter on duty, having accepted a position with the Economic Cooperation Administration in Paris. Our Paris sources later reported that Subject's wife was formerly his mistress and was openly flouted as such for several months. She was then described as an amoral and dangerous individual who underhandedly attacked those persons who incurred her enmity.

5. Subject entered on duty as an Intelligence Officer, GS-13, on 3 November 1949. In December 1950 he was assigned as Chief of Station, Mexico City, and then served as Chief of Mission there until August 1953. He served in Tokyo, Japan, from June 1954 until February 1957. He was then assigned as Chief of Station, Montevideo, Uruguay. Subject was Chief of Station in Montevideo until early 1960. There were indications that Subject attempted to use his personal influence with the President of Uruguay to have his assignment there extended, but he returned to the United States in June 1960 and was assigned to Mexico City on Project JMARC.

6. A cable from Montevideo, dated 6 November 1960, indicates that Subject had written former Uruguayan contacts commenting that he was working on the Cuban problem and publishing an anti-Castro newspaper in Miami. It was recommended that Subject be warned about such indiscreet remarks, but apparently no action was taken.

7. In November 1961, Subject was reassigned to the DDP/Covert Action Staff, and in January 1962 to the Office of the Chief of the same Staff. In July 1962 Subject was transferred to the DODS Research and Publications Section in Washington, and in July 1964 to the DODS Covert Action Staff. In February 1965 he moved to the Office of the DDP/Operations Group. From June 1965 to September 1966 Subject served as a Contract Agent in Madrid, Spain, after which he served in the DDP as Chief of European Covert Operations until his retirement on 30 April 1970.

8. On 25 January 1970 a source of the Office of Security learned that Subject was circulating through the publishing community "Give Us This Day," a manuscript written under his former operational alias and dealing with the events of the Bay of Pigs. Investigation disclosed that the manuscript had been in the possession of Tom Wallace, of Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. as early as 9 July 1968 and that it was sent on that date to William F. Buckley, Jr., of the National Review. The manuscript was sent to the Arlington House and Walker and Company as well. Both rejected it as too controversial, as had Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.



9. Subject was interviewed regarding the manuscript on 17 February 1970 by the DDP. He at first professed ignorance, but when told the title admitted he had written it for his own benefit as a historical record. Subject said he had shown the manuscript about two years ago to his agent, Max Wilkinson, and to William F. Buckley, Jr. He said he had only wanted an opinion from these gentlemen, and added that the manuscript had been returned to him. He had, he said, not wanted it published. Subject was instructed as to the danger of such a manuscript being published, and was to attempt to determine how many copies of it might be in circulation. He was not to contact Walker and Company, who were the source of the original information.

10. A reinvestigation of Subject was conducted by the Office of Security in July 1970. Subject and his wife were described by six neighbors acquainted with them for up to nine years, as excellent parents, good neighbors, and fine community citizens.

11. On 19 July 1971, Subject was reported by the Jersey City, New Jersey, Journal to have joined the White House Staff as a Consultant to President Nixon preparatory to the President's visit to the Peoples Republic of China.

12. On 6 November 1970, Subject was granted a Covert Security Approval for use by Central Cover Staff with Robert R. Mullen and Company, a Public Relations firm with offices at 1729 H Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. Inquiry of the Central Cover Staff on 19 June 1972 revealed that this is a current relationship. Subject, as principal officer of Robert R. Mullen and Company, is witting of cover arrangements for two Agency assets, James Everett in Amsterdam, Netherlands; and Arthur Hochberg, in Singapore.

13. Subject's security file reflects that Subject has, in the past, been of operational interest to Mr. James Angleton, Chief, CI Staff/DDP, in connection with an operational matter. On 19 June 1972, Mr. Fred Hubbard, CI Staff, advised that he will provide information as to the nature of Mr. Angleton's utilization of Subject.

8 NOV 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Support

SUBJECT: Request for Exception to Provision of  
FR 45-10b — Terence S. CRIBANAC (P)

1. This memorandum contains a recommendation in paragraph 4 for the approval of the Deputy Director for Support.

2. Terence S. CRIBANAC (P) is a Contract Employee assigned to the Madrid area in Spain in a sensitive assignment since his conversion from a Staff Employee on 4 July 1965. CRIBANAC was a GS-15, step 7 (\$19,830.00 per annum) and he is being paid at the same rate in his present contract status. His contract provides that he will be entitled to a living quarters allowance in conformance with regulations of this organization applicable to its appointed personnel.

3. The basic living quarters allowance for Class II officers in Madrid is \$2,900 per annum. The house which CRIBANAC has located, with a one year lease from 15 November 1965 to 14 November 1966, has an annual rent of \$8,600.00 including utilities. Therefore, for rent alone, he will be \$1,660.00 per year over the 150 percent maximum allowed under the provisions of FR 45-10b. On a 75/25 percent sharing basis of the 50 percent over the quarters allowance, he would be out of pocket \$2,395.00.

