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PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS
CHINA
PROJECT PROSYMS

Prepared under the direction of

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THE STAFF

Overall technical direction of the PROSYMS project and development of its methodology were the primary responsibilities of Dr. Egerton L. Ballachey. The entire project staff cooperated in the development of methods and procedures. Research on the early phases of the China study was conducted under the supervision of Dr. George W. Baker; later phases were carried out by various staff members. Mrs. Nancy Clare Bewley had major responsibility for preparing the final report; she collated the appeals, prepared statistical tables, and organized the report. A. M. Reid not only participated in the development of project methodology and procedures but also was invariably helpful in resolving problems that occurred during the later phases of the work. Editing of the report was done by Mrs. Martha A. Congress, Mrs. Elsa Liles, and Mrs. Mary Dell Uliassi.

Thirty consultants, selected to represent various interests and disciplines, contributed information and data to one or more phases of research. All were trained observers of the China scene, and all had resided in China. Four consultants forming a panel were of particular value in preparing selected parts of the final report. Despite our gratitude for the great contributions made by the consultants and panelists, SORO must and does assume responsibility for any shortcomings inherent in the report.

[redacted]

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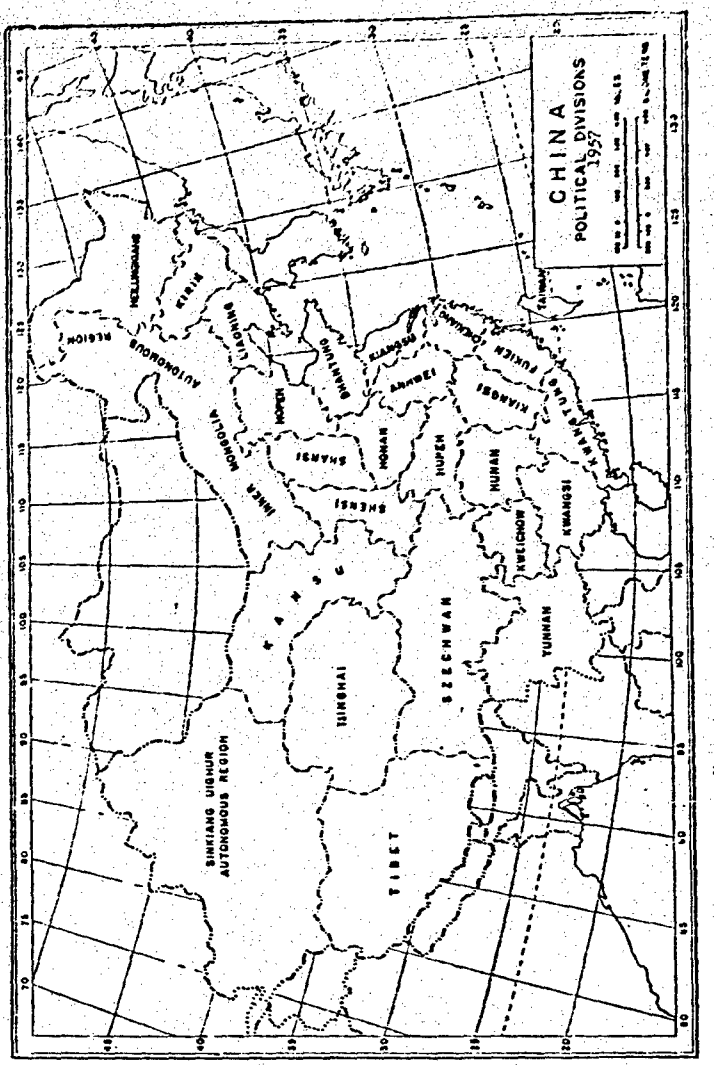

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FOREWORD

One important and sometimes overlooked aspect of the Army mission in time of war is psychological in nature—to persuade, rather than force the enemy or peoples in the area of military activity to support the national objectives of the United States. To be objective, the means of persuasion—the messages or symbols, appeals or threats—must be tailored to communicate with an audience with which few Americans have ever had contact. In World War II the enemy included such culturally disparate peoples as the Germans, Italians, and Japanese. The turn of events since 1945—involving Koreans, Malayans, Chinese, Algerians, Lebanese, Tibetans, Laotians, and others in military events—indicates a wide range of possible future target audiences.

In order to be prepared for possible military involvements in foreign areas, Army psychological operators need to have on hand a guide to the type of appeals and symbols likely to be effective with audiences of highly varying cultures. And they also need to have available some of the principles of style and format by which messages may be presented with maximum effectiveness.

It was to meet these needs that the Army requested this Office to undertake project PROSYMS in the spring of 1957. Reports on psychological appeals and symbolic materials for ten countries—Burma, Cambodia, China, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Syria, Thailand, and Viet Nam—will be made available to the Army this year, and by the time the research is complete in 1961, reports for several additional countries will be available to the Army.

The research methodology employed is explained in detail in Annex I and is common to all the country studies. It is possible that this methodology may have a value in and of itself—as a technique by which an operator in the field may obtain additional up-to-the-minute data and as a relevant aid in psychological operations training programs.

The actual appeal ideas collected and evaluated in the course of research and presented in this report are not intended to be, and should not be taken to be, finished messages. It is believed, however, that these appeal ideas, with their accompanying symbolic materials and supporting comments, will materially aid the psychological operator. This report should form a reservoir of usable ideas and spark new ones for appeals and messages appropriate to the cultural background of the audience and to the developing tactical and strategic situation.

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I believe that Project PROSYMS will materially assist the Army in accomplishing its psychological mission.

Kai E. Rasmussen

KAI E. RASMUSSEN
Director.

SEPTEMBER 1959.

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SECTION I

THE PLAN OF THE REPORT

OBJECTIVES OF THE REPORT

This report was prepared for use in planning and conducting psychological operations in China. The information it supplies is derived from Project PROSYMS-Mainland China, conducted for the Department of the Army by the Special Operations Research Office, The American University, Washington, D.C.

The primary objective of Project PROSYMS was to develop propaganda appeal ideas (with their accompanying key symbols) of evaluated persuasiveness for communicating psychological operations messages to members of important special audiences in selected countries. As the research design was worked out, however, it became clear that with little more time and effort other information could be obtained which would be useful to the field operator. Therefore, arrangements were made to secure the following additional information:

1. An estimate of the opportunities existing in Mainland China for the successful conduct of psychological operations.

2. Analyses of several selected special audiences in terms of group characteristics bearing on the conduct of psychological operations.

3. A body of stylistic and format principles for effectively communicating appeals to the country as a whole and, when appropriate, to each of the selected major groups.

4. A list of injunctions (do's and don'ts) dealing primarily with the content of psychological operations messages, that is, issues or topics to be emphasized, those to be avoided, and the manner in which certain subjects should be approached.

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

At the outset of the project, the PROSYMS staff faced the central research questions: What is a propaganda symbol? What are the characteristics of propaganda symbols that differentiate them from other classes of symbols?

It was recognized that the definition of propaganda symbol which was formulated would dictate the research design and that the fruitfulness of the design would depend upon the adequacy of the definition.

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Propaganda symbol, or key symbol, was taken to be the element, verbal or nonverbal, in a psychological operations appeal that is especially significant in evoking the desired effect. This meant that the research had to be designed to secure appeal ideas for use in psychological operations. The identification of key symbols within appeal ideas is designed to give the operator a more complete understanding of the appeal ideas presented, and to guide him in adapting them for use in specific operating situations.

The effectiveness for psychological operations of appeal ideas is a function of purpose and audience. Therefore, the research had to specify appropriate psychological operations tasks (A specific mental or behavioral effect, which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal.) to be accomplished with or by means of specific groups which could most likely further U.S. military objectives.

The research approach of Project PROSYMS-Mainland China started with the selection of such groups. For each, appropriate psychological operations tasks were then specified. Next, appeal ideas were developed for each problem situation. (A problem situation is the special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience.) Finally, the key propaganda symbols in each appeal idea were identified. Thus, the research moved from audiences to tasks, then from tasks to appeal ideas with accompanying key symbols.

The methodology developed for PROSYMS-Mainland China had two major features. First, it pinpointed the research: the focus was upon those special audiences most likely to be able to contribute to the accomplishment of U.S. aims and objectives in the event of war, and upon those tasks judged feasible for each selected group and relevant under the research assumptions that guided the study. Considerations of time and research resources made it impractical to attempt to cover all important groups and all feasible psychological operations tasks; furthermore, any attempt to cover all possible situations would slight those situations more likely to occur. It should be noted, however, that for any given group the appeal ideas and key symbols derived for specific tasks may prove applicable to other tasks. Indeed, the appeals may be useful for accomplishing tasks not now envisaged which may emerge in the future.

The second major feature of the methodology was the use of consultants as the primary source of PROSYMS data. The research instruments that were developed made it possible to secure data from consultants through correspondence. (Examples of these research instruments can be found in the PROSYMS-Burma Report—Psychological Operations: Burma (Project PROSYMS), pp. 393–479). The PROSYMS staff was thus able to tap systematically the vast reservoir of experience and knowledge which area specialists have accumulated. Every effort was made to secure a group of consultants with diverse

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backgrounds, representing the different theoretical persuasions and interests which exist, in the belief that this would minimize the effect of consultant bias on the research. In addition, a panel of four consultants was convened at the Special Operations Research Office, to secure auxiliary information considered useful to the field operator; this includes analyses of important selected groups and estimates of propaganda opportunities in China in terms of ten major psychological operations goals.

The procedures utilized to select special audiences, tasks, appeal ideas, and key symbols will be briefly explained in the introductory remarks to the several sections of this report. A detailed explanation of the research method and procedures is given in Annex I.

RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

In formulating the project, certain research assumptions were adopted. These are:

1. A state of war would exist in the Far East involving the United States.

2. The United States would not begin this presumed war. In all probability, therefore, the United States would be on the defensive in the beginning.

3. This conflict would not be an all-out nuclear war, but would be waged for limited objectives.

4. The war would be of some duration, long enough for the employment of various psychological operations campaigns suitable for different phases of the war.

5. The principal enemy on the Far East would be Communist China, with the Soviet Union initially maintaining official neutrality but lending moral and material support to Communist China.

RESEARCH DEFINITIONS

A few of the research definitions employed in Project PROSYMS differ slightly from the definitions given in the Department of the Army Field Manual, *FM 33–5*. These minor differences reflect the need for special definitions of the terms as used in this research. The definitions employed in this report are repeated in the text wherever such repetition is deemed necessary for clarity.

Psychological Operations—A broad term encompassing those political, military, economic, and ideological actions planned and conducted to create—in enemy, hostile, neutral, or friendly foreign groups—the emotions, attitudes, or behavior favorable to the accomplishment of United States policies and objectives.

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Psychological Operations Objective—A military, political, economic, or other objective, the attainment of which is to be achieved or facilitated by the employment of psychological operations. The military objectives are:

1. To reduce the combat efficiency of the enemy military forces.
2. To further the war effort by modifying or manipulating attitudes and behavior of special audiences.
3. To facilitate reorganization and control of occupied or liberated areas in conjunction with civil affairs and military government operations.
4. To obtain the cooperation of allies and neutrals in the war effort.

Psychological Operations Goal—A category of desired behavioral or mental effect which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations objective.

Psychological Operations Opportunity—The relative probability of accomplishing the goals of psychological operations in a given country, as determined by an examination of factors in the society which are more or less enduring over a period of time.

Psychological Operations Task—A specific mental or behavioral effect, which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal.

Psychological Operations Appeal Idea—A line of persuasion designed to accomplish a task of psychological operations.

1. A *persuasive appeal idea* is one which has been judged likely to lead the members of a special audience to think, feel, or act in ways which would facilitate the accomplishment of the psychological operations task.
2. A *boomerang appeal idea* is one which has been judged likely to evoke negative or adverse effects in the special audience to which it is primarily addressed, even under optimum conditions.

The following factors must be considered in evaluating the persuasiveness of appeal ideas for psychological operations:

Differential Effect—This refers to an appeal idea which evokes the desired response in the special audience to which it is addressed but produces negative or adverse effects in other groups in the population.

Situational Effect—This refers to any special condition, situation, or circumstance which may decrease the effectiveness of the appeal idea for the members of the special audience to which it is addressed, or may lead to adverse effects.

Key Symbol—The element, verbal or nonverbal, in an appeal idea which is especially significant in evoking the desired effect.

Problem Situation—The special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience.

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Special Audience—An aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations. (Throughout this report, the term "group" will be used in lieu of the longer term "special audience" when meaning is not affected.)

The following factors must be considered in evaluating the significance of special audiences (groups) for psychological operations:

1. *Effectiveness*—The degree to which a group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part. The different factors involved in effectiveness are discussed in Section III.

2. *Susceptibility*—The degree to which a group can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of psychological operations tasks.

Two aspects of susceptibility which must be considered are:

Sensitivity—This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the members of a special audience about their own economic, political, and social status in the society; and about their relationships with other groups.

