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Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume 90,
Part 2, Number 313, December 2017, pp. 71-95 (Article)

Published by Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/ras.2017.0021>



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Abstract

In 1954, Gene Z. Hanrahan published a book containing translations of some of the Malayan Communist Party's most important documents, many of which were unavailable to scholars at the time. That book subsequently became one of the most important and influential studies of the Malayan Emergency and is cited by practically every major work on the conflict. However, unlike other prominent scholars of the Emergency, Hanrahan faded into obscurity. His other work, of which there was little, ran the gamut from a collection of Ernest Hemingway's early writings to compilations of documents on the Mexican Revolution. The lack of information on Hanrahan and his diverse bibliography has raised questions about whether 'Gene Hanrahan' was a pseudonym used by an intelligence organization, research institute, or other collaborative research body. Drawing on Hanrahan's writings and newly-uncovered archival materials, this biographical account traces his career and scholarship, highlights his intellectual contributions, and considers how his approach to research can inform future work on Malaysian history.

The Author

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Key Words

Gene Hanrahan, Malayan Emergency, Cold War, Guerrilla Warfare, Insurgency, United States Marine Corps, Project PARABEL

Introduction

Every student of the Malayan Emergency is familiar with the work of Gene Z. Hanrahan. In 1954, under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, he published a monograph, *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*, in which he provided abridged translations of a number of the Malayan Communist Party's (MCP) most important internal documents on political and military strategy from its founding to 1951. There is practically no major or minor work on the conflict that does not cite Hanrahan's book.¹ In most cases, the production of such a crucial book would be part of a scholar's larger research agenda. But the situation with Hanrahan is different.

Cheah Boon Kheng, a pre-eminent scholar of modern Malay(si)an history, put it this way in his *From PKI to the Comintern, 1924–1941: The Apprenticeship of the Malayan Communist Party*:

Hanrahan's work ... is still the best concise standard account and for some years of the MCP's prewar history remains the most important account. Hanrahan studied several MCP documents, including its 1934 party constitution, which was translated and included as one of the appendices in the book. He is also the first writer to use the wartime Japanese Kempeitai's account of the MCP found in Tsutsui's work entitled *Nampo gunsei-ron* (Military Government in the Southern Regions), published in Tokyo in 1944. Although in some areas the information in Hanrahan's work is now out-of-date, it is still a useful reference. An intriguing question is how Hanrahan gained access to those MCP documents. He does not mention the holding centers where they are kept. ... It is believed that 'Gene Z. Hanrahan' is the pseudonym of a research assistant or a research organization. According to his bibliographical card at Yale University's [Sterling] Library, 'Gene Z. Hanrahan' is said to have authored [a number of books on disparate subjects]. When the University of Malaya Press decided to reprint *The Communist Struggle in Malaya* in 1971, they experienced great difficulties in contacting the 'author', but finally signed a contract with a third party.²

Cheah's theory about Hanrahan gained traction among scholars of modern Malay(si)a, with not a few of them believing that 'Hanrahan' was not a person, but a curious artefact of the Cold War, perhaps associated with US or British intelligence.³ The air of mystery about Hanrahan led Singaporean artist Ho Tzu

Research for this article was supported by the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation and the Council on East Asian Studies at Yale University. My thanks to James Ginther, Phuong Opper, and Sarah Patton for their help in conducting archival research for this article. I would also like to thank Andre Asplund, Cindi Textor, William Whitson, Taylor Widawski, Soo Ryon Yoon, and two anonymous reviewers for JMBRAS for their extremely helpful comments.

¹ Google Scholar indicates that *The Communist Struggle in Malaya* has been cited 110 times in works in English, Malay, Chinese, German, and Russian ('Hanrahan: The Communist Struggle in Malaya' - Google Scholar Search).

² Cheah (1992: 4).

³ Personal communication with Ngoei Wen-Qing, Assistant Professor of History, Nanyang

Nyen to create a film installation in 2015 titled 'The Name' that highlights the deeply confusing and ambiguous nature of the man.

In creating 'The Name', Ho puts to use his ruminations and years of research into the journalistic writings of the mysterious author Gene Z. Hanrahan. Ho's interest in the writer was sparked by the book 'The Communist Struggle in Malaya', which was published in the USA in 1954. The book is an astonishingly informative treatise about the communist struggle on the Malay Peninsula during the colonial era; further publications from Hanrahan, however, concerning guerilla tactics in China, or 'The Wild Years' about Ernest Hemingway's work, raise doubts about Hanrahan's identity as an authorial subject.⁴

Ho himself states that

Something in the oeuvre of Hanrahan doesn't quite add up to the unity of a single author, as though beneath the name seethes an unruly horde of personalities. He has been variously described a naval intelligence officer, a lecturer or a specialist of guerilla warfare. The Malaysian historian Cheah Boon Kheng describes Gene Z. Hanrahan as the 'pseudonym of a research assistant of a research organisation'.⁵

There is no question that Hanrahan's bibliography is extremely diverse. When I began my own research into the Emergency, I was thrilled come across so informative a volume but, like Cheah, was soon left wondering who exactly Hanrahan was and where he acquired his source material. As I sought to find out more about Hanrahan, I found that Hanrahan's name also appears alongside that of William J. Kennedy in a considerable number of works on WorldCat.⁶ After a brief and fruitless search I gave up, consigning Hanrahan to the obscurity of history.

Some years later, in December 2016 I was conducting research at the Marine Corps Archives in Quantico, Virginia on the work of Brigadier General Samuel

Technical University, 25 January 2017.

⁴ Ho Tzu Nyen (2015).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ho Tzu Nyen dates the beginning of Hanrahan's publishing career to 1943. Ho does not explicitly state which work he believes Hanrahan wrote in 1943, but he is probably referring to a book titled *Pre-service Course in Shop Practice* which is attributed to Hanrahan in Worldcat and in the listings of a number of libraries that can be accessed therefrom. A picture of Ho's exhibit on the *Singapore Art and Gallery Guide* website shows a rather thick book with a multi-colored cover that appears to be the cover of a print-on-demand version of *Pre-service Course in Shop Practice* sold on Amazon.com that attributes the book to Hanrahan ('Pre-service Course in Shop Practice: Gene Z. Hanrahan: 9789333131599,' 2013). A cursory glance at the book shows that it is written by William J. Kennedy, who at the writing of the book was an instructor in machine shop practice at Straubenmuller Textile High School in New York City. The book was prepared at the request of the War Department and 'treats shopwork in relation to military needs and stresses the mechanical skills needed by a mechanized army' (Kennedy, 1943: v). This is therefore a case of mistaken attribution because of Hanrahan's use of the name William J. Kennedy which, as discussed below, was a pseudonym Hanrahan used when editing one of his books.

B. Griffith II, translator of Mao Zedong's *On Guerrilla Warfare*.⁷ Among the many documents in Griffith's papers was a letter written to him dated 4 July 1951, voicing some disagreement with Griffith on some assertions he made regarding Mao's biography and noting that some of the tactics that Griffith believed would defeat guerrillas were attempted by the Japanese in northern China from 1937 to 1945. The author of the letter expressed a desire to continue communicating with Griffith in future. The letter was signed by Gene Z. Hanrahan.