4. Due to the operational sensitivity of CRIBANAC's assignment, his request for relief on his housing costs was handled by Mr. Thomas Karamessines, ADDP. On 15 September 1965, Mr. Karamessines, ADDP, approved his being reimbursed on a 75/25 percent basis for the excess allowable costs up to, but not to exceed, 50 percent above his quarters allowance. This authorization was included in a letter to CRIBANAC from Mr. Karamessines. It is requested that the Deputy Director

for Support authorize the 75/25 percent sharing of the excess allowable costs up to 80 percent above his quarters allowance.

/s/

Edward Ryan  
Acting Chief  
Western Europe Division

Recommendation in paragraph 4  
is authorized:

Charles N. Davis

9 NOV 1965

Deputy Director for Support

Date

DDP/WE/S3:DavisB.Powell/aj/6189 (8Nov65)

Distribution:

Orig. - C/NE  
2 - SSA-DD/S  
1 - C7WE/SS  
1 - WE/LO  
1 - WE/PT  
1 - WE/BP  
1 - WE/5

SECRET

Chief, Western Europe Division

13 October 1965

ATTN: Support Staff  
 Compensation and Tax Division  
 Office of Finance

Duty Status Reports-Terence S. CRABANAC, Employee  
 Number 179C80

Reference: FHB 20-1000-1, paragraph 5.

1. To date there is no record of receipt of Forms 764, Duty Status Reports, for Terence S. CRABANAC since his EOD 4 July 1965. These reports are required in order to maintain his leave account in accordance with the terms of paragraph 6(c) of his contract and to preclude action to withhold pay in accordance with requirements of the referenced handbook.

2. It is requested that this office be advised as to the reason for the delay in the submission of these Duty Status Reports.

LUCILE F. TWOGOOD

Chief,

Contract Employees Accounts Section  
 Agent Payroll Branch

TO: Compensation and Tax Division  
 Office of Finance

ATTENTION: Lucile F. Twogood

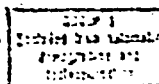
FROM: Chief of Support, WE Division

Per conversation with Mr. Thomas Karanessines, ADEP, there will be no Duty Status Reports (Form 764) submitted on Terence S. CRABANAC. This should be used as the authority to continue his pay without these reports.

David S. Forrell  
 Chief of Support  
 WE Division

OCT 19 1965

SECRET



3 September 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Contract Personnel Division

SUBJECT : General - Terrence S. CRABANAC - Supplement  
Specific - Paragraph Entitled "Offset"

REFERENCE : A. OCC Opinion 65-2476a, dated 12 August 1965  
B. Our Memo, dated 8 July 1965, Same Subject

1. This office herein recommends an amendment to CRABANAC's Supplement dated 4 July 1965, to delete paragraph 7. entitled "Offset."

2. This office acknowledges the OCC opinion, Reference A, which determined CRABANAC may retain without Agency salary offset any future royalties earned as a result of his literary efforts based on the fact cover does not include role of a writer.

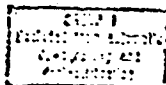
3. As Subject's cover "activities" have been officially clarified as being only a light one of a retired Foreign Service Officer for which the Agency will be making all entitlement payments and actually he will receive no funds from any cover, this paragraph, which is misleading, has no meaning in Subject's contract and it is hereby recommended that it be deleted from CRABANAC's Supplement.

4. Further, in future cases when a cover is so light that Subject will not be receiving funds from cover it is recommended that no "Offset" paragraph be included in Supplements or Contracts.

*William R. Caulfield*  
WILLIAM R. CAULFIELD  
Chief, Covert Claims Branch

Attachment  
Ref. A and B

*no action taken on  
this memo.*



OGC 65-2476a

28 AUG 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Contract Personnel Division

SUBJECT: Terence S. CRABANAC - Retention of  
Royalties by a Contract Employee

1. You have requested the opinion of this Office in regard to the retention of future royalties which might be earned by Terence S. CRABANAC as a result of his literary efforts. We believe that he is entitled to retain such royalties without an offset against his Agency salary.

2. We have been advised by Mr. Gene Stevens, WE/Support, that CRABANAC's cover does not include the role of a writer; CRABANAC's cover for status will only be a light one of a retired Foreign Service Officer. Therefore, paragraph 7 of his contract dated 4 July 1965 may remain as written. Royalties from the fictional works that he writes as a profitable hobby will not be emoluments received from or through his "cover activities."

*Norman D. Block*  
NORMAN D. BLOCK  
Office of General Counsel

cc: Chief, Covert Claims Branch  
Mr. Gene Stevens, WE/Support

3 AUG 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR : Office of General Counsel  
ATTENTION : Norman Block  
SUBJECT : Terence S. Crabanac --  
Retention of Royalties by  
a Contract Employee

1. Reference is made to the telephone conversation of 26 July 1965 between yourself and Rogers C. Brooks of this Office wherein background information relating to the assignment of Terence S. Crabanac was discussed.