Responsiveness to Source—This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the members of a special audience about the source of the psychological operations message. (For this project it is assumed that the message is identifiable as American in origin. Thus, it will be necessary to consider the group's feelings about United States aims and policies relevant to the country, and feelings about Americans as such.)

3. *Potential*—The degree to which a group can assist in the accomplishment of a goal of psychological operations. This is a function of the effectiveness and susceptibility of the group.

A CAUTION

The appeal ideas presented in this report are intended to be used by the operator in the field in the light of the tactical or strategic situation, as revealed by intelligence reports and other sources of information. In writing messages, the appeal ideas must be adapted to known factors in the developing situation. They are presented only as the basic, raw materials of messages; they are not intended to be, and should not be taken to be, finished messages. And while every effort has been made to present only persuasive appeals, it should be emphasized that the appeal ideas, though evaluated for persuasiveness by area experts, have not been field tested. The operator is responsible for judging the appropriateness and probable persuasiveness of an appeal from his own knowledge of the situation in

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which he is operating. Finally, it is hoped that the appeal ideas in the report will have germinal value in sparking the operator to develop his own appeal ideas for operational use.

As indicated earlier, key symbols have been identified within appeal ideas to give the operator a more complete understanding of the appeal ideas presented, and to guide him in adapting them for use in specific operating situations. However, the operator should be cautioned against devising his own appeal ideas around the key symbols identified in this report, because the meaning of a key symbol is influenced by the specific context provided by the appeal idea. A given key symbol may assume widely different meanings in different appeal contexts.

GUIDE TO THE USE OF REPORT

The report is divided into eight sections and four annexes, briefly described here.

Section I, *The Plan of the Report,* sets forth the objectives of the report, research approach, assumptions, and definitions, and offers a word of caution about the use of the report.

Section II, *Special Audiences,* identifies the groups in Mainland China, significant for purposes of psychological operations; it objectively defines and describes each group, and explains how the relative importance of each for the conduct of psychological operations was estimated, to arrive at a selected list for intensive study.

Section III, *Opportunities for Psychological Operations,* gives the planner and operator a general view of the possibilities in China for the successful conduct of psychological operations, should U. S. forces become engaged in Mainland China under the assumptions set forth.

Section IV, *Analyses of Selected Special Audiences,* discusses each of the selected major audiences in terms of those group characteristics bearing on the conduct of psychological operations.

Section V, *The Style and Format of Communications,* provides the planner and operator with information on how to achieve maximum effectiveness in messages to the country as a whole and to particular groups. It summarizes style and format principles which should be observed.

Section VI, *Tasks of Psychological Operations,* presents the structural framework within which the study was conducted. The tasks used in this study were selected from a General List of Psychological Operations Tasks because of their special relevance and importance in the conduct of psychological operations on Mainland China.

Section VII, *Appeal Ideas of Judged Persuasiveness* (with Accompanying Symbols), presents evaluated appeal ideas judged to have an acceptable degree of persuasiveness. Accompanying key symbols and other pertinent comments upon each appeal idea are also included.

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Section VIII, *Injunctions*, sets forth do's and don'ts which should be heeded in selecting appeals and in writing messages.

The following annexes follow the main body of the report:

Annex 1. The Research Plan, Procedures and Technical Summary.

Annex 2. Index of Communications Factors in *Special Warfare Area Handbook for China.*

Annex 3. Index to Appeal Ideas by Special Audience.

Annex 4. Index to Special Audience Information in Report.

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SECTION II

SPECIAL AUDIENCES

In planning PROSYMS research, it was necessary to make a decision regarding the audience or audiences that are important targets for psychological operations. Because many communications must necessarily be beamed at the total population, China as a whole was selected as one audience. But the population as a whole is not the most rewarding of audiences for the psychological operator because it is relatively powerless to effect the actions and policies of the government in power. Therefore, it was necessary to identify special audiences within the total population that can play a decisive role in carrying out actions desired to support U. S. military operations. In other words, it was necessary to identify those special audiences in the population of Mainland China which have the greatest potential for assisting in the accomplishment of the goals and tasks of U. S. psychological operations.

In the appeal development phase of the study, these special audiences will be the focus of the work. The special cultural ways of each group will be considered in developing appeal ideas that will be effective in eliciting the attitudes and actions required to achieve particular tasks of psychological operations.

For the purposes of this *research*, a special audience is defined as an aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of tasks of psychological operations. By this definition, special audiences are not mutually exclusive in their membership, that is, a person may be a member of more than one special audience.

SPECIAL AUDIENCES SELECTED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY

The PROSYMS staff, after a careful review of the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for China* and other comparable sources, selected thirty-four Chinese special audiences which appeared, on the basis of two general criteria, to be of significance in psychological operations. The first of these criteria was the potential effectiveness of the audience, or the degree to which it can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part. The second criterion was potential susceptibility, or the degree to which a special audience

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can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of psychological operations tasks.

The tentative list prepared by the PROSYMS staff was submitted to a number of area specialists who were invited to amend it as they saw fit. A selected group of consultants then ranked the special audiences in the amended list first for effectiveness and then for susceptibility (as defined above). The final rankings, when averaged together, guided the PROSYMS staff in selecting the nineteen major special audiences in Mainland China of special importance for the conduct of psychological operations.

These selected special audiences are as follows:

1. China as a Whole
2. Cantonese
3. Disaffected and Disgraced Communists
4. Forced Labor
5. Former Kuomintang Members
6. Former Landed Property Owners and Land Investors
7. Journalists and Mass Media Personnel
8. Managerial Elite
9. Merchants and Industrialists
10. Peasants
11. Professionals
12. Relatives of the Executed
13. Religious Sectarians
14. Secret Society Members
15. Students
16. Officers
17. Noncommissioned Officers
18. Enlisted Men
19. Militia.

For detailed analyses of these selected audiences, see Section IV, *ANALYSES OF SELECTED SPECIAL AUDIENCES.*

OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES

A panel of four area specialists, working closely with the PROSYMS staff, was then asked to prepare concise objective descriptions of all special audiences in the original list. In the descriptions which follow, those audiences selected for more intensive study are marked with an asterisk. The psychological operator interested in additional information on special audiences will find cross references throughout this section to pertinent material in the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for China* (hereinafter cited as *China Handbook*).

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* Cantonese

Cantonese include all persons who use the Cantonese dialect for primary-group communication. The characteristic Cantonese dialect is readily distinguishable, even by those who do not understand it; a Cantonese who speaks other Chinese dialects fluently can often be identified by his accent.

Most Cantonese live in South China, particularly in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. They are found, however, in all the larger cities, although they become progressively fewer in the north and northwest. Numbering about 35 million, they are mainly skilled tradesmen or merchants.

In general, they are small in stature, small boned, and quick of movement. Usually they can be distinguished easily from northern Chinese by their light bone structure. Many tend to be excitable; and as a group they are considered to be easily swayed by mass hysteria. This is popularly attributed to the warm climate in which they live.

In the cities the Cantonese men generally wear the Communist uniform, but the Cantonese women have been slower to adopt this form of dress than those in central and north China.

Because many Cantonese have traveled widely and almost all have relatives or friends in foreign countries, they are more familiar than other Chinese with conditions outside China. They have many contacts in the United States, the Philippines, and Southeast Asia.

They are very likely to be organized into groups such as guilds, family associations, and tongs.

China Handbook Reference: General, 201, 209.

Clan Members

Clan members are those persons who, by virtue of family name alone, recognize an obligation to support the organizational interests and discipline of a clan.

The function of the clan is to provide a united force in order to gain position and status for its members and protect the group from outside dangers. The clan is organized from many family subgroups which may operate as fairly autonomous social units, but which still owe absolute obedience and allegiance to the clan as a whole. Clans are usually identified by a family name. Organization into clans is much more usual in South China, where all residents of some villages have the same name, than elsewhere.

Perhaps 200 million Chinese are affiliated with a clan to some degree, although it is impossible to estimate what percentage have strong bonds of loyalty, obligation, and clan discipline.

In clan organization the most influential positions are usually held

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by elders. In general the clans resist outside control, and the interests of the group are paramount to those of the individual.

China Handbook Reference: General, 168–171, 233–239, 291–298, 770.

Communist Army Veterans

This group consists of those who have served in any regular or guerrilla Communist armed unit, either as soldiers or police, and who have been discharged and returned to civilian life. It is estimated that they number about 7 million. They are not restricted to any particular part of the country; however, the Communist regime has attempted to distribute them throughout rural and underdeveloped areas.

Their literacy level is higher than that of the population in general. The majority have received some education while serving in the army; a considerable percentage has received some technical training. They are found in positions of minor authority. The veteran's position in society may reflect the rank he held in the armed forces. In general, veterans readily accept authority, are approachable, and, because of wide travel in China, are sophisticated to some degree.

The true elite of the Communist Party—those former soldiers who made the Long March and contributed to the victory of the Party—are to be found in this group.

China Handbook Reference: General, 610–612, 796–798.

Communist Field Cadre

This group consists of Communist Party Cadre, who work full time at the field level rather than the policy and planning levels, with salaries paid by the Party; and who are responsible for carrying out Party policy in face-to-face contact with the ordinary citizen, urban or rural. In 1957 an estimated 502,000 members of the CCP worked full-time for the Party in positions which brought them into daily contact with the man in the street. This figure represents 75 percent of the estimated total of full-time Party workers in that year.[1]

The field cadre of the CCP are distributed throughout China. Most are young people between 18 and 30 years of age, and a considerable number are graduates or former students of middle schools and universities. The majority speak the national language, and the level of literacy is high. Almost all are members of the Party or the Communist Youth League. The number of Party members for 1957 was reported as 12,712,000.[1]

Party cadre are aggressive, highly indoctrinated, officious in dealing with the populace, but submissive to higher authority.

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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China Handbook Reference: General, 183–184, 764–765, 825, 839, 928–936, 954, 958, 1027, 1218, 1356; Attitudes, 309–313, 350, 841; Functional role, in labor, 654–655, 685, 687, 709, 718, 721–722, 724, 988–989, in propaganda, 363–367, 538, 607, 709, 722–723, 1125, 1133, 1135–1137, 1151, in other, 183–184, 261, 462–463, 685, 754, 763, 878–879, 1011; Government policy towards, 258–259, 448, 452, 454, 475–480, 1124, 1129–1130; Historical background, 544, 955, 961, 972–973, 997, 1002, 1015, 1141–1142, 1145, 1147, 1210, 1212, 1221.

* Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

Disaffected and disgraced Communists are members or former members of the Chinese Communist Party who have either disagreed with Party policy, or have been denounced as deviators (of the right or left) by the Party.

Disaffected Communists are widely distributed and difficult to identify. They are found at all levels of the Party—from rank and file members to those holding positions of great authority. Because of their Party membership they belong to the elite and probably live in more comfortable circumstances than do nonmembers. Since they endeavor to conceal their disaffection, members of this group are not easily distinguished from other Party members.

The disgraced Communists are fewer in number than the disaffected Party members. They are to be found in forced labor camps or in positions well below their capabilities. The disgraced Communist may come from virtually any level of the Party, but most probably come from the cadre rank rather than from the rank and file or the ruling elite. Many often appear more submissive to Communist control than the average Party member, and more willing to conform to prescribed standards of conduct, to escape further punishment or censure.

China Handbook Reference: General, 22, 662, 976.

* Forced Labor

This group includes those persons who are now, or since 1949 have been, forced to do physical labor without wages or with only nominal recompense, as a consequence of sentences passed by courts or police authorities under the various forced labor statutes enacted by the Communists. Excluded are those engaged in regular labor service.

Members of this group come from virtually all classes of society, though few are poor peasants. A large proportion come from urban areas and from the former petty bourgeoisie. Those who are presently doing forced labor are usually in identifiable groups under strict supervision. Their physical condition is likely to be poor. Restrictions on their personal liberty would make it difficult to establish contact

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with them. Those who have completed their sentences are hard to distinguish from the rest of the population; many have returned to positions of at least some responsibility, and bear no stigma of their punishment.

China Handbook Reference: General, 135, 658–689, 957, 1001, 1034–1040.

* Former Kuomintang Members

This group is made up of those members of the Kuomintang Party who remained on the Mainland when the Communists assumed control in 1949.

They are not confined to any particular geographical area, but are distributed throughout Red China. Most of them are comparatively well educated and formerly occupied posts of at least minor authority; however, under the Communist regime they seldom hold positions of authority. Few members of the group are peasants.

In many instances they are discriminated against by the population. Because of the risk involved in incurring the suspicion or displeasure of the authorities, they are likely to be subservient in conduct and difficult to approach.

China Handbook Reference: General, 662, 841, 958, 982–983, 985–986, 1004, 1007, 1269.