It was after this chance encounter with a letter personally written by Hanrahan that I undertook with renewed vigour an investigation of Hanrahan using archival, text, and internet resources. I present the results of that effort in this biography.

The Man: Gene Z. Hanrahan

Gene Z. Hanrahan was born Eugene Zigman Hanrahan on 25 January 1926 in Hartford, Connecticut to Patrick G. Hanrahan (a New Yorker whose parents immigrated to the United States from the Irish Free State) and Elizabeth B. Hanrahan (née Zigman) (from Connecticut and the child of Lithuanian immigrants). Hanrahan died on 13 August 1998, at the age of 72 in Dillon, South Carolina.⁸

While it is not possible to fully reconstruct his biography, there is sufficient documentation to understand the broad arc of his career. Hanrahan served in the Marines during the Second World War, entering as a private in April 1944 at the age of 18. He was deployed in the Pacific after January 1945 and took part in the Guam and Iwo Jima campaigns. After the war ended, he was deployed with the Second Battalion, Fifth Marines, First Marine Division to Tianjin, China in early January 1946. He served in northern China until July 1946, making him among the last of the First Marine Division's forces to leave China. At the time of his demobilization, he'd been in the Marines for three years and achieved the rank of sergeant.⁹

⁷ Mao (1989).

⁸ Information about Hanrahan's parents and grandparents is based on records from the 1930 census. See *Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census: Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population Schedule*. City of Hartford, Connecticut, Ward 6, Block 20, Sheet 7A. Retrieved from Ancestry.com on 25 January 2017. Elizabeth Hanrahan's maiden name can be found on the marriage records of Gene's brother, John, who passed away in California in 1988. *Michigan, Marriage Records, 1867-1952*. Ancestry.com. *California, Death Index, 1940-1997*. Ancestry.com Retrieved 7 September 2017. Data on Hanrahan's death drawn from *North Carolina, Death Indexes, 1908-2004*. Ancestry.com. Retrieved 25 January 2017.

⁹ All information on Hanrahan's military career is drawn from *U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1958*. Ancestry.com. Accessed 25 January 2017. Other than being stationed in Tianjin in China, his records indicate that he was also stationed in Linxi 林西 (Linsi in Wade-Giles), a mining town in the Guye 古冶 district of Tangshan, a city in Hebei province. See also 'Notes on Our Authors' (1952: 13) and Hanrahan (1953a). The Fifth Marines were withdrawn from Northern China starting in early May 1946. The last units of the First Marine Division departed for California on 20 June 1946 (Fredriksen 2011: 206).

It is unclear when and how Hanrahan became interested in guerrilla warfare, but it likely originated in his observations of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) military strategies and tactics in its wars against the Japanese and Chinese Nationalists. When the Second World War came to an end, US Marines were sent to China to accept the surrender of Japanese forces in northern China. US forces garrisoned the area while the Air Force transported Chinese Nationalist (Kuomintang, KMT) forces to the main cities in northern China. Marine forces also kept open lines of communication such as roads and railways in northern China to facilitate KMT control of the area. Clashes between the Marines and CCP forces increased in frequency and intensity in late 1945 as the CCP and KMT rivalry resumed. When Hanrahan arrived in China in early 1946, clashes between US and CCP forces were intensifying. The Fifth Marines, with which he was deployed, was regularly engaged in combat against CCP forces in the area in which he was deployed: the Tianjin-Beijing-Tangshan corridor.¹⁰

It is not clear what Hanrahan did in the immediate period after he returned from China, but his interest in and knowledge of guerrilla warfare pushed him towards the study of the subject. At some point after his arrival, Hanrahan was selected to be part of Project PARABEL, a research project funded by the Operations Research Office of the US Army and carried out jointly by Johns Hopkins University and the Hoover Institute at Stanford University.¹¹ The project examined the nature of guerrilla warfare in the early-to-mid twentieth century throughout the world with the goal of gaining a better understanding of what at least some in the US military believed would be a kind of warfare the US could face in the future. The vast majority of Hanrahan's early work appears to be connected to the materials to which he had access at the Hoover Institute. To facilitate his research and that of others, he produced two annotated bibliographies of Chinese, Japanese, and English source material on the CCP, as well as a guide to Chinese military terminology.¹² Hanrahan was focused in particular on information about

¹⁰ Clark (2001: Chapter 5).

¹¹ Project PARABEL was part of an Operations Research Office (ORO) Work Program that addressed pressing issues of national security between 1950 and 1961. PARABEL was the project that addressed guerrilla warfare (Shrader 2005: 98; Operations Research Office 1952). It is not clear when Project PARABEL began, but the records of the project held at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University suggest that it began in earnest in 1949. The ORO itself was established in 1948, making it possible that Project PARABEL, like the ORO, began at some point in 1948. Records present at Stanford University do not provide details on how PARABEL came to be located at the Hoover Institution, nor do they shed light on the nature of the institutional relationship between the Hoover Institution and Project PARABEL. The only extant records show that Witold Sworakowski, the curator of the Eastern European Collection at the Hoover Institution from 1952 to 1963, corresponded frequently with Johns Hopkins University and hired relevant language specialists to read materials held at Hoover for PARABEL's analysis. Personal communication with Sarah Patton, Assistant Archivist – Projects, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, 13 September 2017. Given his expertise, it is likely that Sworakowski would have provided assistance relating to PARABEL's work on resistance to Nazi rule in Poland and other countries in Eastern Europe. PARABEL included analyses of underground movements in China, France, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Kurdistan, Poland, and Turkey.

¹² Hanrahan (1952a, 1952b, 1952f).

the CCP's leaders and military campaigns and would become one of the first researchers to make use of Hoover's massive collection of CCP, KMT, and Japanese military documents.

Hanrahan's first published article in the February 1951 issue of the *Combat Forces Journal* shows an impressive command of the history of the strategies and tactics of both the CCP and Japanese military during the latter's occupation of northern China from 1937 to 1945.¹³ Hanrahan's keen interest in military affairs informed how he saw other work on the CCP, commenting on Benjamin Schwartz's now-classic *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* that Schwartz devoted an unfortunately small amount of space to discussing the development of guerrilla warfare.¹⁴

It is not clear when or how Hanrahan learned any language he used in his research, but even in his first publication in 1951 there are a number of indications that he possessed an advanced technical proficiency in Chinese. He references one of Mao's writings that he calls 'On A Prolonged War' (a reference to the work now known as 'On Protracted War' [*Lun chijiuzhan*]), no English translation of which existed at the time.¹⁵ In January 1952 he published a book containing translations of ten works on guerrilla warfare penned by CCP military commanders, nine of which he translated from Chinese and to this day are the only English translations of those works.¹⁶ In the same year he also published an article in the *Marine Corps*

¹³ Hanrahan (1951a: 10).

¹⁴ Hanrahan (1952e).

¹⁵ Hanrahan (1951a). Hanrahan may have learned Chinese in China or after his return, but he does not appear to have done so in his capacity as an enlisted soldier. There is no record of him attending the Army Language School in Monterey, California. Personal correspondence with Director of Academic Affairs, Defense Language Institute, Foreign Language Center, Pamela Taylor Savko, 15 February 2017.