2. Subject will apparently develop a cover as a writer, a field wherein he has an already demonstrated talent based upon several publications. The objective of the cover is to provide a basis of attribution for some of his income. At the time of the preparation of Mr. Crabanac's contract, the specific detail of his cover was unknown.

3. Request your opinion in regard to the retention of possible royalties earned by Crabanac as a result of his literary efforts or whether such income should be properly offset.

Joseph B. Ragan  
Chief, Contract Personnel Division

Attachments.

OP/CPD: RCBrooks/cw: 2 August 1965

Distribution:

Orig & 1 -- Addressee  
2 -- CPD

14-00000

4 July 65

Mr. Terence S. Crabanac

Dear Mr. Crabanac:

The United States Government, as represented by the Contracting Officer, hereby contracts with you as a Contract Employee for the use of your services and the performance of duties of a confidential nature under the following terms and conditions:

1. Compensation. In full consideration for the use of your services and the performance of specified confidential duties you will be compensated in an amount calculated at the rate of \$19,930 per annum. In addition, you are herein authorized legislative salary adjustments, within-grade promotions and, if applicable, a post differential in substantial conformance with rules and regulations applicable to Government appointed employees. Payments will be made as requested by you in writing in an approved manner. Taxes will be withheld therefrom and submitted by this organization.

2. Allowances. You will be entitled to: (a) Living quarters allowances in conformance with regulations of this organization applicable to its appointed personnel. In the event you are furnished quarters by the Government you will not be entitled to the living quarters allowances herein indicated.

(b) Cost-of-living allowances in conformance with applicable regulations of this organization including, but not limited to, a post allowance, a transfer allowance and a home service transfer allowance.

3. Travel. You will be advanced or reimbursed funds for travel and transportation expenses for you, your dependents, your household effects and your personal automobile to and from your permanent post of assignment, and for you alone for authorized operational travel. In addition, you will be entitled to storage of such household and personal effects as are not shipped, in conformance with applicable Government regulations. You may be entitled to per diem in lieu of subsistence in the course of all travel performed hereunder and, when authorized, for you alone while on temporary duty away from your permanent post of assignment. All travel, transportation and per diem provided for under this paragraph must be properly authorized, and expenses incurred hereunder are subject to payment and accounting in compliance with applicable Government regulations.

4. Operational Expenses. You will be advanced or reimbursed funds for necessary operational expenses including, but not limited to, entertainment and the purchase of information, as specifically approved by the Government. Such funds will be subject to payment and accounting in compliance with applicable Government regulations.

5. Repayment. It is recognized that your failure to account for or refund any monies advanced you hereunder shall entitle the Government to withhold the total amount of such indebtedness or any portion thereof from any monies due you under the terms of this contract in such manner as it deems appropriate.



6. Benefits. (a) You will be entitled to death and disability benefits equal to those authorized under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, as amended. Claims by you, your heirs, or legal representatives under this paragraph will be processed by this organization in accordance with its procedures in such manner as not to impair security.

(b) You will be entitled to the continuance of pay and allowances in a manner similar to that set forth in the Missing Persons Act ( 50 U.S.C.A., App. 1001-1015).

(c) You will be entitled to sick, annual and home leave (including travel expenses incident thereto) equal to and subject to the same rules and regulations applicable to Government appointed employees. Annual leave may only be taken at times and places approved in advance by appropriate Government representatives. All accrued but unused leave credited to your former account as an appointed employee of this organization will be transferred to the leave account established for you hereunder.

(d) As a Government employee under contract converted from staff status without a break in service, it is required that you continue to make contributions to the Civil Service Retirement Fund. Such contributions (presently six and one-half per cent (6-1/2%)) will be deducted by the Government from the basic compensation due you hereunder, i.e., presently \$19,880 per annum.

(e) You are herein authorized to apply for enrollment in a health insurance program for certain selected Contract Employees of this organization, subject to all the terms and conditions of that program. If accepted, this organization is presently authorized to bear a portion of the premium cost, you will bear the remainder. Your financial contribution will be effected either by payroll deduction or by direct remittance at periodic intervals to be established by this organization.

(f) (1) This organization is authorized to pay the cost of necessary hospitalization and related travel expenses for illness or injury incurred by a United States citizen full-time Contract Employee in the line of duty while abroad.

(2) This organization may pay certain necessary costs of hospitalization and related travel expenses for illness or injury incurred by the dependents of a United States citizen full-time Contract Employee permanently assigned abroad, while they are located abroad.

It is understood and agreed that the eligibility and extent of the participation by you and your dependents in the above medical programs will be in conformance with the rules, regulations and policies of this organization in effect at the time an illness or injury is incurred, that all claims will be submitted only to this organization and that adjudication of such claims by this organization shall be final and conclusive.