* Former Landed Property Owners and Land Investors[2]

This group includes: (1) those who, prior to 1949, owned large amounts of land and were absentee landlords; (2) those who, prior to 1949, owned sizable acreage in the area where they resided, and were identified as local gentry. The latter performed important tasks in the local governments, and from their ranks came many of China's intellectuals and important political figures, including most of the present Communist leaders. Many of the gentry are former Kuomintang members.

The group is distributed throughout China. To outward appearances at least, its members have little status or prestige in Communist society. Their educational level is higher than that of the peasant: they are usually literate. They are often experienced in trade connected with agriculture, of a scope beyond the village level. They are accustomed to dealing with minor officials of the merchant class.

China Handbook Reference: Economic role, 1304, 1308–1309, 1331; Historical background, 660, 662–664, 950–951, 954–955, 960, 993–994, 1004, 1141–1142, 1204–1205, 1210–1211, 1213, 1314, 1425; In the

[2] In Section VII this group is termed Landed Property Owners and Land Investors. It should be understood that the group referred to here and later is made up of persons who owned large amounts of land in pre-Communist China.

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minority groups, 157–158, 160, 162, 165, 171, 173, 185–186; Position in society, 248–249, 252, 262, 822, 872–873, 890, 1137.

Hakkas

This group, numbering about 7 million in China, includes all persons who use the Hakka dialect for primary group communication, and who also are classified by themselves and by others as Hakkas. In addition to their own dialect, almost all Hakkas speak Cantonese. Many are engaged in commercial enterprises, particularly outside their own communities.

Although ethnically they are Han Chinese, they have been regarded as a minority group by other Chinese. (The name "Hakka" means "guest people.") Because the members of the group are Han Chinese racially, they have not been considered a minority nationality by the Communists. There is a growing tendency for the group to be assimilated by the surrounding population.

Most live in Kwangtung province. In general, they are larger, less active, less excitable, and slower to respond to outside influences than the Cantonese. They are inclined to be friendly toward outsiders.

China Handbook Reference: General, 200, 209.

Inner Mongolian Mongols

This group consists of those persons ethnically identified as Mongols who live in Kansu or the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. They do not exceed 2 million in number and are not widely distributed.

Physically, they are large, heavily built, and have dark complexions. Most of them display the characteristics of people who have spent much of their lives in the saddle. They are often dirty and unkempt. There is a high rate of venereal disease among them and many suffer from eye diseases. The characteristic Mongol dress is a long, padded gown, girt with a heavy sash, and heavy boots with turned-up toes. They often wear small, round Chinese hats, or battered Western headgear. Many walk with a distinctive shambling gait.

In addition to their own language, almost all Mongols speak Chinese. However, the level of literacy among them is low. Almost all are strong adherents of the Lama religion.

Many Mongols are nomads, and do not associate to any considerable degree with the Chinese. Much of their grazing land has been encroached upon by the Chinese for agricultural purposes. Few Mongols are artisans or merchants. They are, then, essentially a semi-nomadic people, although some have settled in small agricultural communities. In urban areas they tend to be greatly outnumbered by the Chinese.

They are organized into leagues and banners to which they owe their

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primary loyalty; and they are frequently divided into groups which relate to their traditional place of habitation. These various subgroups often display individualistic characteristics and may be rivals (e.g., the Ordos Mongols, and the Mongol tribes of what was once western Manchuria).

China Handbook Reference: General, 124, 148–149, 153–156, 178–180, 206–207, 224, 592; Government policy towards, 185–186, 192–193; Political role, 174–175, 899.

* Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

This group consists of those persons who collect, compile, interpret, and disseminate news in either phonic or graphic form.

The group is widely dispersed, though most of its members do reside in urban areas. The level of education within it is high. Few members come from the laboring classes and many are accustomed to a comparatively easy life.

Those at the top level have had contact with Western countries or the USSR. Many journalists and mass media personnel are Communist Party members, or at least ardent exponents of the Party line.

It is estimated that of the 88,496 persons engaged in cultural work at the end of the third quarter of 1955, roughly half (45,000) worked for newspapers, periodicals, radio, or the moving-picture industry. In early 1958, 27,000 journalists were reported in Mainland China.[1]

China Handbook Reference: General, 392, 403–405, 566–569, 571, 574, 578, 591, 594.

* Managerial Elite

The managerial elite includes those persons who are responsible for technical and/or economic planning and administration. They are distributed throughout China, but generally are found in major national and regional centers of control. Most have been educated in modern Chinese and foreign institutions at home or abroad. Within the group are some who lack this education and training, but because of their Party affiliations are assigned to managerial or administrative posts.

The majority are Communist Party members, or affiliated with sanctioned bodies which closely follow the Party line.

The members of the group are better dressed and housed than the average person in China, and are men of substance. They have the appearance of belonging to the elite; that is, they are self-assured, sophisticated, and have an air of authority.

Of the estimated total of 24,510,000 workers and employees, 7,254,960 (29.6 percent) are believed to have held managerial or administrative positions at the end of 1957.[1]

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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China Handbook Reference: General, 253, 257–258, 317, 879, 1153–1182; Attitudes and values, general, 2, 142, 372, 841, 1209; Political, 840, 868–869, 935–936, 1053–1059, 1067–1068, 1077–1078, 1123, 1218, 1461; Historical background, 5, 866, 960, 1001–1003; Living conditions, 263, 335, 369, 775; Party leaders, 965, 972, 975–979; Role in propaganda, 1129, 1133, 1136, 1151; Status and relationships with other groups, 17–18, 247, 423–425, 653, 764, 828, 888, 933, 939–940, 952.

* Merchants and Industrialists

This group consists of those persons who now derive their income essentially from commerce, banking, and/or industrial enterprises, or have done so at any time since 1949. There are about 3,500,000 such persons in China.

Large Merchants and Industrialists

The large merchants and industrialists are found in provincial capitals and other large cities. In their major characteristics, they resemble the managerial elite. They include some of the former captains of industry and the owners of large commercial establishments. Formerly members of this group were wealthy and exerted a great deal of influence on the government. Many continue to live in comparative luxury, though most try to disguise themselves as members of the proletariat. Some formerly held well-paid positions with foreign firms.

Shopkeepers and Small Merchants

These are everywhere, even in the smallest villages. They sometimes lead roving lives but usually stay in one place. The majority have had little education, but can read and write well enough for their own requirements. Quite often they can speak several Chinese dialects. They are better dressed than the peasant, and in general are fairly well fed and clothed.

China Handbook Reference: General, 122, 136, 158, 160, 208, 507, 534, 585, 832, 1333–1334, 1369–1378; Attitudes, 325, 833–834, 1319; Economic role, 835, 1299, 1302–1307, 1343–1344; Government policy towards, 257, 366–367, 618, 620–622, 833–834, 1378–1379, 1383–1384, 1390, 1392–1396, 1406, 1409; Historical background, 7–9, 132, 244, 660–661, 950–951, 953, 957–960, 1009, 1139, 1141, 1148, 1314, 1396–1406, 1430–1431; Moneylenders, 1225, 1228, 1331–1332; Organizations, 943, 984–985, 992, 1391–1392; Political and social status, 257, 366–367, 727, 832–835, 875, 881–883, 890.

Moslems

The Moslem group includes those who, irrespective of their identification or cultural association, practice exclusively at least some tenets of

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the religion of Islam. In 1953 there were about 8 million Moslems in China.[1]

Most of the Moslems live in the northwest and southwest border regions—particularly Yunnan, north Hopei, and scattered areas of south Manchuria. Approximately half are Chinese and the other half belong to ethnic minorities such as the Kazakhs, Uighurs, and Turkis. The non-Chinese Moslems live in the Northwest. They are easily distinguished from other Chinese by their Caucasian physical characteristics.

Many Moslems live in communities inhabited predominantly or entirely by practitioners of Islam. The Chinese Moslems often wear something white, such as a turban, jacket, or shoes.

Many of the group are jade workers, carters, slaughterers of sheep and cattle, and wool weavers.

China Handbook Reference: General, 124, 158–159, 181, 348–349, 494, 524–528, 899; Government policy towards, 192, 542–545.

Nomads

The Nomad group includes those whose livelihood is derived from tending flocks and herds, and who periodically change their place of residence in order to pursue their economic interests. The group includes Mongols, Moslems in northwest China, Tibetans, and, in southern China, small tribal minorities such as the Miao, Minchia, and Lolos. They number about 7,500,000.

Many nomads are horsemen who live in the open and are unaccustomed to city ways. Some have long hair and by American standards are unkempt in appearance. They usually keep dogs as pets and as protectors.

They dislike being controlled and are not amenable to authority, particularly when exercised by persons outside the group. For example, they have resisted the regime's attempts to force them into a sedentary life of agriculture and to organize them into collectives.

China Handbook Reference: General, 837–838, 1227; In the minorities, 153–154, 159–161.

Non-Communist Political Party Members

This group consists of those persons who are members of legally recognized political parties or political action groups other than the Communist Party and its subsidiaries. These parties include the China Democratic League, the China Nationalist Revolutionary Committee, the China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the China Chih-kung Party, the Chiu-san Society, the China Association for

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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Promoting Democracy, and the Taiwan Democratic Autonomy League. The first two are major political units whose members now hold prestigeful, though sometimes only honorary, posts in the Peiping government. They were formed from dissident elements of the Kuomintang. The others are minor special-interest groups: e.g., the Chih-kung Party which has tried to enlist the support of overseas Chinese for Communist activities. All of these parties except the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party are composed predominantly of intellectuals.

All parties are controlled by the CCP, and conduct activities sponsored exclusively by that Party. These activities consist mainly of recruiting and organizing non-Communists who are willing to cooperate with the Communists or whom the Communists want kept under political control.

It should be noted, however, that during the so-called "antirightist" campaign of 1957–58 many individuals exhibited degrees of courage and intellectual independence which the regime considered cogent and serious enough to justify strong repressive measures. All the important individuals involved renounced their views under threat of physical punishment. It is likely, however, that their intellectual convictions (which had led them also, in the pre-Communist era, to oppose Kuomintang) remained unaltered.

China Handbook Reference: General, 892–893, 899, 943, 982–986; Historical background, 861–862, 864–867, 911.

Non-Party Laborers

Urban residents who derive most of their income from physical labor or artisan activity and who are not members of the Communist Party make up this group. There are about 15 million such persons in China.

They are distributed throughout the country; the typical laborer belongs to this group. An increasing number are employed in large enterprises where they are only small cogs in the wheel of industry and can no longer readily identify themselves with the finished product.

Their standard of living is low, though a little higher than that of the peasants. Few are highly skilled, although the Communists are working hard to increase the technical ability of China's labor force. Their literacy level is also low, but not as low as that of the peasants; many are able to read the simple newspapers published specifically for them by the Communists.

China Handbook Reference: General, 134, 139, 189, 221, 254–255, 624–651, 990; Artisans and Handicraftsmen, 8, 122, 250, 797, 829, 881; Attitudes, 369, 727–730, 788, 826–829; Government policy towards, 20, 264, 599, 661–662, 752, 796, 807–808, 882, 972; Historical background, 600–624, 691–699, 730–732, 951, 982; Living conditions, 319, 366–368, 386, 760, 764, 777, 788, 798–799, 1387; Position in society, 250–251,

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771, 875, 889, 1205; Trade unionists, 691, 699–727, 799, 943, 988–989, 1033; Training and indoctrination, 142, 448, 460, 475–480, 571–572, 1010, 1126–1127.

Non-Party Officials

Non-Party officials are civilian public administrators and personnel of the Communist political authority, including government-operated economic enterprises, who are not members of the CCP. These individuals are evenly distributed throughout the country and all echelons of official activity, but the positions they hold carry little authority.

It is estimated that in 1957 a total of about 392,000 cadre of all kinds in Mainland China were not Party members. This figure represents 60 percent of the estimated total for all cadre.[1]

In education, standard of living, literacy, and linguistic ability (many know some English), they are superior to the peasants and laborers. They can be distinguished visually from members of the latter groups, because many more of them wear glasses and wrist watches, and carry fountain pens.

Their inferior status, compared with that of Party officials, is often reflected in their manner and appearance. They must continually exert themselves to prove their loyalty to the regime, for their positions, insecure at best, are increasingly threatened as more and more trained Party members become available for official duties of all kinds.

China Handbook Reference: General, 253, 841, 983; Personal background of, 257, 423, 834, 1139.

Old People

For discussion purposes, old people are those persons of both sexes who, under traditional Chinese values, are entitled to full economic support by their offspring for reasons of age alone. It is estimated that in 1958 China had 61 million persons aged 60 or over.[1]

In general old people work at less arduous tasks than younger people, but they now work more than they did before the establishment of the Communist regime, in order to relieve younger persons for more important activities. The tasks they perform include tending children, housework, and unskilled industrial jobs.

China Handbook Reference: General, 11, 128–130, 263–264, 287, 317, 341, 618, 822, 876.