¹⁶ Hanrahan (1952c). The authors include Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Xiao Ke 蕭克, Ming Fan 明凡, Guo Huaruo 郭化若, Peng Dehuai, Lin Biao, Liu Bocheng, Liu Ruilong 劉瑞龍, and Tsai Ch'ien 蔡前. Ming Fan and Tsai Ch'ien stand out for being the least accomplished of the men whose texts Hanrahan translated. Tsai Ch'ien is the homophonous pseudonym of Tsai Hsiao-ch'ien 蔡孝乾 (1908–82), a man of Taiwanese origin who served in the Red Army in the late 1920s and early 1930s in the CCP's largest base area in Jiangxi province in Southern China, participated in the Long March, and fought for the CCP during the Resistance War. He wrote a number of articles that appeared in some of the CCP's official organs including *Qunzhong* [The Masses], *Douzheng* [Struggle], *Balujun junzheng zazhi* [The Military and Political Affairs Journal of the Eighth Route Army], and *Dang de gongzuo* [Party Work]. He was sent to Taiwan in 1946 to oversee CCP work there, but he was arrested by the KMT there in 1950 and defected. He was later appointed to a number of KMT military intelligence and research departments (Dangshi yanjiushi diyi yanjiubu 2005: 845). Tsai's autobiography covers his time in Jiangxi and the Long March, see Tsai (1978). For a list of Tsai's published work, see Zhongyang dang'an guan (1990: 410–412). I have not been able to locate any personal information about Ming Fan. He wrote two books about guerrilla warfare in 1938 (Ming Fan 1938a, 1938b) that appeared along with a large number of such texts published by popular presses throughout China in the period immediately before and after the Japanese invasion of China proper. Ming was quite aware of this, stating tongue-in-cheek in the preface to his *Youji zhanzheng jiaocheng* that 'Books about guerrilla warfare like this one are emerging as quickly as bamboo shoots after the rain. Readers could be forgiven for being confused by the

Gazette that contained biographic profiles of three CCP generals, Peng Dehuai, Lin Biao, and Chen Yi.¹⁷

Hanrahan relocated to New York in 1951 and enrolled at Columbia University. By May 1952 he completed his bachelor's thesis, a study of the CCP's political and military elite which contains an impressive summary history of the history of the CCP's leadership to 1951 and contains detailed biographies of 43 CCP military leaders,¹⁸ which expanded on his earlier article in the *Marine Corps Gazette*.

In July 1953 Hanrahan and Allen N. Saltzman produced an annotated bibliography of 392 primary source materials on guerrilla movements in East and Southeast Asia found in libraries in the US as of 1952.¹⁹ The majority of the documents examined are in English, Chinese, or Japanese, but there are also sources in Vietnamese, Burmese, Russian, French, Dutch, and Tagalog. Hanrahan and Saltzman provide no indication as to which of them was responsible for which translations, but in light of his prior and subsequent work, it seems likely that Hanrahan did the Chinese, Japanese, and French translations. Stanford at the time was home to some of the most influential scholars of East and Southeast Asia, and Project PARABEL drew in area specialists from all over the country, ensuring full coverage for all of the countries examined in the bibliography.²⁰

Hanrahan's May 1953 master's thesis, 'The Birth of the Chinese Red Army',²¹ is easily one of the most comprehensive military histories of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 1919 to the abandonment of the Jinggangshan (Chingkangshan in Wade-Giles) base area in 1929. Reading Hanrahan's thesis, one cannot but be struck by the impressive scope of source material he located. He draws on internal CCP documents, most of which had not been previously used in research on the CCP. Though he does not disclose the location of any of his sources, it seems highly likely that most of them came from the Hoover Institution. Interestingly, Hanrahan's is arguably one of the most underappreciated studies of this period of Chinese history and would be surpassed in detail and analytic rigor only by the work of Stephen Averill in the 1990s.²²

Following his graduation from Columbia, Hanrahan became an instructor at Adelphi College (now Adelphi



Gene Hanrahan, ca. 1952
Source: *Marine Corps Gazette*, Volume 36, No. 2
(February 1952)

abundance and not knowing which book to buy' (Ming Fan, 1938a: 1).

¹⁷ Hanrahan (1952d).

¹⁸ Hanrahan (1952g).

¹⁹ Hanrahan & Saltzman (1953).

²⁰ William Cornyn, an influential Burmese and Russian linguist at Yale University, was a consultant for Project PARABEL and was probably responsible for the translation of materials in those two languages (Operations Research Office 1952: 81).

²¹ Hanrahan (1953c).

²² Averill (1990, 2003). The source material on which Hanrahan drew was largely unknown to scholars until the Hoover Institution (in collaboration with the then-Vice President of the Republic of China on Taiwan, Ch'en Ch'eng) microfilmed and made available for a more general audience thousands of CCP documents captured by the Chinese Nationalists in the 1930s and 1940s.

University) in New York City and served as a consultant to the Center for International Studies at MIT and the Operations Research Office at Johns Hopkins University.²³

The years 1953 and 1954 marked a transition in his research interests away from China and toward Southeast Asia, though still with a focus on guerrilla warfare.²⁴ The annotated bibliography Hanrahan produced as part of Project PARABEL made him intimately familiar with both the history of Southeast Asia and the source material that could be used to analyse insurgent movements there. It was such a familiarity that led him to publish several reviews of books on Malaya and the politics of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia.²⁵ Not long after, in 1954 he published his best-known work: *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*.

In *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*, Hanrahan provides a general history of the Malayan Emergency up to 1954 using Chinese-, Japanese-, and French-language sources and provides translations of four major internal MCP documents.²⁶ It is at this point that we return to one of Cheah Boon Kheng's questions: where did Hanrahan get the documents he analysed? The most likely answer is the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, which to this day is the only library or research institution in the world that holds these materials.²⁷ Having conducted research at Hoover previously using a large number of Chinese-language sources, Hanrahan would have had both the contacts and the abilities necessary to examine these materials.²⁸

²³ 'Contributors to the September Issue' (1955) and 'News of the Profession' (1954: 243). Adelphi University refused to provide any information on Hanrahan and indicated that they likely do not even have records from the period when Hanrahan taught there. Personal communication with Adelphi University Human Resources Department, 25 January 2017.

²⁴ Hanrahan published a number of articles on military affairs in China and a review of the memoirs of a former CCP commander, but those would be the last of his academic work on China. See Hanrahan (1953b, 1954f, 1955b) and Katzenbach & Hanrahan (1955).

²⁵ Hanrahan (1954b, 1954c, 1954d).

²⁶ He also includes what he calls 'Party Directive of October 1, 1951', but states that he was using the translation that appeared in the *London Times*, not the original Chinese version, of which he was apparently unable to locate a copy (Hanrahan, 1954e: 130–3).

²⁷ The non-Chinese materials Hanrahan cites in *The Communist Struggle in Malaya* can be found in the libraries at Columbia University where he did his undergraduate and graduate studies and is located not far from Adelphi University, where he was based at the time.