7. Offset. Emoluments (including benefits in kind) received from or through your cover activities are the property of the U. S. Government. Procedurally, such emoluments will be offset against amounts due you under this agreement and are acknowledged to be payment by the Government hereunder and for Federal income tax purposes. If cover emoluments exceed those due you under this contract, you will dispose of the excess amount in conformance with Governmental instructions.

3. Execution of Documents. If, in the performance of services under this contract, you assume the custody of Government funds or take title of record to property of any nature whatsoever and wherever situate, which property has in fact been purchased with monies of the U. S. Government, you hereby recognize and acknowledge the existence of a trust relationship, either express or constructive, and you agree to execute whatever documents may be required by the Government to evidence this relationship.

9. Secrecy. You will be required to keep forever secret this contract and all information which you may obtain by reason hereof (unless released in writing by the Government from such obligation), with full knowledge that violation of such secrecy may subject you to criminal prosecution under the Espionage Laws, dated 25 June 1943, as amended, and other applicable law and regulations.

10. Instructions. Instructions received by you from the Government in briefing, training or otherwise are a part of this contract and are incorporated herein, provided that such instructions are not inconsistent with the terms hereof.

11. Unauthorized Commitments. No promises or commitments pertaining to rights, privileges or benefits other than those expressly stipulated in writing in this agreement or any amendment thereto shall be binding on the Government.

12. Term. This contract is effective as of 4 July 1965, and shall continue thereafter for a period of two (2) years unless sooner terminated:

(a) Upon sixty (60) days' actual notice by either party hereto, or

(b) Upon actual notice to you in the event the results of an initially required medical examination are determined by this organization to be unsatisfactory, or

(c) Without prior notice by the Government, in the event of a breach of this contract by your violation of the security provisions hereof or by your otherwise rendering yourself unavailable for acceptable service.

Subject to the availability of appropriations, this agreement may be extended upon notice from the Government. In the event of voluntary termination on your part or termination for cause by the Government prior to the expiration of this agreement or any renewal thereof, you will not be entitled to return travel expenses to the United States. Termination of this agreement will not release you from the obligations of any security oath you may be required to take.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

BY DHL  
Contracting Officer

ACCEPTED:

151

WITNESS:

151

APPROVED:

151

HAAS, HAROLD R. 8-10-71

DELETIONS, IF ANY: THIRD AGENCY DOCUMENTS

[illegible]

NO DOCUMENTS MAY BE COPIED OR REMOVED FROM THIS FILE.

**MATERIAL FILED IN THIS FOLDER  
IS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER**

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 ISAACS (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 197  
(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

E2 IMPDET  
CL BY 054979

SECRET

4 October 1974

XAAZ-35682

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
FILED	FILED
FILED	FILED
FILED	FILED
FILED	FILED
FILED	FILED
FILED	FILED
FILED	FILED
FILED	FILED

RECORD COPY

SECRET

4 Oct 74  
201-18446  
E2 IMPDET  
CL BY 006593

07 aH 14/w

Copy: 48138  
Class: SECRET

9: 7 - Isaac, Harold

SOURCE: NEW VARSZS, 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 Isaacs, Alexander Suchman, 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 Isaacs

201-18446

H/W ATT CI To XAAZ-35686

201-18446

EUR COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES FILES

Date ... *Oct. 23: 1957* ...

SOURCE: DAILY WORKER

File No.

... *9100 Isaac* ...

*X 4202 China*

## TROTSKYITE BOOK MOURNS OVER CHINESE REVOLUTION

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By Isaac's book, has been reissued. 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, Isaac's book, 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.

REC-10

H/W ATT 02 To XAA2-35286

201-15446

COPY: MK:SS  
COMP. —

Enclosure No. 1  
To Dept. No. 3317

*7600-1 Isaac, Harold*

*8/1/34/35 REM*

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

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

Dear Mr. Bisson:

I have seen the correspondence exchanged between Mr. 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)

RECEIVED

*11/1 ATT 13 TO XAA2-3556*

*261-18446*

*8/1 5034 (China) Special Agent Paul C. 158*



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 "betrayer" 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

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 hounded 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,

purpose

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 E.C.C.I. I discovered that these departures from the truth were made necessary by the official premise that ever since the catastrophe of 1927 a mighty, upsurging revolutionary movement has been marching forward in China to the very brink of seizure of power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. I discovered that these exaggerations were necessary because the premise was false and along with it all the basic tenets of the policies being pursued by the Communist International and the Communist Party in China. I cannot begin here to give a summary of some of these distortions (which I verbally cited to you by the dozen) ranging from particular incidents (the wilfully false picture given of the cotton mill strike in Shanghai in January, 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 factual truth of this premise, whence flows the whole policy of the Communist Party in China, I deprecate not a whit the magnificent militancy and courage of Chinese workers, striking again and again and fighting

against

against terrific odds in defense of their very lives; nor the heroic struggles waged by peasants all over the country; nor the fight of the Red Armies against the Kuomintang, I merely respect the cold, indisputable fact that these struggles are defensive, not offensive, that they are isolated, desperate and unorganized. With very few exceptions - a few small strikes here and there and the larger exception of the Red Army - they are without organized revolutionary leadership. Moreover the development of this leadership, the task of the C.P., is proceeding at a tragically retarded pace owing to the false policies and inept tactics of the party.