* Peasants

Peasants are those rural residents who derive their livelihood from working the soil. This group includes those who work on communes and those who work land of which they are the nominal owners. Peasants

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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constitute the great mass of the Chinese people; at present they are 400 million in number, and comprise about 80 percent of the total population.

Although traditionally ranked next to scholars in Chinese society, peasants never actually possessed the influence of the urban groups. Their importance to the country was recognized, however, and peasants who owned land had prestige. Their support, or lack of it, frequently determined the success or failure of a regime; support from peasants contributed heavily to the success of the Communists in their rise to power.

The level of education among peasants is low, but the Communist regime is expending considerable effort to reduce the illiteracy that existed among them under the former government. Their traditional characteristics are rough hands, weatherbeaten complexions, and rough clothes.

China Handbook Reference: General, 4, 20, 120–122a, 263–264, 776, 1195, 1268; Attitudes, values and behavioral characteristics, 5, 133–134, 139, 252, 256, 822–826, 1209, 1382; Economic role, 142–143, 605, 607, 612–613, 1227–1228, 1231, 1243–1245, 1308–1311, 1318–1319, 1349–1355, 1364, 1381; Education of, 221, 454, 460, 475–479; Government policy towards, 81, 650, 661, 752, 770–771, 774, 805–807, 882, 954–956, 1347–1348; Historical background, 138, 332–333, 351–359, 418, 951, 954–956, 960, 964, 974, 1141–1142, 1191, 1202–1207, 1210–1214, 1229–1230, 1238–1239, 1314, 1386; Indoctrination, 563, 584, 596, 607, 823, 1125–1126; In forced labor, 661, 663–664; In the minorities, 152–153, 157, 160, 162, 164–165, 167, 173, 185; Living conditions, 139–140, 334, 363–366, 592, 752, 770, 773, 779, 784–785; Migrations, 319–320, 612–614; Organizations, 259, 335, 656, 975, 982, 990, 1030, 1032–1033, 1214–1222; Religion and myth, 494–495, 498–510, 538; Social and political status, 7–9, 12, 75, 131–132, 250, 329, 369, 771, 822, 875, 889.

* Professionals

This group includes all university professors, schoolteachers, scientists, authors, artists, judges, medical specialists and doctors, and engineers, regardless of political affiliation. Thus the group is cultured and well educated. Its members usually live in major population centers, and in cities of political importance. In 1957 there were 3,992,000 professionals employed in China.[1]

By ordinary people they are regarded as an elite and treated with deference. This is because the professionals are the heirs of the elite of traditional Chinese society. In a country where literacy was and is of the highest importance and esteem, this group is the most literate.

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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Many Communist leaders are former aspirants to this group, though few achieved such status.

The standard of living of the group is high, but not luxurious. The members are usually well dressed and conform to the accepted Chinese standards of genteel conduct.

China Handbook Reference: General, 136, 212, 424–429, 534, 572–573, 584–585, 603–604, 777; Artists and writers, 382–383, 386, 400–409, 428, 489, 572, 992; Doctors and medical specialists, 184, 752, 754–758, 762–763, 765–766, 974; Education and indoctrination, 331, 448, 962–963, 1127, 1129, 1146–1147; Government policy towards, 18, 256–257, 421–423, 622–623, 929, 943, 1138–1139; Historical background, 132, 325, 618, 1141; Lawyers and judges, 899, 931, 1007, 1010–1014, 1016–1018, 1020–1023; Organizations, 984–985, 990; Political attitudes and reactions, 253, 595–596, 829–832; Scholars and historians, 76–77, 80, 184, 203, 226, 414–420, 494–495, 539; School teachers, 208, 216, 457, 462–464, 466, 473–475, 482–492, 550, 574, 622, 755–756, 766, 815, 984–985, 1293; Scientists and engineers, 134, 136, 623, 628–629, 634, 662, 974, 1282; University professors, 458, 468, 953, 961–962.

* Relatives of the Executed

The group is comprised of those whose families included one or more persons executed by the Communist regime. Reliable statistics on this group are difficult to find, but it probably includes between 10 and 20 million people.

In general they resemble the former Kuomintang members, disgraced Communists, and forced-labor groups. The majority are relatives of executed landlords and former Kuomintang officials.

* Religious Sectarians

Included in this category are those persons who practice at least some tenets of the Buddhist, Taoist, or Christian religions. About 7 percent of the Chinese are exclusive adherents of some particular religion. The mass of the people participate in some form of religious observance; however, this is often nonsectarian in nature, i.e., it is not based on the teachings of any particular religion. The Christians number about 4 million, of whom 90 percent are Catholics.

Aside from religious functionaries such as priests and nuns, members of the group are not distinguishable by appearance. They can often be identified, however, by observing them in such actions as visiting temples or churches. But Communist disapproval of religion tends to discourage religious practices, even among Catholics, who have been the most effective resisters of Communist policies.

It should be borne in mind that in China if a person is identified as a Christian, it means he is a Protestant. Catholics are called "Lord

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of Heaven Religion Adherents." The Chinese do not think of Protestants and Catholics as being of the same religion.

China Handbook Reference: General, 174, 494, 557–558, 633; Buddhists and Taoists, 510–541; Christians, 529–536, 542, 545–555.

River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen

Persons who derive their major income from activities in the coastal waters off China or the large rivers in China comprise this group. It is estimated that in 1956 there were 7,370,000 persons engaged in such activities.[1]

Most river boatmen and coastal fishermen live in the Yangtze valley or south of it. Those who live altogether on the water usually intermarry, and have little contact with land people.

As a group their level of education is low, and most are illiterate. They are uncouth, by American standards of conduct, and careless in their dress. They may be identified by their characteristically rough appearance, and by the place where they work.

China Handbook Reference: General, 837–838, 1227.

* Secret Society Members

Secret society members are persons who have taken a ritual oath of loyalty and organizational discipline to a specific type of mass organization categorized as "secret society" by Communist statutes and pre-Communist documentation. Their principal organizations are the Ching and Hung Pang (the Green and Red Societies).

Most members of secret societies live in central China, along the Yangtze River, or in south China. They are found at all levels of society, but rarely include intellectuals. Because of Communist eagerness to root them out by force, the members are becoming more and more difficult to identify.

China Handbook Reference: General, 663, 722; Historical background, 240–241, 299–300, 338, 946, 1004; Political significance, 21, 498, 538, 825–826.

* Students

Students include all those enrolled in primary schools, middle (high) schools, technical or professional schools, normal schools, and universities, regardless of political persuasion. It is estimated that in 1958 there were 117,590,000 primary school students, 20,290,000 high-school students, and 1,816,000 students in higher schools.[1] Excluded from this group are those in military and Communist Party schools.

Most students live in the cities. Their standing, as a group, is

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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probably much higher than that of their counterparts in almost any other country. As the future intelligentsia and elite of China, they are now, as in the past, a favored class. Notwithstanding their outburst of native idealism in the 1940's, which was exploited to good advantage by the Communists on seizing power, they are notably self-seeking.

They are likely to be better dressed than the average urban dweller. When seen on the streets they appear to be cocky, even arrogant. They walk in small, lively groups and earnestly engage in conversation.

China Handbook Reference: General, 478–479, 481–492, 754, 755; Economic role, 611, 622–623, 628–629; Foreign language knowledge, 208, 211–212; Government policy towards, 457–460, 662, 831–832, 929; In advanced schools and universities, 134–135, 250, 468–475; In middle and technical schools, 465–467, 630–631; In minority and sectarian schools, 146, 183–184, 480, 544, 547; In primary schools, 221, 454, 461–464; Living conditions, 483–485, 746, 766, 1387; Political attitudes and participation, 74, 253, 730, 831–832, 990; Studying abroad, 117, 122, 136, 615.

Tibetans

This group consists of those who are ethnically identified as Tibetans and who live in Tibet or in Tibetan communities in China proper. Most of those inside China live in the province of Chinghai. Those in Tibet are largely isolated from the outside world. The total group numbers about 3 million.

Many of them resemble Mongols in dress and appearance. They are usually tall, strong, with dark, weatherbeaten faces. Many of the men carry swords.

The majority are ardent practitioners of the Lama religion, and are acknowledged by the Mongol Lamaists as their religious superiors. Some Tibetans practice polyandry.

China Handbook Reference: General, 109, 124, 149, 151, 159–163, 210, 592; Government policy towards, 192, 592; Language, 190, 196–197, 205–206, 208; Political attitudes and significance, 174–175, 193, 899.

Turkis

Included in this group are those who speak a dialect of Turki and who reside predominantly in the province of Sinkiang. This includes such peoples as the Uighurs, the Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Uzbeks.

Turkis are not Han Chinese but are like the inhabitants of Russian Asia, a mixture of Mongoloid and Caucasoid stock in varying degrees. The Uighurs and Kazakhs—numbering about 4 million [1]—favor Mon-

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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goloid features; while the Tajiks and Uzbeks—numbering only about 23,000 within Chinese territory—are dark Caucasians.

Most of them live in so-called autonomous areas, established and controlled by the Han Chinese from Peiping. They can be identified by characteristic fez-like headgear, especially the Tajiks and Uzbeks.

Women

This group is comprised of all females in China who are identified as adults, with distinctive adult-role behavior.

Chinese women are enthusiastic and highly vocal when espousing a cause. They do not make their opinions known in public; however, in their homes they express themselves freely and without restraint. Although in the past Chinese women were retiring in public and obedient to the males, they were able to attain considerable status within the home and frequently were the "power behind the throne." Status usually was not attained until the birth of a son, but a favorite wife or concubine could acquire great power through the use of her feminine charms. After the death of her husband the dowager mother wielded great influence in the family.

Both before and after they seized power the Communists actively supported women's groups, and the regime has taken steps to "liberate" women from many traditional restrictions. It has enacted laws freeing women from arranged marriages and facilitating divorce. A few women, at least, are now to be found in all occupations, including the armed forces.

Conservative Chinese men have been opposed to the emancipation of women. Moreover, their newly won freedom is not appreciated by all women, some of whom are very conservative, because of the concomitant loss of their former privileges. Their new "freedom" has also subjected them to controls by the state, which has proved a worse dictator than a husband. Communist efforts to neutralize the influence of the home and family, and to take over the rearing of children, probably are opposed by most women.

Although many women are garbed in trousers, or attire similar to the men's, the Communists are again allowing them to wear gayer clothes to accentuate their femininity.

China Handbook Reference: General, 127–128, 152, 508, 585; Economic role, 255, 335, 318, 392, 461, 605, 626–627, 636, 684, 725–726, 749, 763, 789, 1371, 1373; Government policy towards, 315–316, 323, 339, 657, 758–759, 800–802; Historical background, 11, 79, 271–272, 280–283, 287–288, 302–304, 995; In forced labor, 678–679, 687, 1038; In the minorities, 158–159, 161, 165, 168, 173, 194; Organizations, 260, 703, 943, 975, 989, 991, 1213; Political and social attitudes and significance, 255, 305–313, 835–837, 874, 876, 1023.

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* Officers

Chinese officers are those persons holding a commission or warrant in the Chinese Communist armed forces. In 1956 an estimated 2,300,000 persons (including officers and enlisted personnel) were serving in the CCF.[1]

Included in the officer group are a large number of political commissars, whose rank and authority are equivalent to that of the unit commanders. Most of the top Communist leaders are, or were, officers in the armed forces. Formerly many Communist officers were illiterate and held rank because of certain leadership abilities and natural intelligence; at present, however, the Communists require a fair degree of education and literacy for all officers, especially political commissars.

Unit commanders in the Chinese Communist armed forces have less authority than officers in most other armies, particularly those of Asian countries. The CCF officer has been taught to treat his men politely and with consideration. Many officers, including those of the highest rank, are compelled to spend one month of each year as privates. Officers are subject to criticism by their subordinates, and are denied many of the privileges usually associated with officer status. For example, they rarely have their families with them.

At present army officers wear rank insignia and many carry pistols of the Luger type. They are fairly well educated and are highly indoctrinated.

* Noncommissioned Officers

This group consists of those members of the Chinese Communist armed forces holding any grade from Corporal to Master Sergeant, or the equivalents. Noncommissioned officers may be released from active duty after their three-year tour of duty; and they may reenlist only if invited to do so. As many find a military career to their liking, they work hard in order to be permitted to reenlist. If they are very diligent and capable, members of this group can rise to officer status.

Chinese noncommissioned officers have lost much of the strict authority possessed by their counterparts in other military forces. They are subject to criticism from the other enlisted men and cannot be dictatorial in their treatment of others.

Although equally indoctrinated, they are less educated than officers. In appearance they are almost indistinguishable from officers, except for rank insignia.

* Other Enlisted Personnel

The group includes those enlisted men *not* holding any grade from Corporal to Master Sergeant, or the equivalents, in the Communist Chinese Forces.

[1] Based on figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

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Virtually all are conscripts serving for a definite period; none except the most capable are permitted to reenlist. They are better educated, more politically conscious, and better paid, clad, and trained than the enlisted men of the former Kuomintang army or the present Communist militia.