²⁸ Most of the materials Hanrahan used were labelled as being part of the Webster Collection while the others in the Hoover Library are simply in the general holdings. The Webster Collection, named for Douglas Webster, was donated to Hoover in the early 1950s. Webster worked on a Goodyear rubber plantation in Johore and was apparently a collector of MCP documents, though how he came into possession of those documents is not clear ('Memorial: Douglas Webster '42,' 2016). Webster was certainly not the only person who came into possession of documents produced by the MCP, but he appears to be the only one who deposited those documents at a research library at so early a date that Hanrahan could have used them as the source of his translations (copies of MCP documents in the National Archives in Great Britain, as well as in the papers of members of the Malayan Civil Service held in Great Britain and Singapore were not made available to researchers until many years after the end of the Emergency).

Hanrahan also cites another document written by Wu Tien-Wang (Wu Tianwang 吴天旺) and submitted to the British Empire Conference of Communist Parties in London in 1947 titled 'The Communist Party of Malaya'. A research assistant for John J. Coe uncovered a copy in the course of his doctoral research and provided Cheah with a copy, who noted 'the passages quoted by Hanrahan correspond both in content and page numbers with the recovered document, they can be regarded as one and the same'.²⁹ There is no copy of this document in the Hoover Institution at Stanford, but in the preface to *Communist Struggle in Malaya*, Hanrahan extends his thanks to Philip Jaffe 'for making available to me a number of documents from his library'.³⁰ Jaffe's papers, currently held at Emory University, contain the document in question and, like that discovered by Coe and cited by Cheah, correspond to those cited by Hanrahan.³¹

The primary value of *The Communist Struggle in Malaya* is not its history of the MCP, but Hanrahan's translation of MCP documents. Regardless of their perspectives on the MCP and Emergency, scholars of the conflict universally cite Hanrahan's translations. One important reason for this is the paucity of easily available documentation published by the MCP. Another is that, being an English translation, it is accessible to a broad range of scholars in the West and beyond. Hanrahan's translations thus remain crucially important to scholars attempting to understand the internal workings of the MCP during a conflict widely regarded as a counterinsurgency paradigm.

1954 also marked Hanrahan's last work for Project PARABEL, this time focused on the use of guerrilla forces in areas far behind the front lines. One such analysis was of Japanese military operations against the CCP in the 1930s

Hanrahan had at least some correspondence with Lucian Pye, who is thanked in the Foreword to *The Communist Struggle in Malaya* for his comments on the manuscript. Pye was in Malaya in 1952 interviewing MCP members who surrendered to the security forces and later published his findings as *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya*. Pye's papers, currently held at MIT, do not contain any Chinese-language materials from Malaya, suggesting that Pye only provided comments to Hanrahan rather than any MCP documents (Institute Archives and Special Collections, 2017). Victor Purcell wrote the foreword to *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*, but Hanrahan does not appear to have received any documents from him even though Purcell appears to have had a collection of Chinese-language documents in his possession (Purcell 1954: 141, fn. 1). I wish to thank an anonymous reviewer from *JMBRAS* for raising these points.

²⁹ Cheah (1992: 22, fn. 54).

³⁰ Hanrahan (1954e, p. vii).

³¹ My thanks to an anonymous reviewer from *JMBRAS* for pointing out Jaffe's contribution to Hanrahan's work, as well as the location and contents of his papers at Emory University. Hanrahan thanks Jaffe for providing 'a number of documents', not just one. The only Malaya-related papers in Jaffe's papers held at Emory University are the report by Wu Tien-Wang and a copy of Hanrahan's book, so it is not clear which other materials Jaffe provided to Hanrahan. The copy of Wu Tien-Wang's report in Jaffe's papers perfectly correspond to the sections quoted by Hanrahan, though the pagination is slightly different (the report Coe located was 25 pages while that in Jaffe's papers was 23 pages). The copy that Coe found is unfortunately no longer held in the Marx Memorial Library in London. Personal communication with Meirian Jump, Archivist and Library Manager, Marx Memorial Library and Workers' School, 8 June 2017.

and 1940s using Chinese- and Japanese-language documents from that period.³² Hanrahan concluded based on his study that brute force was not effective against guerrillas, but that a number of other tactics were, including psychological and political warfare, training local forces, occupying lines of communication, and economic blockades. He recommended that the US should ‘consider formulation of an experimental counter guerrilla force for the potential missions of training rear-area and service troops in counter guerrilla tactics and for specific counter guerrilla action if required’.³³ Not long after, he produced another *subsequent* report detailing his recommendations.³⁴ He appears to have put some faith in this strategy, bringing it up again in a March 1956 article in the *Marine Corps Gazette*.³⁵ Hanrahan’s ultimate impact on Project PARABEL is difficult to discern because of a paucity of documentation about the outcome of the project. However, in the PARABEL report on the CCP’s conduct against the Japanese and later against the KMT, Hanrahan is cited extensively.³⁶

After 1955 Hanrahan appears to have left academia and established a private consultancy firm. A report was prepared under his supervision titled ‘Military Aid Programs’ for the Systems Analysis Corporation. According to the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*,

The Senate July 11, 1956 created a special committee composed of members of the Foreign Relations Committee and the chairmen and ranking minority members of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees to make ‘exhaustive studies’ of foreign aid and its relation to the national interest.³⁷

Hearings took place between 20 March and 15 April 1957. Hanrahan testified before the committee on 25 March:

Gene Z. Hanrahan, president of the Systems Analysis Corp., said ‘the penalty’ for use of ‘obsolescent weapons’ in the military foreign aid program was the ‘rising maintenance and overhead costs’ to support old equipment and the lack of ‘modern equipment in the hands of many of our allies’.³⁸

Hanrahan’s position as the head of Systems Analysis Corporation is confirmed by a story that appeared on the website of the National Archives describing the activities of Bernard Fall.

In 1956, Fall continued to apply his expertise in foreign affairs on federal projects as he began teaching graduate and undergraduate courses at Howard University in Washington, D.C., including a course for the

³² Though he states that he acquired the documents for this report in the National Archives, he does not provide the original Chinese or Japanese titles for the works he cites, nor the collections in which they are held.

³³ Hanrahan (1954a: 2).

³⁴ Hanrahan & Rossiter (1954).

³⁵ Hanrahan (1956).

³⁶ Project PARABEL (1964).

³⁷ Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Online Edition (1958).

³⁸ Ibid.

National Security Agency (NSA). From September 1956 to March 1957, he also joined Systems Analysis Corp. in Washington as a research associate reporting to the firm's director, Gene Z. Hanrahan. At Systems Analysis Corp., under contract to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Fall wrote briefs based on interviews with officials from the Defense Department (DOD), State Department, ICA, and the Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) to South Vietnam.³⁹

The report Hanrahan prepared along with Fall and his other colleagues examines the nature and effectiveness of military aid provided by the United States to its allies. The report is not directly concerned with guerrilla warfare, making only passing mention of it.⁴⁰ Seen in the broader context of the Cold War and the US attempting to understand what it could and should do to provide assistance to its allies, Hanrahan and Fall, experts in irregular warfare in East and Southeast Asia, were understandably sought out for their expertise.