In denying the presence of a mighty revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a 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, monstrosly 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, 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 Kuomintang. 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.

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 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

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

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 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 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



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 Hackert, Platinitsky, 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 O.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 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

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 if all went well (i.e., if I showed a satisfactory adaptability 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 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 hack prostitute in the name of the Revolution.

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

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 towards this end with the weapons of a correct and tested political line will lift us from defeat to ultimate victory. To this struggle I shall continue to dedicate all my energies.

Harold R. Isaacs.

Peking, China  
May 20, 1934.

(Copied by RD)

201-13406

EUR COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES FILES

SOURCE: DAILY WORKER

Date: July 6, 1950

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 H. 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 dishonest 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

H/W ATT 05 To 3556

201-15446

7100 - Isaac, Harold

December 2, 1932.

No. 1480.

SECRET:

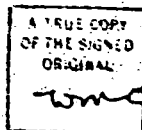
MEMORANDUM.

With reference to R.A. Memorandum No. 1305 of December 4, 1931, regarding Harold ISAACS and his connection with Hilaire NGUEN, it has just been learned that one Viola ROBINSON arrived in Shanghai on August 28, 1932, by the C.T.R. S.S. ADDRESS 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 Szachuen, 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 HUGG 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 HUGG mentioned in the above extract.



RECORD COPY

1442-

H/W ATT CC To 35256

201-18446

No. 5019

*900 Isaac, Harold*

Confidential

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE.

American Consulate General,  
Shanghai, China, December 16, 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-33656

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201-15446

positions. He has resided with a British subject named C. Frank Glass at 139 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 communistic 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 Eastern Press Correspondence," cable address  
Fenprecep, P. O. Box 1926. On October 8th Isaacs and  
C. Frank Glass moved from 123 Woikhaiwei 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:

20-11-36

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  
18, 1931, on the subject: "Harold H. Isaacs."

COPY

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES 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 chastity 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 norms, whether we turn the dirty work of vengeance over to the ineffable heroes 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

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 Fenchow 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, vouchered for and advertised by the government boasting the recognition of all foreign powers, that vast portions of the Chinese population are criminal! On this premise, 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 98510 were executed during the last four months of 1936 alone! This figure sounds globular, 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 6.

November 24, 1931.

Copied by *EBB*  
Compared with *KH* *KH*

EE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES FILES

3004-Isaacs, Harold R.

FILE NO.

SOURCE: D.W.

DATE: S-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-Kuomintang 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 against its attempt to send Isaacs to death in the Nanking Courts.

—The Committee of the United States

RECORD COPY

H/W ATT 65 7422-3506

201-13456

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.

H/V ATT BY Tc (A22-3506)

RECORDED

201-15446

14-00000

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

14-00000  
*Secret*

ZOTOV, IVAN PAVLOVICH  
19 MORDOVIAN REPUBLIC ASSR

S211600/1970

WEST GERMANY 1970



~~SECRET~~  
201-254377

25 Jan 19

018446

201-018446

*Secret*

14-00000

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

## DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
		1. RI FILE NO.			
		2. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		3. DATE	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION	
6. ANALYST	8. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
<p>14.</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <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> </div> <div> <p>201-000415  XAAZ-24958  13 APR 67  P4</p> </div> </div> <p style="text-align: right;">R 6707240926</p> <p style="text-align: right;">FILE IN 201-018446</p>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.					

FORM 8-67 887 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-60)

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION  
SECRET

PROCESSING ACTION

TO

Chief, DO

NEEDS FOR INDEXING

IN

XX

NO INDEXING REQUIRED

FROM

HONACE Representative, Boston

ONLY QUALIFIED DESK

CAN JUDGE INDEXING

SUBJECT

ISOLOG/WUSPARROW/Operational

DISPATCH

Dr. Harold R. ISAACS, Professor of Political Science at M.I.T.

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

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

2. For the past few years Subject has been working on an international study series involving minority racial groups. His reports have been published in the New Yorker magazine and as books, The New World of Negro Americans and India's Untouchables. Subject plans to publish in August 1967 a book on the American Jews in Israel and is working on another on the Philippines.