Traditionally this group has been the lowest in the Chinese social scale; however, while residues of this sentiment still exist, the Communists have succeeded to a great degree in raising the group's prestige and social status.

Enlisted personnel no longer are subject to mistreatment by their superiors and, in fact, may subject their officers to criticism. They live a life of enforced celibacy inasmuch as they are not permitted to marry and are not permitted to be free with local girls.

* Militia

The militia consists of those persons who are not serving as members of the Communist armed forces but are organized for part-time military or paramilitary training or duties, especially, but not exclusively, in the rural areas. They are found everywhere, but mostly in rural areas.

About 30 million among them have some amount of military training; around 7 million have actually fired rifles. Their educational level and degree of literacy, in most cases, are the same as that of the peasants.

Although they do not wear uniforms their dress usually includes some distinctive item such as a turban or an arm band.

China Handbook Reference: General, 1030–1032.

SECTION III

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

This section is concerned with estimating the opportunities existing in the country for the successful conduct of psychological operations.

A panel of four area specialists, working closely with the PROSYMS staff, prepared the estimates which follow in this section. They are based on an examination of the characteristics of the special audiences that are more or less enduring over a period of time, in relation to ten specific psychological operations goals.

A psychological operations goal may be defined as a category of desired behavioral or mental effect which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations objective.

The ten specific goals selected for study are:

Good Will Toward the U.S.
Encouragement
Compliance and Cooperation With the U.S.
Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
Hostility to and Noncooperation With Enemy
Discord
Privatization
Panic
Subversion and Resistance
Surrender, Defection, Desertion.

The first three can be considered cohesive in purpose; that is, the successful achievement of any one of these three goals would strengthen or more closely unite the total society or the particular group. Seven are divisive in purpose; that is, the successful achievement of any one of these seven goals would either separate the individual from his group, separate the group from other groups, separate the group from the total society, or produce a complete disorganization of the group or the total society.

The definition of each goal, given in terms of the types of tasks which, if accomplished, would contribute to attaining the goal, is provided at the beginning of each estimate.

The estimates have purposely not been tied to the exigencies of an immediate situation. The analysis assumed only that United States military forces have become involved in operations directed at or in Mainland China and that psychological operations in support of military objectives are being carried out.

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In arriving at its estimates, the panel first assessed the effectiveness of each special audience within the society in relation to the aims of psychological operations. *Effectiveness* is assumed to be a constant factor in assessing opportunity. By this is meant that a group deemed effective for accomplishing the goal of Good Will will be just as effective for the goal of Subversion and Resistance (though its susceptibility might vary considerably). The panel considered the following factors, among others, in judging the effectiveness of the audience: size of the audience relative to the total society; cohesiveness of the audience—sense of audience identification, shared norms, etc.; degree of organization of the audience; leadership of the audience; function of the audience in society during military disruption or war; prestige of the audience; and persuasive or coercive power of the audience, that is, capacity of the audience to impose its will upon other audiences.

The panel next estimated the susceptibility of each special audience in relation to each goal of psychological operations. Judgments were made of the *relative* position of each group considered separately under each goal. That is, a particular group might be rated as "high" under a particular goal because it is *relatively* the highest in susceptibility among the special audiences identified. This does not necessarily mean that the same group would be judged as "high" if considered in isolation on an absolute basis.

In making its estimates, the panel paid special attention to two aspects of susceptibility. The first is sensitivity. This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the special audience about its own economic, political, and social status in the society and about its relations with other audiences. The second is the audience's responsiveness to messages of psychological operations. Assuming that the message is identifiable as American, the group's responsiveness involves the nature and strength of its feelings about the aims and policies of the United States, and about Americans in general (see Research Definitions, Section I, *PLAN OF THE REPORT*).

The judged effectiveness and susceptibility, when combined, give the judged potential—the degree to which an audience can assist in accomplishing a goal of psychological operations. This measure furnishes a useful basis for estimating the opportunity for accomplishing a particular goal of psychological operations with a particular group. The panel gave separate consideration to the opportunities for accomplishing the goals of psychological operations in the country as a whole. These were determined by comparing the potential existing in the country as a whole for each of the ten goals. On this basis, the judged potential in Mainland China as a whole for the ten goals is as follows:

1. Goal of highest potential opportunity.
   Privatization

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2. Goals of *medium* potential opportunity.
   Good Will
   Encouragement
   Compliance and Cooperation
   Discouragement
   Hostility and Noncooperation
   Discord
   Subversion and Resistance
   Surrender and Desertion
3. Goal of low potential opportunity.
   Panic

In the analyses of opportunities by goals which follow, the planner of psychological campaigns and the operator in the field are given an overall view of what opportunities exist for accomplishing each goal in the country, given the nature of the society and of the audiences which make it up. A table with the relative opportunity ratings by special audiences is provided for each psychological operations goal, while more detailed information is provided in the text.

ESTIMATES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS OPPORTUNITIES TO GOALS

Good Will

The aim of this goal is to promote feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States as a people and country; and to convince the people of the country that the intentions and goals of United States policy are politically and economically desirable.

Traditionally, the Chinese have been well disposed toward the United States, but the Communist indoctrination of the past ten years has resulted in a heavy drain on this reservoir of good will. The immediate reaction to our policy in China following a military victory will be determined not only by the methods used to implement this policy, but by the degree its ultimate objectives are understood by the Chinese people.

The Cantonese and Hakkas are likely to be well disposed toward the United States because of their numerous contacts with the West, and with a great number of people from their groups now living in this country. In the past, these groups have derived a vast amount of material benefit from contacts with the United States, and to a lesser extent from contacts with other non-Communist countries. The Tibetans, by contrast, have had little contact with the United States, but they will be well disposed toward us because we are anti-Communist, and, therefore, sympathetic with their struggle for independence.

Former Kuomintang officials tend to be favorably disposed toward

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us not only because we are fighting a regime under which they have suffered much, but also because of the friendly relations which existed for many years between our country and the government which they formerly served.

In addition to KMT officials, the managerial elite, the upper levels of merchants and industrialists, and the professionals tend to feel kindly toward us not only because of the contacts that many members of the group formerly had with the West, but also because of material advantages they presumably hope to gain by an American victory. They also understand more clearly than many other groups, American ideals of independence and democracy as contrasted with Communist totalitarianism.

The former landed property owners, the forced laborers, and the relatives of the executed, though they may have little understanding of American policy and political ideals, would be favorably disposed toward us because they believe an American victory would bring them both material economic advantages and a relaxation of present restrictions on their personal liberties. Obviously, members of the armed forces, the cadres, and other highly indoctrinated groups cannot be expected to be favorably disposed toward the United States.

Other groups—because of their small numbers, like the Turkis, or because of their geographical isolation, like the Miao—are not strongly susceptible to good-will appeals. Such groups are likely to have little knowledge of the United States and little contact with our country.

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Table 1. Mainland China Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Good Will Toward the U. S.

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	H
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	M
Managerial Elite	H	H
Merchants and Industrialists	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	H
Secret Society Members	H	M
Students	H	M
Tibetans	M	H
Women	H	M
Medium:		
Communist Army Veterans	H	L
Communist Field Cadre	H	L
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Hakkas	L	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	M
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Moslems	M	M
Non-Party Officials	M	M
Old People	M	M
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
Officers	H	L
Relatively Low:		
Clan Members	M	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	M
Militia	M	L
Nomads	L	L
Non-Communist Political Party Members	L	M
Non-Party Laborers	M	L
Religious Sectarians	L	M
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	L
Turkis	L	M
Noncommissioned Officers	M	L
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	L

H = Relatively High. M = Medium. L = Relatively Low.

Encouragement

The aim of this goal is to promote an expectation of success for the policies of the United States and its allies; sustain the morale of elements in the country friendly to such policies; and to identify the popular or national aspirations of the people with the aims of United States policy.

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Susceptibility to encouragement varies among groups throughout China. Groups that are friendly toward the United States, and at the same time are aware of American strength, will be more inclined to expect the success of the policies of the United States and its allies. Similarly, groups that have either suffered deprivation in their economic or social position, or definitely expect to benefit through our victory, provide more favorable opportunities. Other groups that have not fared too badly under the Communist regime, or are by nature inclined to passivity or apathy, present a less favorable opportunity.

Certain groups—such as former KMT officials, merchants and industrialists, and former land owners—are considered particularly susceptible to encouragement because of the expectation, in the event of a United States victory, of enjoying definite economic advantages or a restoration of their former statuses. Other groups, like the Tibetans and Inner Mongolians, believe that an American victory will help them realize hopes of attaining independence or a real autonomous status.

The same reasons which influence the Cantonese and the Hakkas to susceptibility under the goal of good will make them susceptible also to encouragement. These groups are materialistic in outlook, and have suffered heavy economic losses and lowering of social status under the Communist regime. In addition, they have a comparatively clear understanding of our military strength and capabilities, as well as a high degree of resistance to Communist propaganda—all factors which operate to our advantage in attempts to encourage them.

The professionals belonging to the general class commonly referred to as intelligentsia, or intellectuals, also resent the hardships and restrictions imposed by Communist rule. As a comparatively better informed and more highly cultured group, they are less affected by Communist propaganda, more able to detect the fallacies and inconsistencies of Communist doctrine, and more likely to rebel against the miseries which Communist rule has brought on China. Consequently, they have more to hope for from American success in overthrowing the Communist regime.

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Table 2. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Encouragement

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	H
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	M
Managerial Elite	H	M
Merchants and Industrialists	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	H
Secret Society Members	H	M
Students	H	M
Tibetans	M	H
Women	H	M
Medium:		
Communist Army Veterans	H	L
Communist Field Cadre	H	L
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Hakkas	L	H
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Militia	M	M
Moslems	M	M
Non-Party Laborers	M	M
Non-Party Officials	M	M
Old People	M	M
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	M
Officers	H	L
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Clan Members	M	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	M
Nomads	L	M
Non-Communist Political Party Members	L	M
Turkis	L	L
Noncommissioned Officers	M	L
Religious Sectarians	L	M

H=Relatively High, M=Medium, L=Relatively Low.

Compliance and Cooperation

The purpose of this goal is to secure the acceptance of individuals and groups in the country with the orders or instructions of friendly national or local authorities, and United States military forces when they are present in the country; and to encourage and stimulate participation by individuals and groups in programs of national authorities

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cooperating in the achievement of United States policies and aims, and in programs of United States military forces when they are present in the country.

Because of the traditional desire of the Chinese people, in general, to avoid trouble of all kinds, and their habit of minding their own business, they are accustomed to accept the orders of constituted authority, as long as these orders do not seriously interfere with the normal course of their daily lives. This is true for such diverse groups as old people, women, and enlisted men.

Groups having decided good will toward the United States, and expecting to be benefited by a United States victory, would be even more likely to comply with orders of our representatives and to cooperate with our forces in their country. Such groups are: disaffected and disgraced Communists, forced laborers, former Kuomintang members, former landed property owners and land investors, managerial elite, merchants and industrialists, non-Communist political party members, non-Party officials, professionals, and relatives of the executed.

Relative submissiveness to national authority does not apply to isolated and individualistic groups, such as Mongols, Tibetans, nomads, and Turkis. Moreover, the Cantonese, Hakkas, students, and Mongols may not be inclined to compliance because they are traditionally independent. Students in China, in addition, have in the past often been opposed to almost any government under which they happened to be living, an attitude that may be expected to become less marked the longer they are subject to Communist rule.

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Table 3. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Compliance

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	M
Communist Army Veterans	H	M
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	H
Managerial Elite	H	H
Merchants and Industrialists	M	H
Non-Party Officials	M	H
Old People	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	H
Secret Society Members	H	M
Students	H	M
Women	H	H
Officers	H	M
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	H
Medium:		
Clan Members	M	M
Communist Field Cadre	H	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	H
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	M
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Militia	M	M
Moslems	M	M
Non-Communist Political Party Members	L	H
Non-Party Laborers	M	M
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	M
Tibetans	M	M
Noncommissioned Officers	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Hakkas	L	M
Nomads	L	M
Religious Sectarians	L	M
Turkis	L	M

H = Relatively High, M = Medium, L = Relatively Low.

Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

The aim of this goal is to depress the morale of the inhabitants of the country in order to reduce the degree of effectiveness of support of popular or national aims inimical to United States interest.

The more a group expects the success of the United States, the more it is prone to be discouraged, and to have an attitude of defeatism con-

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cerning the prospects of the Communist regime's ability to remain in power. Such groups are: former Kuomintang members, Cantonese, Hakkas, journalists and mass media personnel.

Conversely, however, tendencies to discouragement, defeatism, and particularly to apathy do not necessarily imply an equal tendency to encouragement as far as the success of United States policy is concerned. That is, aside from the prospective success or failure of United States military operations and policy in China, certain groups are so unfavorably disposed toward the Communists that they offer favorable opportunities for increasing their disbelief in, and decreasing their support for, the government. They think the Communists are generally bad, or they do not think extreme Communist policies will work, or they resent harm done to, and restrictions placed on, the group. These feelings and beliefs promote further a defeatist attitude toward the regime. Such groups are: forced laborers, Inner Mongolians, former landed property owners and investors, merchants and industrialists, non-Communist political party members, relatives of the executed, and Tibetans.