After 1957, the focus of Hanrahan's work shifts yet again, this time towards the production of books for a more general audience, though he remained focused on history and especially on the collection of primary source material. Hanrahan's first book of popular nonfiction is a compilation of stories about the US Marines in the Pacific War titled *Assault! True Action Stories of the Island War in the Pacific*. The book contains 15 accounts of the war drawn from previously published accounts and one that Hanrahan himself compiled based on materials he likely found when he was conducting research at the National Archives for the Project PARABEL report on Japanese military operations against the CCP.⁴¹

In the same year, Hanrahan also published a book titled *Hemingway: The Wild Years*, in which he compiled 73 articles written by Hemingway for the *Toronto Star* in the 1920s. He states in the introduction that 'these writings tell a story as few books do of the men and events which made the age we remember today as the wild and roaring years'.⁴² The bulk of the book is devoted to Hemingway's time in interwar Europe, but also contains articles about the prohibition era and the early 1920s.

In 1965 Hanrahan served as an editor for a book titled *50 Great Oriental Stories* that includes literature from China, Japan, India, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, Ceylon, and Burma. As was the case with *Assault*, the bulk of the stories in this book are drawn from other previously published translations. However, also consistent with his previous work, he makes his own contribution, this time by translating eleven stories from Chinese into English and providing explanatory notes at the beginning of each section of the book on the literature of the country from which the stories originate.⁴³ The translations are a testament to his Chinese language abilities and include impressive translations of works from

³⁹ Fahs (2016).

⁴⁰ Systems Analysis Corporation (1957: 81–166).

⁴¹ Hanrahan states that he found the information for the account he wrote in 'captured Japanese documents, diaries, and [prisoner of war] interrogations' in the World War II Records Division at the National Archives, but does not provide the names of the precise documents from which he draws (Hanrahan 1962: 4).

⁴² Hemingway (1967: 9).

⁴³ Hanrahan (1965: 4–5).

the Tang, Ming, and Qing Dynasties, as well as from the Republican era and the People's Republic.

Starting in 1975 and over the next nine years, Hanrahan published a nine-volume compilation of documents on the Mexican Revolution.⁴⁴ The documents, the overwhelming majority of which are in English, were selected by Hanrahan from the Records of the Department of State at the US National Archives.⁴⁵ The last volume, published in 1985, was not favourably received by critics.⁴⁶ Hanrahan actually wrote a letter to *Barron's*, where one of the reviews appeared, in which he defended his book and stated that it had been misrepresented in the original review.⁴⁷

While working on that project, Hanrahan also published a two-volume set of documents titled *Secret History of the Oil Companies in the Middle East*.⁴⁸ The book, edited pseudonymously under 'William J. Kennedy', was published by Documentary Publications, the same publisher as the *Documents of the Mexican Revolution*. The book was intended to 'reveal the underlying causes in American economic imperialism [and] of the OPEC problem and crisis of today' and its contents, like those of *Documents of the Mexican Revolution*, come from the US National Archives.⁴⁹ Why Hanrahan adopted a pseudonym to publish *Secret History* is not clear, but it is likely that his adoption of that name explains many of the more puzzling attributions on his bibliographic record.⁵⁰

Hanrahan's final publication is a translation of and introduction to Carlos Marighella's *Manual of the Urban Guerrilla*.⁵¹ The book includes a biography of Marighella that is to this day one of the most detailed available in English. Hanrahan's primary contribution, as he saw it, in translating the *Manual* was to reconcile incomplete versions of the original text (spanning Portuguese, Spanish, and English) as well as providing a translation more readily understandable to English speakers.⁵² The breadth of his sources is impressive, but Hanrahan does not say where those materials are located.

Conclusion

At this point it is possible to make a few tentative conclusions about Gene Z.

⁴⁴ Hanrahan (1976–1985)

⁴⁵ Meyer (1979).

⁴⁶ Mendoza (1985); Wasserman (1986).

⁴⁷ Hanrahan (1985).

⁴⁸ Kennedy (1979).

⁴⁹ Campbell (1980) and 'Recent Publications' (1980). That 'William J. Kennedy' was a pseudonym was known at the time of the book's publication. The Library of Congress' name file for Hanrahan, originally written in 1984, indicates that he was the pseudonymous editor of the book ('Hanrahan, Gene Z.', 2014).

⁵⁰ The overlap between that name and Hanrahan's in WorldCat and other bibliographic resources almost certainly originates in Hanrahan's decision to use this pseudonym.

⁵¹ Marighella (1985).

⁵² In his translator's note, Hanrahan states that previous translations 'are so literal that they do a serious injustice to the Portuguese original, particularly inasmuch as Carlos Marighella was not a pedantic Marxist writer of dry polemics, but a skilled craftsman in the art of writing, and a poet of some excellence' (Marighella 1985: 99).

Hanrahan. First of all, contrary to Cheah Boon Kheng's supposition, Hanrahan was a real person. He served in the Marines during the Second World War and in China thereafter and developed an interest in guerrilla warfare during or after those experiences.

One important factor that mitigates heavily in favour of concluding that Hanrahan actually existed is that his most well-known work, *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*, was published by the Institute for Pacific Relations (IPR). From its founding in 1925 to the mid-1950s, the IPR was one of the most important Asia-focused research institutes in the world. The research sponsored and published by the IPR was conducted by some of the most influential scholars of East and Southeast Asia at the time. In the case of Malaya, Victor Purcell's works were published under the auspices of the IPR and included two major studies of the Chinese in Malaya, as well as his Emergency-era *Malaya: Communist or Free*.⁵³ It is highly unlikely that such a prestigious research institute devoted to the academic study of East and Southeast Asia would actively support and publish a work under a pseudonym and that was compiled by an intelligence agency.⁵⁴ Additionally, Senators Joseph McCarthy and Patrick McCarran launched a lengthy and politically charged investigation into the IPR that concluded that the IPR was a vehicle for communist propaganda. Given this conclusion, it is unlikely that the CIA or another intelligence agency would approach the IPR to publish information on a communist-led insurgency in Malaya.

Another interesting detail that confirms Hanrahan's existence is his role in a mail fraud scandal in the late 1950s. Between May 1958 and August 1959, the Commercial Finance Services Corporation, based in Washington DC and of which Hanrahan was secretary, sent out pamphlets to businessmen in both the United States and Puerto Rico offering help in obtaining loans for their companies. The scheme involved requesting advance fees in amounts varying from \$300 dollars to \$1000 dollars and affected some 900 businessmen, netting the corporation \$330,000 dollars.⁵⁵ The scheme was discovered first in Puerto Rico in February 1959 and a court there laid out charges and issued arrest warrants for employees of the Corporation, including Hanrahan.⁵⁶ On 28 July 1959 Hanrahan turned himself in and was released on bond the same day. Hanrahan and his co-defendants then requested (and were granted) a change in venue from Puerto Rico to Washington DC. The change in venue required the government to gather additional evidence from people in the United States affected by the mail fraud scheme and the trial was delayed until April 1963 when a jury found Hanrahan and his co-defendants guilty of 17 counts of mail fraud and sentenced them to jail time ranging from 20

⁵³ For a discussion of the history and activities of the IPR, as well as a comprehensive listing of its published works, see Holland (1995).