3. WUSPARROW/1 first met Subject in 1946 after he had just completed a long and friendly interview with Ho Chi Minh as Far East correspondent for Newsweek. At that time, Subject felt that the United States was making a mistake in not accepting Ho as the leader of a united Vietnam, feeling that Ho was independent enough of China to make him at worst a sort of Tito.

4. Subject presently is despairing of United States foreign relations in that our people from Washington, or elsewhere, seldom seem to establish a deep rapport with Asian or African nationals. Subject feels that such relations as do exist never reach more than an ineffective superficial level.

5. Subject first went to the Far East about 1930 when he was a crew member of the Matson Line's Malolo and disembarked at Honolulu to work for the Honolulu Advertiser. (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 Royal Mail, to fill in for St. Clair McELWAY, now of the New Yorker.

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
	UTEA - 543	11 August 1967
	CLASSIFICATION	HQS FILE NUMBER
	SECRET	200-6-360/3

CONTINUATION OF  
DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION

S E C R E T

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER

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 Tilman DUKDIN, 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. ROLLOFFIER

14-00000 230 14-00000	SEE PREVIOUS EDITION	SECRET	<input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUANCE	15 05 E
		DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	UTRA - 543	

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 CSC1 316/04352-65  
 dated 26 Oct. 65  
 subject: ISAGCS, Harold Robert  
 per Trace by Diann  
 on 10 Nov. 65

WRM  
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. 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, 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., WDC, known 17 yrs.

FILE IN 201-18446

(husband's 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

☐ UNCLASSIFIED☐ INTERNAL  
USE ONLY☐ CONFIDENTIAL☐ SECRET

## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:

RID/CE

US

UNITED STATES

EXTENSION

NO

CSCI 316/04352-65

DATE

25 October 1965

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

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S  
INITIALS

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

1. CI STAFF 2C 35

26 OCT 1965

CA

2.

3. RID/CE GA-10  
Attn: Sarah Marmaduke

26 OCT 1965

ER

4.

5.

RID/AN GA 50

6.

7.

RI/TV

8.

9.

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11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

RID/FI 1B 4003

TO: PSB/FBI

FILE TITLE

FILE NUMBER

ENCLOSURE

DOCUMENT DATE 26 OCT 1965

ABSTRACT

X

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FORM  
3-62

610

USE PREVIOUS  
EDITIONS  
OP-98  
9-64☒ SECRET☐ CONFIDENTIAL☐ INTERNAL  
USE ONLY☐ UNCLASSIFIED

14-00000  
**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

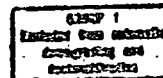
RID/CE: JMA/CPL/ell

Based on: CSCI-316/04169-65

CS COPY

**SECRET**  
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

201-18446



IN 201-18446

Special

OCT 15

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. 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 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, 1960 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:

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

FILE IN 201-

18 OCT 1965



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

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

ADDRESSES:

Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow Rd., Norton, Mass.  
July, 1953 to Aug., 1965, Mass.  
Feb., 1944 to July, 1953, 333 Central Pk. West, NYC, NY  
Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4633 Newport Ave., Friendship Hts., Md.  
1940 to Sept., 1941, 72 E. 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

1937-1940 Navas News Agency  
EMPLOYMENT: 1940-1953 Self-employed - writer NYC  
1953, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Camb, Mass., academic, research  
1943 to 1950, Newsweek, WEC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, NYC, reporter,  
war corres. assoc. editor  
1943, Lockheed Aircraft Corp., WEC, radio writer,  
1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NYC, WEC, writer  
1934 to 1935, self employed, Peking, China, writer  
1932 to 1934, Navas 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  
Phillippines, 1950 to 1956, 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., WEC, known 17 yrs.

FILE IN 201-12446  
(Lusk's 201)

possible source

22 OCT 1955

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

10 OCT 1965

DMS

☐ UNCLASSIFIED☐ INTERNAL  
USE ONLY☐ CONFIDENTIAL☒ SECRET

## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:

RID/CE

US

EXTENSION

NO

CSCI 316/ 04169-65

DATE

11 October 1965

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

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

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

12 OCT 1965

C6

2.

3. RID/CE GA-10  
Attn: Sarah Marmaduke

13 OCT 1965

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4.

5. RID/AN GA 50

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15.

RID/PI 1B 4003

TO: PSB/CSC

FILE TITLE

FILE NUMBER

201-18 446

ENCLOSURE

ABSTRACT X

DOCUMENT DATE 15 OCT 1965

INDEX

FORM  
3-62610  
OP-58  
9-64USE PREVIOUS  
EDITIONS☒ SECRET☐ CONFIDENTIAL☐ INTERNAL  
USE ONLY☐ UNCLASSIFIED

14-00000

**SECRET**  
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

13 OCT 1965

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

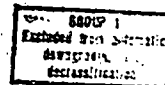
**FROM:** Deputy Director for Plans

**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 International 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.

CS COPY  
**SECRET**  
NO FOREIGN DISSEM



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.