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Table 4. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Discouragement

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	H
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	H
Managerial Elite	H	M
Merchants and Industrialists	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	H
Secret Society Members	H	M
Students	H	M
Tibetans	M	H
Women	H	M
Medium:		
Communist Army Veterans	H	L
Communist Field Cadre	H	L
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Hakkas	L	H
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Militia	M	M
Moslems	M	M
Non-Party Laborers	M	M
Non-Party Officials	M	M
Old People	M	M
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	M
Officers	H	L
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Clan Members	M	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	M
Nomads	L	M
Non-Communists Political Party Members	L	M
Religious Sectarians	L	M
Turkis	L	L
Noncommissioned Officers	M	L

H=Relatively High, M=Medium, L=Relatively Low.

Hostility and Noncooperation

The aim of this goal is to promote disbelief in the policy aims and ideologies of the local or national (or international) authorities hostile to the United States and its aims; uphold the traditional (and other existing) values which are in opposition to the policy, aims and ideologies of the authorities hostile to the United States and its policy;

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and to persuade the people of the country to refuse economic or political collaboration with any authority hostile to the United States.

The Chinese are generally submissive to authority when it does not interfere too much with the daily course of their lives. Hostility is produced principally by deprivation, restrictions of all sorts, or punishment for not complying with orders and regulations.

The more hostile a group becomes toward the Communists, the more susceptible it becomes to appeals to withhold cooperation from the Communists. It is to be presumed that those Chinese who are already disposed to cooperate with United States forces are, by that very fact, disposed to noncooperation with the Communists. Among these groups are: disaffected and disgraced Communists, forced laborers, former Kuomintang members, former landed property owners and investors, non-Communist political party members, and relatives of the executed.

A tendency to hostility and noncooperation with Communist control does not necessarily imply an equal tendency to cooperate with United States policy. This is true for such groups as: clan members, Communist army veterans, journalists, managerial elite, merchants and industrialists, old people, nomads, students, women, enlisted men, Cantonese, Hakkas, Tibetans, and Mongols.

In general, the more thoroughly a group has been indoctrinated with Communist propaganda, and the more it stands to lose by United States victory, the less it can be influenced toward hostility and noncooperation with the Communists. Such groups are: Communist field cadres, and certain elements in the militia, officers, and noncommissioned officers.

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Table 5. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Hostility and Noncooperation

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	H
Communist Army Veterans	H	M
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	M
Managerial Elite	H	M
Old People	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	M
Secret Society Members	H	M
Students	H	M
Women	H	H
Officers	H	M
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	H
Medium:		
Clan Members	M	M
Communist Field Cadre	H	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	H
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	M
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Merchants and Industrialists	M	M
Militia	M	M
Moslems	M	M
Non-Communist Political Party Leaders	L	H
Non-Party Laborers	M	M
Non-Party Officials	M	M
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	M
Tibetans	M	M
Noncommissioned Officers	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Hakkas	L	M
Nomads	L	M
Religious Sectarians	L	M
Turkis	L	M

H=Relatively High, M=Medium, L=Relatively Low.

Discord

The aim of this goal is to promote dissension within specific groups in the country and conflict between the groups; and to encourage disaffection on the part of elements in the population with groups and individuals in the country hostile to the United States, its interests, aims, and policies.

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In general, the larger a group, the more complex its make-up, and the more diversified its selfish interests, the more chance there is of influencing it to internal discord and to dissension with other groups. For example, it would be easy to stir up hostility between river boatmen and fishermen with other groups—peasants, former landed property owners and land investors—who earn their living on the land, over a simple issue like encroachment on fishing areas. The same people, however, would be largely indifferent to matters which did not affect their basic living problems.

Among professionals, journalists, managerial elite, merchants and industrialists, non-Communist political parties, and non-Party officials, however, it would be easy to stir up discord, not only with other groups, but within the groups themselves on any one of a diversity of subjects and issues.

Some groups such as Cantonese, Hakkas, and students are particularly disposed to friction with almost any other outside group.

In our efforts to promote dissension, we must remember to direct it for our benefit. For the mere creation of discord, either within or without a group, does not imply that dissatisfaction is necessarily created with groups and individuals hostile to the United States—its interests, aims, and policies.

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Table 9. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Discord

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	H
Communist Field Cadre	H	M
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	H
Managerial Elite	H	H
Merchants and Industrialists	M	H
Non-Party Officials	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	H
Secret Society Members	H	M
Students	H	H
Women	H	H
Officers	H	M
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	H
Medium:		
Communist Army Veterans	H	L
Hakkas	L	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	M
Moslems	M	M
Non-Communist Political Party Members	L	H
Non-Party Laborers	M	M
Old People	M	M
Noncommissioned Officers	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Clan Members	M	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	M
Forced Labor	L	L
Former Kuomintang Members	L	M
Former Landed Property Owners	L	M
Militia	M	L
Nomads	L	L
Relatives of the Executed	L	M
Religious Sectarians	L	M
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	L
Tibetans	M	L
Turkis	L	L

H = Relatively High, M = Medium, L = Relatively Low.

Privatization

The aim of this goal is to seek to intensify the preoccupation of the individual with his personal situation (as opposed to his social situation) in order to reduce the effectiveness of his support of group and national goals; and to seek to encourage the personal and local loyalties at the expense of loyalties to larger collectivities such as the

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political party, movement, or the nation when these are opposed to United States aims.

Traditionally, the Chinese people are much more concerned with their own welfare, or that of their particular group, than with the more abstract idea of national political welfare. This long-standing localism has continued to exist in spite of Communist efforts to enforce the tenet that the interests of the individual count for nothing in comparison with those of the State. In Chinese tradition, the welfare of others is usually considered of less importance than one's own position and welfare.

Consequently, most groups are either highly or moderately susceptible to privatization. Only a small number of groups, such as the professionals, students, journalists, and managerial elite—all of whom are of the intelligentsia—profess, and to some degree, practice the belief that national interests should be considered above their individual welfare.

In spite of reports from Communist-controlled sources such as the press, that the natural tendency of the Chinese to privatization has been largely suppressed, there is convincing evidence that it still exists as strongly as ever. Privatization may be expected to manifest itself in proportion to the lessening of Communist controls. For these controls, in fact, have made it dangerous for the individual even to openly discuss the subject of privatization.

Efforts to promote privatization may operate to the disadvantage of the United States, however, if we carry our promotion to the point where we fail to reinforce, for anti-Communist and United States purposes, the recent spirit of nationalism which has developed in the past thirty years and the pride with which Chinese have traditionally regarded their country and culture.

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Table 7. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Privatization

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	M
Clan Members	M	H
Communist Army Veterans	H	H
Communist Field Cadre	H	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	H
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	M
Managerial Elite	H	M
Merchants and Industrialists	M	H
Militia	M	H
Moslems	M	H
Non-Party Laborers	M	H
Old People	M	H
Peasants	H	H
Professionals	H	M
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	H
Secret Society Members	H	H
Tibetans	M	H
Women	H	H
Officers	H	M
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	H
Medium:		
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	H
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Nomads	L	H
Non-Party Officials	M	M
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
Religious Sectarians	L	H
Students	H	L
Turkis	L	H
Noncommissioned Officers	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Former Kuomintang Members	L	M
Hakkas	L	M
Non-Communist Political Party Members	L	M

H=Relatively High, M=Medium, L=Relatively Low.

Panic

The aim of this goal is to promote disorganized or confused behavior.

A common cause of panic among the Chinese is a fear of loss of livelihood, which is feared even more than sudden bodily injury or death. However, the Chinese as a whole are not prone to panic or other forms of confused behavior.

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Groups rated comparatively as more easily panicked—disaffected and disgraced Communists, former KMT members, former landed property owners and land investors, non-Communist political party members, non-Party laborers, and relatives of the executed—have in general acquired this tendency because of conditions imposed upon them by the Communists. Such groups, because they are in a precarious position, and live in a chronic condition of insecurity, offer a favorable field for promoting panic.

Other groups, such as the allegedly "hot-blooded" Cantonese and Hakkas, and the excitable students are by nature prone to panic.

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Table 8. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Panic

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	H
Communist Field Cadre	H	M
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	M
Non-Party Laborers	M	H
Students	H	H
Women	H	M
Medium:		
Communist Army Veterans	H	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Hakkas	L	H
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Managerial Elite	H	L
Merchants and Industrialists	M	M
Militia	M	M
Moslems	M	M
Non-Communist Political Party Members	L	H
Non-Party Officials	M	M
Peasants	H	L
Professionals	H	L
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
Secret Society Members	H	L
Officers	H	L
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Clan Members	M	L
Forced Labor	L	M
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	L
Nomands	L	L
Old People	M	L
Religious Sectarians	L	M
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	L
Tibetans	M	L
Turkis	L	L
Noncommissioned Officers	M	L

H = Relatively High, M = Medium, L = Relatively Low.

Subversion and Resistance

The aim of this goal is to encourage divisive and antisocial acts; and to promote and support resistance movements against authorities hostile to United States interests.

Opportunities to encourage subversion and resistance in China as a whole are limited by the lack of initiative on the part of certain groups,

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such as old people, women, and Mongols. Other groups are deterred by the knowledge that to engage in these activities entails risk of detection and consequent severe punishment. Also, to engage in subversion and resistance presupposes a willingness to sacrifice personal interest for the common good or for abstract ideals. Such idealism is not a general characteristic of the Chinese people.

However, there are groups which are comparatively easy to encourage to subversion and resistance. These include:

1. Those who wish to revenge themselves upon the government, such as ex-KMT officials, forced laborers, non-Party laborers, relatives of the executed, disaffected and disgraced Communists, and Tibetans.

2. Members of secret societies, because they are traditionally in opposition to strong authority. These societies not only harbor grievances against the government, but possess skill and experience in activities designed to redress these grievances.

3. Traditionally hostile and volatile groups of Cantonese, Hakkas, and Moslems.

4. Members of the intelligentsia—professionals, students, and journalists—who, because they are idealistic, are inclined to sacrifice themselves for an ideal. In many cases, moreover, they have opportunities for committing acts of subversion and resistance.

Table 9. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Subversion and Resistance

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	H
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	H
Managerial Elite	H	M
Moslems	M	H
Non-Party Laborers	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	H
Secret Society Members	H	H
Students	H	H
Tibetans	M	H
Medium:		
Clan Members	M	M
Communist Army Veterans	H	L
Communist Field Cadre	H	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	H
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Hakkas	L	H
Merchants and Industrialists	M	M
Militia	M	M
Non-Party Officials	M	M
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	M
Women	H	L
Officers	H	L
Relatively Low:		
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	L
Former Landed Property Owners	L	M
Nomads	L	M
Non-Communists Political Party Members	L	M
Old People	M	L
Religious Sectarians	L	M
Turkis	L	M
Noncommissioned Officers	M	L
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	L

H = Relatively High, M = Medium, L = Relatively Low.

Surrender, Defection and Desertion

The aim of this goal is, when United States military forces are present in the country, to encourage desertion, defection, and surrender by individuals and groups in military forces hostile to the United States; and to promote resistance of armed forces to national government (or other authority) hostile to the United States.

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All civilian groups of people in China, except women and old people, are susceptible to appeals to surrender, defect, and desert. Civilian groups having a stake in the survival of the existing regime are rated medium in susceptibility to these appeals. Therefore, Communist field cadre, managerial elite, and professionals are rated medium.

Other civilian groups having no stake in the survival of the existing regime and over half the groups are included here—e.g., clan members, disaffected and disgraced Communists, forced laborers, former landed property owners and investors, merchants and industrialists, and Moslems—are rated high in susceptibility to these appeals. Though they also have no stake in the regime, peasants, because they have problems of organization, and Turkis because of their traditions are rated medium rather than high in susceptibility.

The armed forces, and Communist army veterans are not generally susceptible to appeals to surrender, defect, or desert. They often lack the initiative to attempt such acts, and the ability to devise means of carrying them out. This is because present controls designed to prevent such conduct in the Chinese army are much more effective than formerly under the KMT, when it was comparatively easy to desert.

In general, the tendency to surrender, defect, and desert can be expected to vary in direct proportion to the success of the United States military effort in China, especially with groups like journalists and mass media personnel.