⁵⁴ My thanks to an anonymous reviewer from *JMBRAS* for alerting me to the influential place of the IPR in this period and the low probability that it would publish the work of a pseudonymous government agency.

⁵⁵ '14 Will Face Federal Trial in Mail Fraud' (1962).

⁵⁶ Hanrahan arrived in Puerto Rico on 7 February 1959, just prior to the filing of charges on 13 February. *Passenger Manifests of Airplanes Arriving at San Juan, Puerto Rico*, NAI Number: 2945908, Record Group Title: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004*, Record Group Number: 85. Ancestry.com. Retrieved 7 September 2017.

months to five years.⁵⁷ Hanrahan and his co-defendants immediately appealed and sought to have the case dismissed on the grounds that they were denied their Constitutional right to a speedy trial. The appeal process lasted until June 1966, when their motion to dismiss the case was denied.⁵⁸ They then attempted in 1967 (for a second time) to have the charges dismissed, arguing that the judge in their trial was biased, which was also denied.⁵⁹ It appears that Hanrahan kept busy during his appeals, publishing three works of popular nonfiction at the time (*Assault* [1962], *50 Great Oriental Stories* [1965], and *The Wild Years* [1967]), all of which drew on materials conveniently present in the National Archives and/or libraries in and around Washington DC, the location of his trial. It is possible that these three works, arguably the three least connected to his broader interests in warfare, were written in order to defray some of Hanrahan's legal costs, which appear to have been sufficiently large that he petitioned the court during his trial to reduce the amount of money he and his co-defendants had to pay to their lawyers.⁶⁰ It is not clear whether Hanrahan was imprisoned for his role in this mail fraud scheme, but the failure of his appeals and the gap in his bibliography between 1967 and 1975 suggest that he may have. His imprisonment may also account for why it was so difficult for the University of Malaya Press to contact Hanrahan in 1970–1 when it reprinted his *Communist Struggle in Malaya*.

While Hanrahan's bibliography is diverse, there are two prominent themes that run through it. The first of these is an interest in guerrilla warfare. More specifically, he was focused on the armed tactics used by insurgents against incumbent governments. The letter I located in Samuel Griffith's papers was part of a more extensive discussion with Marine Colonel Franklin Brooke Nihart and Brigadier General Samuel B. Griffith II about the most effective means that conventional militaries could employ to defeat insurgents as well as the nature of the contribution of Mao to the development of guerrilla warfare.⁶¹

Hanrahan's most well-known work, *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*, and his final one, the *Manual of the Urban Guerrilla*, are very similar in structure and intent. In both works, translations of non-English materials on guerrilla warfare are preceded by general histories of the conflicts from which the translated documents are drawn. The documents themselves are concerned with the military strategies and tactics of guerrilla warfare in both rural and urban settings. Both books also show the difficulties that insurgents encounter not just in the formulation of doctrine, but also in their application of Marxist doctrine to political and social reality. That theme, implicit in his discussion of the MCP in Malaya, he later states directly when discussing the communist movement in Brazil: 'All too often communists force square Marxist doctrine and dogma into an unyielding circle of reality. Only rarely does it fit.'⁶²

The second theme that emerges is a dedication to the use of primary sources as

⁵⁷ *United States v. Hanrahan*, 1963; *United States v. Hanrahan*, 1966.

⁵⁸ *United States v. Hanrahan*, 1966.

⁵⁹ *Tynan v. United States*, 1967; *United States v. Hanrahan*, 1965. The case is neither well-known nor oft-cited, but it does have the dubious distinction of being filed in the Westlaw database under 'bad faith appeals'.

⁶⁰ *United States v. Hanrahan*, 1963.

⁶¹ Hanrahan (1951b).

⁶² Marighella (1985: 26).

a means of understanding political and military developments. Indeed, in his letter to Samuel B. Griffith, Hanrahan requested a Chinese copy of the book that Griffith translated, titled in English *On Guerrilla Warfare*.⁶³ His work on Malaya, Mexico, the Middle East, and Brazil all involve the translation of primary source documents into English and making them more widely accessible to scholars and practitioners. His work on Malaya was without question his biggest success in this endeavour; his documentary collections on the Mexican Revolution and oil companies in the Middle East both received cooler receptions among scholars in those areas. His seemingly most unusual work, *The Wild Years*, can be seen in a similar vein: an attempt by Hanrahan to compile primary sources that may be of value to scholars.

The same can be said of his *Assault! True Action Stories of the Island War in the Pacific*. Hanrahan served in the Iwo Jima campaign and likely saw action during other periods of the island-hopping campaign in the Pacific. As a former Marine and as a scholar of warfare, it is easy to understand Hanrahan's interest in the subject as well as his desire to collect the stories of those who fought in the conflict. It is also in keeping with his broader desire to compile primary sources. Hanrahan's *50 Great Oriental Stories* does not directly concern the study of war, but the origin of the stories is related to Hanrahan's larger interest in Asia as well as, once again, his desire to compile source material on different topics.

Still, Hanrahan was maddeningly reticent about nearly every aspect of his projects and his life, making it easy to speculate about who he was (or was not).⁶⁴ In the vast majority of his work, Hanrahan neither expressed gratitude to anyone nor acknowledged any training, assistance, or intellectual debts. Such acknowledgements have long been standard when conducting research, which makes their omission seem like a deliberate effort on his part to obscure the provenance of his source material and leave people with the impression that he stood apart from other scholars and researchers.⁶⁵ How did he become interested in guerrilla warfare or anything he studied? His diverse interests and bibliography confirm Ho Tzu Nyen's observation that 'beneath [Hanrahan's] name seethes an unruly horde of personalities'. Who were his advisors and colleagues at Columbia University? Who typed up the manuscripts of his work? Who penned the Chinese glossaries to his theses and his other work? We do not have answers to any of these questions.

Moreover, who was responsible for the 'invisible labour' of teaching Hanrahan the languages in which he was apparently proficient? His work on China and

⁶³ There is no additional correspondence between Griffith and Hanrahan in the former's papers, but it is unlikely that Hanrahan received a copy of the work Griffith translated, for Hanrahan noted in the preface to his *Chinese Communist Guerrilla Tactics* that the book is 'largely now unobtainable' (Hanrahan, 1952c: ii). Even Griffith himself was without an original Chinese copy, admitting as much in the Translator's Note to the 1961 edition of *On Guerrilla Warfare* (Mao 1989: 39).

⁶⁴ Hanrahan deposited no papers at the Marine Corps Archives, Columbia University, or Adelphi University and attempts to locate members of his family or colleagues were unsuccessful.

⁶⁵ There were a number of influential scholars of Chinese history and politics at Columbia at the time Hanrahan was attending, including C. Martin Wilbur, Howard Boorman, and Luther Carrington Goodrich, making it possible that Hanrahan benefited from their guidance.