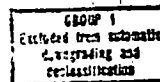
CSCI-316/04169-65

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

MS

HUNT

9-24-65

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✓  
✓  
H.P.  
H  
ISACKS, Harold Robert9-13-10  
New YorkISACKS  
ISAKS

N

USA

Rife  
11/9/65  
Jhr

Mass

possible source 52473

DD 10-5

MEMORANDUM FOR	
TO: 05 Oct 65	3
BY: ANALYST	Dms
DATE: 05 OCT 65	
FE/COOS	NEW
FE/TKOJO	27
RE: FE/COOS	27
RE: FE/TKOJO	27


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 JEP	6. DATE PROCESSED 3 Dec. 1963	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE xxx		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
<p>14. Interested parties in the subject of <u>HAROLD ISAACIS</u> are referred to this document. The bulky nature of this document, plus numerous refs to other individuals and the poor quality of paper thus makes it necessary to leave the file in its present classification.</p>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			261-	18446	

☐ UNCLASSIFIED
 ☐ INTERNAL USE ONLY
 ☐ CONFIDENTIAL
 ☒ SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET *27 Nov 63*

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM: RID/CE FE Japan *W*
 NO. CSCI-3/ 778,850  
 DATE 22 November 1963

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.)
	REC'D	FWD'D		
1. CI STAFF 2C 35	<i>201</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>W</i>	<p>TO: ACSI (Telephonic)</p> <p>FILE TITLE</p> <p>FILE NUMBER <i>201-18446</i></p> <p>ENCLOSURE <i>1</i> ABSTRACT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>DOCUMENT DATE <i>27 NOV 1963</i> INDEX <input type="checkbox"/></p>
2.				
3.				
4.				
5. RID/AN GA 50			<i>Ry</i>	
6. <i>Red/mis</i>			<i>98</i>	
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				
11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				
15. RID/FI 1B 4003				

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 20588, dated 2 December 1949, subject: Harold Robert ISAACS, 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.

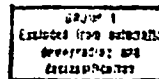
b. In 1933 Shanghai authorities listed Subject's wife, Viola ROBINSON, as a suspect Soviet agent residing in Shanghai. Prior to their marriage on 14 September 1932, ISAACS stated in a letter to Miss ROBINSON that he had definitely turned "Red." All the members of the ROBINSON family were described as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

1 End

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CS COPY

201-18446  
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.

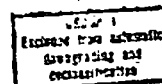
RID/CE: JHA/MI/dcl

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

CS COPY



16633

FE

DW-7

crcc-3 1778,850

A 404  
A 404

TELEPHONE REQUEST FOR NAME CHECK FOR IDENTIFICATION CHECK CONTROL OFFICE

ACSI - Lt. Whipple via Jane Roman

DATE 14 Oct 63

ISSUED 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	MLW
FE	JAPAN	K/S
RI EDITOR		
RI TYPST		

Summary of  
All info

Reproduction

ES COPY

Cy

FILED 201 18446 \*


End # 1  
327 NOV 63  
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>11</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 C# <i>5237</i></p>								
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.						201 - 15 446		

**SECRET**  
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
<i>Watch Council 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>GA</i>		<i>page 4</i>	
6. DATE PROCESSED		10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
<i>30 OCT 1965</i>		<i>page 4</i>	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
14. <i>H. R. ISAACS</i>			
<i>American Communist, Suspected of working for the Komintern and the R's.</i>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			
		<i>201-18446</i>	

(175)

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY	
FILE NO. <b>JO - 5237</b>	SOURCE <b>CI/OA</b>	DATE OF DOCUMENT	ANALYST	
SUBJECT <b>ISAACS, HAROLD R.</b> <b>Born - 1910 - nationality - American</b>			DATE <b>26 JUN 1956</b>	
<p>PERTINENT INFORMATION</p> <p>THERE IS A RESTRICTED CI/OA FOLDER ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS 201 HELD IN RI/AR FILE, WASH-CIA-PERS-4.</p>				
CROSS REFERENCE FORM			FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.	
			<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 30px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> 17446 </div>	

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CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

522 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	COMMENTS
1. NE	1409	7 MAY	1956	id		Enos. E. M. TRES F. H. G. T. A. N.
2. KLB		18 MAY		6/		
3. CTK				CTK		Actra
4. PG				id		
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9. Det		20 AUG	1956	id		Carded by [Signature] 14 JUL 56
10.						
11.						
12.						
13.						
14.						
15. RI/FI	1409 L					

ABSTRACT ☒ INDEX ☒

DATE 14 MAY 1956

FORM NO. 610

REPLACES FORM 610-10 WHICH MAY BE USED

SECRET

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UNCLASSIFIED

VIA AT  
Security Air or Sea RouteDISPATCH NO. NPK-A-4284S E C R E T  
CLASSIFICATION