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Table 10. Mainland China—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Surrender and Desertion

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Cantonese	H	M
Clan Members	M	H
Communist Field Cadre	H	M
Journalists and Mass Media Personnel	H	H
Managerial Elite	H	M
Merchants and Industrialists	M	H
Militia	M	H
Moslems	M	H
Non-Party Laborers	M	H
Non-Party Officials	M	H
Peasants	H	M
Professionals	H	M
River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen	M	H
Secret Society Members	H	H
Students	H	M
Tibetans	M	H
Medium:		
Communist Army Veterans	H	L
Disaffected and Disgraced Communists	L	H
Forced Labor	L	H
Former Kuomintang Members	L	H
Hakkas	L	H
Inner Mongolian Mongols	M	M
Former Landed Property Owners	L	H
Nomads	L	H
Non-Communist Political Party Members	L	H
Relatives of the Executed	L	H
Women	H	L
Officers	H	L
Other Enlisted Personnel	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Old People	M	L
Religious Sectarians	L	M
Turkis	L	M
Noncommissioned Officers	M	L

H = Relatively High, M = Medium, L = Relatively Low.

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SECTION IV

ANALYSES OF SELECTED SPECIAL AUDIENCES

In this section, the selected special audiences are examined in terms of those group characteristics having a bearing on the conduct of psychological operations. Group characteristics which are not directly related to the conduct of psychological operations, however interesting they may be, are not included in the analysis.

Each analysis begins by describing the characteristics of the group which determine its effectiveness. This part of the analysis consists largely of the supporting reasons for the judgment previously made when estimating psychological opportunities (see Section III, *OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS*). The second part of the analysis, which discusses the susceptibility of the special audience, is guided by those psychological operations goals and tasks with which the operator may be concerned. Those vulnerabilities of the group which can be used as a means of accomplishing the goals and tasks of psychological operations are examined.

In Section VII, the appeal ideas of evaluated persuasiveness for accomplishing a selected set of tasks of psychological operations with each of the special audiences here analyzed, will be presented.

CHINA AS A WHOLE

While the Chinese, in general, present a favorable opportunity for psychological operations appeals, only in the category of privatization are they rated as highly susceptible. This conclusion is considered justifiable because the Chinese, in general, set private interests above national welfare. Their principal concern is with the struggle for existence and they have little time or strength for anything else. In an effort to change this preoccupation of ordinary people with their personal interests, the Communists have directed a vast amount of effort along many lines. The longer these efforts continue, the more effective they will be.

For a long time, the Chinese were more or less susceptible to appeals in favor of America. A new generation, which has little knowledge of the United States has arisen, among whom violent and incessant anti-American propaganda has done much to turn the Chinese people against us.

If there is one aspect of Communist policy with which the Chinese

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people are especially displeased and inclined particularly to resent, it is excessive and often unreasonable interference of the government in daily life. It seems unlikely the people can become inured to this interference in the foreseeable future. As long as resentment against it continues, there will continue to be, in this one field at least, favorable opportunities for the use of psychological operations methods.

CANTONESE

The Cantonese are rated high in effectiveness. Although their numerical strength is not great as compared with the total population of China, they are a cohesive group, particularly when opposed from the outside. There are many organizations of Cantonese, especially guilds and tongs. Many of these are in foreign countries or have foreign branches. The Cantonese do not have unified leadership but they have provided leaders, as in the Taiping and subsequent rebellions. Their capacity for leadership, in both economic and military fields, is at least better than average.

Traditionally the prestige of the Cantonese has not been high in comparison with that of groups which are considered more cultured, such as the Pekingese, or which are more feared, such as the Hunanese.

Comprising a large proportion of the nation's medium-sized and small shopkeepers, their function in society during military disruption or war is of great importance. They have the largest effective concentration of population in China. They are highly vocal, active, energetic, imaginative, possessed of initiative, resourceful, skilled as artisans, enterprising, and venturesome.

The Cantonese tend to be assertive, but lack persuasive ability in comparison with more cultured groups. They are able, however, to impose their will on others through perseverance, ability, and display of achievements.

They are susceptible to influence and they can be swayed by ideas. They have grievances against the government and their revolutionary record demonstrates their willingness to take risks in seeing these righted. They do not readily accept authority imposed from the outside.

Largely because of their occupation of a large territorial area, they have a high degree of group self-identification and sensitivity. They are proud of being Cantonese. They are friendly toward the United States largely because they have had many contacts with us and other nations of the West. They are not inclined to apathy, indifference, or neutralism. Their independence of thought and quickness of perception make them prone to discord among themselves, and with other groups.

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DISAFFECTED AND DISGRACED COMMUNISTS

Disgraced Communists are not rated effective, since they are not organized, and are not in a position to influence others. They are a small group, lacking cohesion and leadership.

In time of military disruption and war, disgraced Communists probably would be suspect and under close surveillance. Their prestige is low, and they have little or no ability to impose their will on others.

Disaffected Communists are not always known as such. Therefore, it is difficult to estimate their number and assess their effectiveness. In time of war, however, they may be in a position to exercise considerable influence within the Party, in spite of their personal feeling toward the organization. They still enjoy prestige as members of the Party.

A disgraced Communist should be highly susceptible to psychological operations appeals, as he has nothing to lose and everything to gain by United States victory. He is naturally resentful toward the regime which has disgraced him. Because he has been disgraced, he will be more or less under surveillance, and he will consequently be slow to take initiative in resisting the government, unless he is reasonably sure of our victory.

The disaffected Communist may not be quite as susceptible to our appeals, since he has not lost so much in the way of material wealth or status in society. He is not likely to be openly against the government. Opportunities for translating his susceptibility into action, however, may arise.

A Communist may have become disaffected for personal reasons but still retain his belief in the basic principles of communism. Even so, he is more susceptible to persuasion than a Party member who is entirely satisfied with his lot.

FORCED LABOR

It is difficult to estimate even the approximate number of forced laborers; they probably number in the millions. They are found in all levels of Chinese society. They are not cohesive, but, having shared a common experience, it may be possible to organize them. At present they have neither organization nor leadership, although potential leaders are certainly to be found among them.

In time of war their usefulness from our viewpoint would be lessened; they are somewhat suspect because of the actions which caused them to be sentenced to forced labor. Groups still performing forced labor at the time of occupation of an area by United States troops could be taken over en masse to perform useful functions under our control.

Having been a forced laborer does not carry the stigma attached to a criminal record.

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Their ability to persuade others is lessened because they are on "good behavior," and cannot afford to engage in actions which may get them into trouble.

Forced laborers, and those who have gone through the experience of being forced laborers, are susceptible to persuasion in our favor because in many instances they have suffered at the hands of the Communist government. They may seek revenge for real or fancied wrongs. Their future would brighten under a non-Communist regime, a fact which makes them more susceptible.

Many will tend to be friendly toward the United States because they were sentenced to forced labor for having ideals similar to ours. Many of those actually performing forced labor are working on projects of national importance, and in some instances are in a position to commit sabotage or other acts favorable to us. The group tends to be hostile to the Chinese Communist military organization, from which they are excluded. This also makes them susceptible to our attacks on the Communists. They have no respect for the Communist civil organization. Their susceptibility is adversely affected by knowledge of the consequences of the conduct which caused them to be sentenced to forced labor.

FORMER KUOMINTANG MEMBERS

The number of former Kuomintang (KMT) members in proportion to the whole population of China is small, although there may be almost as many as there are now members of the Chinese Communist Party. They have a sense of group identification. Although they are not organized, they have had experience in political organization and practices. Their main strength is in East Central China.

During war they perform no important function. Their prestige is low, although not as low as it was just after the Communists took over the mainland. Their persuasive ability is low, except in pointing out the negative aspects of the Communist regime.

They are susceptible to our appeals because so much has been taken away from them by the Communists, and because the prospect of our victory offers the hope of restoration to their former status. Many have a revolutionary tradition. There is, moreover, among them a long tradition of friendship between the KMT and the United States. The group has a high degree of political consciousness and an awareness of our ideals and objectives.

They can be encouraged to cooperate with the United States since they are well aware of the favorable results, for them, which such cooperation has gained in the past. They tend to believe in the ultimate success of our ideals, which are essentially the same as theirs.

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Similarly, they are easily discouraged about the prospects of Communist success.

Because of their insecure position they can easily be panicked.

While in general excluded from military service, they would probably welcome an opportunity to go over to our side by any means available.

FORMER LANDED PROPERTY OWNERS AND LAND INVESTORS

The effectiveness of the group is low. It is a large group, since it includes those who owned land when the Communists took over. Cohesiveness is low and there has never been any formal organization among the members. At the present time they are more or less united by a common bond of suffering. There is no leadership among them and their potential as leaders is not high. Their prestige at present is low, although there may still remain among Chinese in general some respect for the ability which enabled them to attain the status they formerly held.

Their persuasive ability, such as it was before the Communist regime, was localized.

During war time, the group would be suspected and probably watched, and their effectiveness would consequently be low.

As believers in the capitalistic system, the group would be in sympathy with us as a capitalistic nation. They believe a United States victory would bring them material benefit, including a restoration of their former status.

Since the principal reason for optimism on the part of the group would be in hopes of a U.S. victory, it would be susceptible to encouragement. Members of the group would be obedient to the orders of our representatives, and cooperate with our forces, because of a desire to revenge themselves upon the Communists and regain what has been taken from them. Since it is highly unlikely that the group approves in any way of Communist doctrine, it can be discouraged concerning the success of such policy. It may be expected to be hostile to the Communists and, insofar as is possible, uncooperative with them.

The group is basically self-centered and, accordingly, more concerned for its own interests than for the common good. Given the opportunity, it would go over to the United States side, if for no other reason than to escape possible punishment because of its high degree of vulnerability.

The group is not in a position to do much along the lines of subversion and resistance because of the precariousness of its position and its innate tendency to conservatism.

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Although this is a small group, they have a highly effective potential. Chinese newspapermen have traditionally been respected for integrity, and to a lesser degree for efficiency. Although they have a diversity of views on a variety of subjects, they are fairly cohesive, and will often pull together on specific issues. They are organized, although the organization is controlled by the Communists. They do not take kindly to domination, but they are capable of assuming leadership.

They have an important function in society, in both peace and war, as molders of public opinion and channels of propaganda. Their prestige is high. Their persuasive ability is high, and this ability, in spite of Communist restriction on freedom of expression, has been enhanced under the Communists. Because of their high level of education, ability, and the nature of their vocation, their effectiveness is high.

Communist control of, and restrictions on, the group have tended to lessen their effectiveness as individuals, although the effectiveness of the Communist propaganda, which they are largely responsible for disseminating, has greatly increased. They have become extremely adept in the handling of mass media, as a look at any Communist propaganda magazine will indicate.

They are fairly susceptible to Western ideas because of extensive contact with the West, and in many instances have had Western training. They tend to be cooperative with the United States because under our control they could expect a much higher degree of journalistic freedom than they now are permitted by the Communists. Under United States control they could hope to reestablish their former position as molders of independent thought. They would tend to be hostile and noncooperative to Communist policy in proportion to the degree with which they are able to understand the true nature of this policy, and the extent to which they are permitted to report facts as they see them.

Journalists are highly susceptible to discord, not only with other groups, but among themselves, partly because the element of competition is so strong in their profession. They agree, however, on their right to disagree.

They are generally idealistic and often willing to sacrifice themselves for the common good. On this account they can be persuaded to take subversive actions involving risk. They are usually able to make an intelligent estimate of a situation, and accordingly would probably know before many other groups when it would be to their advantage to go over to the side of the United States.

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MANAGERIAL ELITE

Planning and administration is the business of this group's members. Hence, they are highly effective, as their function in both peace and war is obviously of maximum importance. They are a small group in proportion to the mass of the population. Because of the wide diversity of the functions they perform, they do not tend to be cohesive. They are leaders themselves, but do not recognize a particular leader. In time of war, they would operate under great strain and increase of responsibilities. Their prestige is high, and by the very nature of their functions, they have a high degree of persuasive ability.

Many of them have had contacts with the West, and have respect for at least some aspects of American technology. Many would cooperate with U.S. policy because they are familiar with Western methods. Undoubtedly, in many instances, interference by ignorant and unqualified Communist cadres has operated to make them hostile and uncooperative toward the Communist regime. As individuals they are self-centered and strong-willed, and friction within their group can easily develop.

Though they have the ability, and in many cases the opportunity, to perform acts of subversion and resistance, a natural disinclination to destroy their own handiwork, or the apparatus with which they operate, may tend to lower their susceptibility to commit acts of subversion and sabotage. By the same token, they may not be likely to go over to the opposition because of unwillingness to desert the places where they work. These men are solid citizens, accustomed to making an estimate of the situation, not easily swayed, and accordingly, not prone to panic.

Some of the group may not be easily discouraged from the Communists because as sensible, trained, and in many cases fair-minded men, they would be able to discern any fields in which the Communists have made progress.

MERCHANTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS

In considering this group, a differentiation will be made between small merchants and shopkeepers, on the one hand, and industrialists, on the other.

Small merchants and shopkeepers constitute a large proportion of the population. They are generally low in effectiveness. They are not cohesive, although they have similar interests along a number of lines. They are organized in urban centers according to the products in which they deal. The artisans among them are organized according to the sort of work by which they make their living.