Malaya, as well as his works of popular nonfiction, indicate that he was proficient in Chinese, Japanese, French, and German. He states in his translation of the *Manual of the Urban Guerrilla* that he ‘has translated Portuguese materials for many years’ and that he compared editions of Marighella’s work in Portuguese, Spanish, and English and cites works in all three languages, as well as French. He also states that in his translation he sought to cut down the ‘lengthy, paragraph-like sentences, not too much different ... from German’ in his translation, indicating that he may have also had some proficiency in the language.

Hanrahan was 25 years old when he published his first articles and by then already had an advanced proficiency in both Chinese and Japanese. His translations of texts published by the Chinese and Malayan Communists is all the more impressive when considering that standard translations did not exist for many of the terms and concepts he encountered in his studies.⁶⁶ How does a young man of Irish-Lithuanian descent from Connecticut emerge in his thirties as an able translator of Chinese, Japanese, French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish texts and how does he do so without leaving any trace of his language training? Hanrahan may well have had a particular aptitude for language learning, learning French, German, or both in primary and secondary school. It is also possible that he learnt some Chinese and Japanese while stationed in China over seven months in 1946 and supplemented it with additional training thereafter, possibly at Stanford University, but almost certainly as a researcher for a government programme that likely had links to US intelligence agencies. Available documentation suggests that Hanrahan was only in Puerto Rico for a little over one year, which may have been enough time for him to learn Spanish, but how he learned Portuguese is not clear.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, his acumen as a translator is impressive, especially his translations of Classical Chinese texts, all of which have vocabularies and grammatical structures entirely different than the technical, formulaic military writings he translated elsewhere.

Only once in his writings does he give any indication that he received any form of assistance. In the translator’s note at the beginning of his 1952 *Chinese Communist Guerrilla Tactics*, he thanks Richard Howard and Howard Linton, both of the Columbia University library staff, for helping him compile the materials in that volume.⁶⁸ He also thanked two other people: his wife, Eleanor, and a fellow

⁶⁶ While he had reading proficiency in Chinese, Hanrahan’s writing abilities in Chinese appear to have been limited. The bibliography of Chinese and Japanese materials in his bachelor’s thesis contains characters that are clearly written by someone who did not have extensive education in how to write Chinese or Japanese using proper stroke order and how to write characters in consistent sizes. In his master’s thesis, the Chinese characters in a Chinese appendix are almost all penned by either a native writer or someone with extremely advanced writing abilities. However, there are also two characters added by someone who had clearly not received extensive education in how to write Chinese using proper stroke order and how to write characters in consistent sizes. It is not possible to verify that Hanrahan added those two characters, but he seems the most likely suspect.

⁶⁷ Hanrahan arrived in Puerto Rico in February 1959 and returned to the US along with his co-defendants in May or June 1960 (*United States v. Hanrahan*, 1966, *United States v. Rossiter*, 1960).

⁶⁸ Howard Linton was in charge of the East Asian collections at the Columbia University

Marine, Willie Dinegar.⁶⁹

Uncovering details of Hanrahan's life and career does not change either his research or our understanding of the events he studied. But the mystery and story of his career show the importance of transparency in academic pursuits. With no hint of irony, Hanrahan criticized Harry Miller for not providing clear citations for his sources in the latter's *Communist Menace in Malaya*,⁷⁰ even as Hanrahan made his work nearly impossible to replicate because he obscured his sources.⁷¹ Indeed, it was in the search for Chinese-language sources on the MCP that he used that I first embarked on the task of locating the original Chinese-language sources and, later, on learning about Hanrahan himself.

Another interesting aspect of Hanrahan's career is his early affiliation with government or military bodies that sought to gain a better understanding of irregular warfare. Hanrahan's studies for the project produced some of the best

library from 1947 to 1962 (Goodrich, 1977). The identity of Richard Howard is not clear; it is possible he was Richard C. Howard who, together with Howard L. Boorman, edited the multi-volume *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (Boorman & Howard, 1967).

⁶⁹ Hanrahan married Eleanor Hanrahan (née Klass) on 7 September 1949 in New York City. The two separated in November 1957 in Florida. *New York City, Marriage License Indexes, 1907–1995. Florida, Divorce Index, 1927–2001*. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 31 August 2017. Hanrahan appears to have remarried not long thereafter to a woman named Norma, to whom he remained married until 1985. *North Carolina Divorce Index, 1958–2004*. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 31 August 2017. In the course of Hanrahan's appeal against his mail fraud charge, he claimed that that the stress of the trial led his wife (unnamed, but almost certainly Norma) to suffer a mental breakdown (*United States v. Hanrahan*, 1966). Hanrahan appears to have married one last time, to Deborah Hoback in 1994, but the two divorced in April 1997, not long before his death in August 1998. *North Carolina Divorce Index, 1958–2004*. Retrieved from Ancestry.com 31 August 2017. It is likely that Willie Dinegar referred to Wilbur Ward Dinegar (1926–2010). Dinegar served in the Marines during the Korean War and together with Brooke Nihart in the Korean War ('Obituary: Wilbur Ward Dinegar,' 2010). As Nihart had already been in touch with Hanrahan as early as 1951, it is possible that it was Nihart who introduced Dinegar to Hanrahan, though it is not possible to verify this as Nihart's papers (held at the Marine Corps Archives in Quantico, Virginia) do not include any personal correspondences from this period.

⁷⁰ Hanrahan (1955a).

⁷¹ In his *Chinese Communist Guerrilla Tactics*, Hanrahan does not provide the original Chinese titles of the works he translates, which requires inquiring minds to reverse translate titles and guess the names of authors. Even then, Hanrahan's citations are incomplete and in some cases inaccurate. An article in Hanrahan's book by Xiao Ke comes from a publication Hanrahan translates as *The Front* (no. 2). He is actually referring to *The Front Weekly* (*Qianxian zhoukan*), the official organ of the Eighth Route Army's General Political Department (*Balujun zong zhengzhibu*). He incorrectly locates the article he translates in his book by Liu Bocheng, stating that it was in *The Front Weekly* (no. 1) when it was actually in another publication edited by Zhu De (Liu Bocheng 1938: 29–35). He also incorrectly locates Tsai Ch'ien's article, stating mistakenly that it is located in a book published in 1940 by Zhu De for which he does not provide a complete citation, simply calling it *Three Years*. Hanrahan is referring to a book edited by Zhu De titled *Kangzhan sannianlai Balujun de yingyong zhanji* [The Brave Exploits of the Eighth Route Army Over the Past Three Years of the Resistance War] (Zhu De 1940). However, Tsai's article was actually published in *Balujun junzheng zazhi* (Tsai Ch'ien 1940).

early work on the history of the CCP and, while there is no evidence that Hanrahan worked for the CIA or any other intelligence agency, it would not be surprising if he did. Although there is no documentary evidence regarding Hanrahan's whereabouts from his demobilization in 1946 to his appearance in New York in 1951, his bachelor's and master's theses suggest that he found his way to the Hoover Institution after the war, probably between 1947 and 1949. Based at Stanford, he may have supplemented some of his early studies of Chinese with more advanced lessons with some of the faculty and/or assistants at Stanford and the Hoover Institution. Hanrahan's bachelor's and master's theses make use of an enormous amount of primary source documentation and, even with reading fluency in Chinese, it would not have been possible for Hanrahan to examine all of the material in question in the course of two years, the duration of his stay at Columbia University. There is a clue in Hanrahan's bachelor's thesis that he did indeed find his way to Hoover prior to his studies in Columbia. He writes,