TO Chief, NEA

DATE 5 May 1956FROM Chief of Station, Karachi *lw3*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, Zakyo 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 Haron'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/wrgDistributions:  
5 - NEA  
2 - Karachi*NEIL R. HYDECKER*  
NEIL R. HYDECKERS E C R E T  
CLASSIFICATIONFORM 83  
MAR 1954 51-28A

RI COPY, 7862-272

TOP SECRET

DEC 5, 1955

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

FROM: Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: Fernando SUGURENA, also known as Fernando Lagarr RCHES

1. Reference is made to a communication from this Agency dated 30 August 1955, captioned as above, our reference OS 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 ISAZCS (FBI File No. 100-286243) 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. PELLILIC, fnm is probably Dr. Filadelfo PELLILIO, former Associate Professor of Mechanics at the University of the Philippines. PELLILIO received his B.S. from the University of the Philippines and his M.S. and Ph.D. at the University of Michigan.

*Sent  
Luis Lagarr  
for*

3 COPY OF 12 COPIES

21-18446



TOP SECRET

According to a usually reliable source of this Agency, PAULILIO 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 PAULILIO was on friendly terms with Jose LANSING there is no record that he shared LANSING's political views.

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

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

g. His name is probably Ricardo LADEZ, Philippine newspaperman who was allegedly associated with Harry SMITHS in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in Honolulu. LADEZ was born on 5 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 LADEZ has returned to Hawaii. For additional information concerning LADEZ, reference is made to a memorandum to the Bureau, dated 23 November 1949, subject: "Ricardo LADEZ (aka Ricardo LADEZ)", our reference SO 82-20307.

h. Uncle NER is Nor CUYUGAN, Uncle DEVER 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 Nor CUYUGAN. It also appears that Baltasar CUYUGAN gave subject a letter to deliver personally to his brother Nor 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 (CUB-2763), 12 September 1955  
Attachment - A copy of a letter (10 Addressee only)

10 September 1955

ADP - 2763-1000

Distribution

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)

~~EXTREME~~

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.		201-1745	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		DFB--30147		24 Sept. 53	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO.	
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED		10. DISSEMINATED IN	
JR		3 Dec. 63		11. DATE	
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE			13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
XXXX					
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
14.					
Comments made by Francis McCracken Fisher					
<p>Fisher also recalled that sometime after the subject had gone over to 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.				201-18446	

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 Willoughby's File - Documents pertaining to Sorge, and the Shanghai Municipal Police Office		1. RI FILE NO.		200-7-212-1	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	
Dean Sherman		29 Sept 65		Encl. 25 31 Oct 52	
10. DISSEMINATED IN		8. DATE OF INFO.		9. EVALUATION	
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. 6, 31 Oct 32 Issue of "The Chinese Workers Correspondence" addressed to the China Forum.					
15.					
FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.				200-7-212-1	


FORM 8-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-46)

**SECRET**  
(When Filled In)

**DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE**

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
General Wellington's Files 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	
5. ANALYST		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO.	
Hearon Sherman					
6. DATE PROCESSED		10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
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 Reaction' glass correspondence concerning it.					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.  201-18446*					

FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

**SECRET**

(7-46)

**SECRET**  
(When Filled In)

**DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE**

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
General Willoughby's Also- 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	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE	
Allen Chenoweth	29 Sept 65				
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.			
PERTINENT INFORMATION					
<p>Shanghai Municipal Police Report Report by S.I. Ross 19 April 34. CWC, Vol. 4, No. 13, 13.4.34 Addressed: Mr. N.R. IRAACS, 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 IRAACS 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**  
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**DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE**


<b>SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT</b>		<b>DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION</b>		
<i>General Willoughby's File - Documents Pertaining to Richard Rogers and wife Changhae Kimnapel Parker File</i>		1. RI FILE NO.	200-7-212-1	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE	
		RI	Encl. 8 31 Oct 52	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN		11. DATE
<i>Desmond Sherman</i>	<i>29 Sept 65</i>			
<b>DOCUMENT DISPOSITION</b>				
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
<b>PERTINENT INFORMATION</b>				
14. <i>Photographic copies of letters from Willi MUENZENBERG to ISACCS regarding International Committee for defense of Paul &amp; Bertrude RUEGG.</i>				
15. <b>FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.</b>  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 Bone Arnold STEIN</i>		2. RI FILE NO.	<i>201-</i>	<i>391-</i>	<i>57</i>
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		<i>LCB-17243</i>		<i>15 Apr 52</i>	
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST		6. DATE PROCESSED		10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
<i>JLS</i>		<i>2 Oct 65</i>			
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.					
				<i>201-18446</i>	

**SECRET**  
(When Filled In)

### DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION			
Agnes Smedley, was.		2. RI FILE NO.	201-404		
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.		4. DATE	
		DFB-16151		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>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.					

FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

**SECRET**

(7-48)

201-18446