No little amount of essential groundwork for this and other [studies of CCP elites] has already been completed by the Hoover Institute, Stanford, California, and while errors evident in either methodology, fact, or supposition in this paper must necessarily lie with this writer, the germ and overall guidance of this work is credited to that work already completed by the Hoover Institute.⁷²

Hanrahan was conducting his research at Hoover Institution at the same time that Robert North was writing a report that examined the KMT and CCP leadership,⁷³ and would likely have had access to North, the considerable amount of data that he gathered for that project, and possibly some of North's collaborators.⁷⁴

Hanrahan's articles in military publications as well as his work for Project PARABEL show that he as an individual and the US government were interested in coming to terms with what was then a new way of war. In addition, the advent of the Cold War, the Chinese Civil War, and the establishment of the People's Republic of China led to a surge in funding by the US government of 'area studies' at major

⁷² Hanrahan (1952g: 6). Hanrahan seems to be referring to the Stanford Institute Studies, Series B, which consisted of six studies of elite politics.

⁷³ North (1952).

⁷⁴ In the preface to his report, North notes that part of his project included the compilation of statistics on both the CCP's and KMT's leadership and thanks a number of China scholars who would eventually become some of the most influential in the field including Conrad Brandt, John K. Fairbank, Martin Wilbur, Karl Wittfogel, and Mary Clabaugh Wright (North 1952: iii). Wright and her husband Arthur Frederick Wright were together responsible for many of the China materials in the Hoover Institution's collection, personally collecting them in China between their release from a Japanese internment camp in 1945 and their departure from China in 1947. Wright was the curator of the Hoover Institution's China collection and would have been well-placed to guide Hanrahan and others in their examination of those materials (Kaplan 2011). Though it is not possible to ascertain whether Wright had any personal involvement in Project PARABEL (there are no records in her personal papers or elsewhere that mention the project), she was aware of their work and had in her possession a 489-page report on the CCP's guerrilla war against the Japanese (covering 1937–45) and later against the KMT (1946–9) (her name is present on the microfilmed version of the report, see Project PARABEL [1964: Front matter]).

US research universities, including Stanford and Columbia.⁷⁵ Hanrahan's bachelor's thesis, an analysis of the CCP leadership as of 1951, reads much like an analysis produced for an intelligence agency. Project PARABEL in particular appears to be an ambitious attempt by the US government to mobilize the intellectual power of both civilian and non-civilian institutions to find ways to understand and ultimately counter insurgent threats. Project PARABEL would not be the last such attempt and later the RAND Corporation would undertake a number of historical studies of counterinsurgency with a similar goal.⁷⁶ However, PARABEL's work does not appear to have ever influenced US counterinsurgency policy. The immediate post-war period presented an opportunity for the US to understand and adapt to a new kind of warfare in which both political and military power are dispersed rather than concentrated. However, the largely conventional nature of the Korean War reinforced the US military's pre-existing attachment to conventional warfare which remained, much to the detriment of the United States, its allies, and civilians in wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq.⁷⁷

Though Hanrahan may not have affected the fundamental direction of US counterinsurgency efforts, his *Chinese Communist Guerrilla Tactics* appears to have been relatively widely read by men and women in uniform. The book was mimeographed and distributed by the United States Army Department of Intelligence in 1952, excerpts of it were reprinted and used as part of the curriculum of the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School in Fort Bragg, North Carolina⁷⁸ and, according to WorldCat, many of the institutions that hold this particular book are US military training institutions.⁷⁹ For at least one copy of Hanrahan's book that still had its physical due date slip, the check-out frequency of the book spiked during the Vietnam War.⁸⁰ While Hanrahan's book is not nearly as well-known or widely-held as Samuel Griffith's translation of *On Guerrilla Warfare*, it seems that he achieved at least some modest success in popularizing the writings of Chinese Communist guerrillas. Along with Griffith,

⁷⁵ Katz's (1989) study of the Office of Strategic Service's (OSS) recruitment and use of area studies during the Second World War remains one of the best studies of the period. Cumings (1997) provides a detailed overview of the effect of the OSS and CIA on the Asian studies field and Fogel (2012) a general overview of the effect of US government policy in the Cold War on China studies.

⁷⁶ Galula (2006) and Lee (1967) produced reports on French operations in Algeria and Japanese operations in Manchuria, respectively. Sunderland (1964a–e) produced a five-part examination of British operations in Malaya drawing on interviews with British civilian and military officials, as well as on classified information provided by the British. In 1962 RAND hosted a counterinsurgency symposium attended by some of the most prominent American, British, and French counterinsurgency practitioners (Hosmer & Crane, 1962). More recently, the RAND Corporation published a series of historical counterinsurgency case studies (Paul, Clarke, & Grill, 2010a, b; Paul, Clarke, Grill, & Dunigan, 2013a, b) intended to highlight counterinsurgency policy best practices.

⁷⁷ My thanks to William Whitson for helping me develop these points.

⁷⁸ Hanrahan & John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School (n.d.).

⁷⁹ See the listings for three versions of Hanrahan's book: 'Chinese Communist Guerrilla Tactics; (Book, 1952);' 'Chinese Communist Guerrilla Tactics, July 1952: A Source Book (Book, 1952);' 'Chinese Communist Guerrilla Warfare Tactics (Book, 1974).'

⁸⁰ The version of the book acquired while researching this article was from the Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Alaska.

he also stands as one of the earliest practitioners who sought to understand insurgency from the military theories promulgated by insurgents themselves.

Though we should fault Hanrahan for his opacity, we should applaud his dedication to primary source research, especially in Southeast Asia. While some recent research on the Emergency in particular has made use of Chinese-language sources, Hanrahan's is still the only English-language work on the Emergency that makes use of the MCP's internal Chinese-language documents rather than Special Branch translations.⁸¹ The widespread citation of his book indicates that there is much to be gained in utilizing primary source material, whether in the context of Malaya, the CCP's insurgency in China, or historical phenomena further afield.

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⁸¹ An emerging body of research is making greater use of Chinese-language materials to examine the Emergency and the MCP. Tan (2011) draws on Chinese-language sources and interviews to reconstruct the lives of ethnic Chinese civilians during the conflict. Opper (2016) uses the Chinese-language documents used by Hanrahan, other recently discovered MCP documents, and the memoirs of former MCP soldiers to examine the internal workings of the MCP and how the MCP interacted with civilians during the Emergency. Ng (2018) uses both the memoirs of MCP members and interviews with former MCP guerrillas to examine the construction of historical memory among MCP members. There is a large and growing Chinese-language literature on the conflict that makes extensive use of MCP documents, memoirs of MCP members, and interviews with ethnic Chinese civilians in Malaysia, of which Phoon's (2004, 2013) is the most impressive. For a useful summary of some of the Chinese-language literature on the conflict, see Ho (2013).

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