They are low in leadership, except when their common interests

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are affected by the actions of others outside their own group. In time of military operations, their importance tends to decrease as the government is already a dominant partner in their enterprises.

They have little prestige, and their persuasive ability is low.

There are fewer industrialists than small merchants and shopkeepers. The former are well organized and almost invariably belong to a chamber of commerce (Shang Hui). Their effectiveness is medium. They possess qualities of leadership, although under the Communists they have fewer opportunities to exercise them than formerly under the KMT. Their function in society in time of war is important, although they are allowed little freedom of initiative in the control of their own enterprises. Their prestige is high for a Communist country, although they are to a certain extent an anachronism and misfit in the Communist society. Their persuasive ability is not high, except in the economic field. They have occasionally been able to influence the government to change economic policy with which they did not agree.

Both these elements (small merchant-shopkeepers and industrialists) are well disposed toward the United States from long contact. Group members will be encouraged toward our policies, and hostile to those of the Communists, not only because they believe in private enterprise, as opposed to Communist collectivization, but also because they stand to gain materially by U.S. victory, and for the same reasons they would tend to be hostile and uncooperative toward the Communists.

It may be presumed that a spirit of competition still exists among them, which makes them prone to discord, not only with other groups but among themselves.

The groups are selfishly motivated, and likely to set personal interest above the public good; hence, they are susceptible to appeals intended to bring about privatization. Because the group faces a bleak future under Communism, it is vulnerable to appeals to go over to the other side, especially if the opportunity is offered to salvage material possessions. The group is not inclined to panic, nor is it easily persuaded to commit acts of subversion and sabotage.

PEASANTS

The group is the largest in Chinese society, and consequently is high in effectiveness. Such cohesiveness as exists among them is localized, and largely the result of distrust of outsiders, particularly city-dwellers. Although the Communists have set up many peasant organizations, they are not in general spontaneously supported.

Ability in leadership is not a characteristic of the group, except in some instances on the village level. The principal function of the group in time of war is to provide "cannon fodder" and produce the

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sinews of war, particularly food. Theoretically, the peasant ranks high in Chinese society, but actually, because he is poor and lacks influence, his prestige is low, as is his ability to persuade others.

The members of the group are by nature stolid, and have little knowledge of countries other than their own; hence they are not highly susceptible to some psychological operations appeals. They are, however, susceptible in considerable degree to good will because they are by nature friendly, as long as the normal course of their lives is not disturbed. Many, at present, remember kindnesses done them by Americans, both soldiers and civilians.

The Communists have interfered with the normal course of ordinary life of the peasant to a considerable degree. Consequently, they are prone to discouragement concerning the Communists, and encouragement about prospects of our success, particularly because U.S. victory offers hope that their property and former mode of life will be restored.

The peasant is generally prone to distrust outsiders, and hence vulnerable to appeals designed to promote discord.

The peasant is localized in his thinking and adverse to sacrificing personal interest for national welfare. This tends to make him vulnerable to appeals intended to bring about privatization.

Because the group is conservative, lacks initiative, and is usually unwilling to take risks in actions beyond the scope of its own limited experience, the members are in general disinclined to surrender, defect, and desert. Since they are usually not subjected to such strict control as is the urban population, they would often have better opportunities to go over to our side, and are hence to some extent vulnerable to appeals intended to induce such action, particularly if they find themselves in an unbearably difficult situation. It is significant that, even in recent years, peasants have destroyed their own crops rather than see them taken by the government.

PROFESSIONALS

Numerically this is not a large group, but is of extreme importance and high effectiveness. In spite of a diversity of interests, they are conscious of their own importance and their position as intelligentsia.

Many of the group belong to professional and cultural societies, but there is no organization which includes them all. Their leadership usually comes from within their own group. They have provided few political leaders, but have often rendered support to such leaders. Ever since China began to have contact with Western nations, they have been the principal social innovators.

Although their functions are of the utmost importance in time of peace, they tend to become less important in time of war, although this naturally varies in accordance with the military situation. Their prestige is high among the people, although not high at present with

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the government. Consequently, their ability to persuade others is high.

If there is any echelon of Communist social structure in which good will toward the United States exists, it is among the intelligentsia, because of their high level of culture, past contacts with the West, resistance to propaganda, and ability to view Communist doctrine and policy in their true light.

Initially the majority of the group ardently supported the Communists. In the past few years, however, many have become disillusioned and embittered. Hence, with their understanding of the policies and capabilities of the United States, they can be encouraged to expect our success and to cooperate with our armed forces.

In such a highly cultured and highly diversified group, community interests do not exist, and unanimity of opinion can be expected on few subjects. Hence, discord within the group or with other groups is comparatively easy to bring about. In general, they are idealistic and willing to sacrifice themselves for the common good. Consequently, they can often be induced to commit acts of sabotage and subversion. Their nationalistic outlook and general tendency to unselfishness does not make them prone to privatization.

Loyalty to their professions and lack of experience in enduring hardship tend to discourage them from surrender, defection, and desertion. As a thinking, reasonable, and conservative group, they are not particularly prone to panic.

RELATIVES OF THE EXECUTED

In spite of the comparatively large number of this group—there may be as many as ten million of them—they are generally ineffective, principally because of their being under surveillance and because they live a precarious life. The only cohesive bond among them is their misery. They have no formal or informal organization, and are probably the least cohesive of any group. There is no leadership among them. Their prestige is low, and consequently, so is their persuasive ability. Under favorable circumstances, however, a particular individual could make an impassioned appeal and become a mob leader. They perform no particular function in society either in peace or war.

They are one of the most highly susceptible groups. They tend to good will toward the United States, not only because many of them have had contact with Western nations, but because their only hope of improving their present status lies in U.S. victory, concerning which they can be easily encouraged. If any group has reason to be hostile toward the Communists, hence to be discouraged about Communist success, and to hope for Communist defeat, it is this group. It is to be presumed they would be willing to obey the orders of our personnel and to cooperate with our forces.

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Their nationalistic spirit is low and their principal preoccupation is with their own safety and livelihood; hence, their tendency toward privatization is high.

They will panic easily.

The strong common bond among this group is the fact that their relatives have been executed. This tends to discourage the promotion of discord among them. As far as discord with other groups is concerned, their lack of aggressiveness and general unwillingness to run risks and appear in the limelight would tend to influence them to avoid stirring up trouble.

However, for personal motives, many yearn for revenge on the Communists. Among them are a few who could be induced to commit acts of sabotage, or even assassination; but only if a reasonably good opportunity existed, relatively free of any chance of reprisal.

RELIGIOUS SECTARIANS

The influence of the group as a whole is comparatively low throughout the country. In certain localized areas, subdivisions of the group are highly influential; for example in Tibet where adherents of the Lama religion are strong, and in the Northwest where Moslems predominate. There are villages in the Northwest, however, where Catholics are in control and the same situation exists in parts of Inner Mongolia.

There is a considerable degree of cohesion and organization within subdivisions of the group, with the exception of the Taoists who are largely unorganized. A degree of organization has in some cases been imposed by the Communists, as is seen in the presently existing Buddhist association. Each subdivision has its own leaders, and in some instances there is a definite hierarchy. Such leaders, however, are not recognized throughout the country.

The prestige of religious sectarians, except in some instances among the most important leaders within subdivisions, is not high. Group leaders are usually vocal, and many have had sectarian education which gives them ability to exercise persuasion.

The group as such has no particular function in time of war.

Many within the group, particularly Protestants and Catholics, have had considerable contact with the United States. They might, in addition, expect to be benefited by American victory. Among this portion of the group, susceptibility to American psychological operations appeals would be high. Among Buddhists, however, who are to a certain extent hostile to the West, susceptibility to such appeals would be lower. The majority of the group resent Communist attacks on religion, and therefore, are opposed to Communist policy in general.

There is a high potential for discord within various divisions of the

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group. Because many of them set their religion above national welfare, they also have a strong tendency toward privatization.

Moslems, who are traditionally fanatical, are susceptible to appeals to commit sabotage and acts of subversion. Lamaists are less susceptible to such appeals.

SECRET SOCIETY MEMBERS

An accurate estimate of the size of this group is virtually impossible, as the number and visibility of the membership varies with the political and military situation. As a group they are not cohesive, but the bonds uniting the various societies within the group as a whole are strong. Group members are under definite leadership and highly organized. In the past they have frequently led rebellions. Thus their effectiveness is high.

In time of war their functions vary in accordance with the military situation. As a group their prestige is not high, but certain individuals within them may wield a large amount of influence, by effectively utilizing the membership for their own purposes. Such was the case of the Communist general, Ho Lung, who had considerable power in Honan in the 1930's because he was a member of the Old Brother Society. The power of other military commanders has at times been considerably strengthened by reason of membership in a secret society.

In certain areas secret society members possess a high degree of persuasive ability simply because they are feared, a situation which the Communists have done their best to eradicate. It is doubtful, however, if the Communists can ever completely root out any society with a large membership and long history, such as the Hung Pang or the Ching Pang.

The members of secret societies are particularly susceptible to influences toward privatization, as well as to subversion, resistance, and defection. They are in general self-seeking, although there have been instances in the past where they have appeared unselfish because their interests coincided with those of a highly nationalistic group, such as the revolutionaries against the Manchus. There is virtually no nationalistic spirit among the secret society members at present, since the Communist regime is dedicated to their extermination.

Members of the group are traditionally dedicated to subversion and resistance. They are quick to defect and desert when it is to their advantage, which in some cases tends to make them undependable allies.

The societies are not prejudiced in favor of the West by any tradition of good will. But since an American victory would operate to their advantage, and because there are some Americans (almost all of Chinese ancestry) among them, they are moderately well disposed toward the United States.

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At the present time the secret societies are lying low and keeping as much under cover as possible, as any appearance on their part brings on immediate repressive measures of the severest order. They may be counted upon to emerge, however, when it will be to their advantage to do so.

Having lived dangerously for a long time, they are not easily panicked, although they are skilled in causing panic among others.

STUDENTS

Excluding those in elementary schools, the number of students is only a fraction of the population. Even so they number in the millions. In general students identify themselves as an elite group, sharing a traditional status and often demanding special privileges. Although they have been organized by the Communists, the influence of the organization is low. On their own, however, they are capable of effective local organizations, which may be evanescent in nature. They exercise leadership, both in and outside of their group, in almost as high a degree as do the professionals. Hence they are a group high in effectiveness.

The Communists have made much use of the students in forming the cadres, as propaganda agents, for political work within the army, and as cadre officers. Their prestige is high, largely because of the traditional Chinese respect for learning. Their persuasive ability varies in accordance with their level of education, but is generally high.

Inasmuch as they are capable of independent thought, many differences of opinion exist among them, and they are accordingly prone to discord both within the group and with other groups. They are mostly young and excitable, unstable and not easily controlled, hence they tend to panic easily.

Because they are prone to commit acts, particularly under the influence of mass hysteria, the consequences of which they have not carefully considered, they can be influenced to sabotage, subversion, and resistance.

Since 1948 the Communists have exerted great effort to turn the students against the United States. In spite of this, some respect remains for America, particularly in certain technical and educational fields. Students are volatile and, in accordance with changes in the military situation, can be easily encouraged toward the United States, and by the same token discouraged from the Communists.

Nationalistic and patriotic feeling makes them less likely to defect, surrender, and desert than some other groups which have more grievances against the Government. Many are highly idealistic, and they tend more to set what they consider public good above private interest than any other group. For example, many of the sons and daughters of rich Chinese families in Singapore are dedicated and violently indoctrinated Communists.

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OFFICERS

The group possesses many qualities tending to make them highly effective, such as cohesiveness, susceptibility to organization, leadership, and persuasive ability. Their prestige is high and their function in time of war of vital importance.

They are not in general susceptible to our psychological operations appeals inasmuch as they are disciplined, highly indoctrinated, and their future is tied to the Communist Party and the government. Such good will as they still retain toward the United States is probably confined to respect among certain individuals for the fighting qualities of the American armed forces. Officers are accustomed to obeying orders and unlikely to question them, except possibly orders from a civil source, to which they may still give "lip service."

They are a unified, dedicated, and homogenous group, and little prone to discord among themselves. Consonant with the traditional friction between the soldier and the civilian, discord could develop with other groups outside their own.

Being intensely loyal to their own group, they tend at times to set their own interests above those of other branches of the government, such as in claiming their share of national funds.

Obviously the group is not subject to panic, or easily influenced to subversive activity and acts of sabotage.

NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS

The analysis in this section pertaining to officers applies generally to noncommissioned officers, except that the latter are not as effective. Also, the noncommissioned officers have less prestige, less education, less authority, and their function in time of war is less important.

Basically, their susceptibility is the same as that of officers.

OTHER ENLISTED PERSONNEL

The group members resemble noncommissioned officers in many ways, including their medium effectiveness, although their prestige is not as high. Many possess qualities of leadership when given the opportunity and there is much good officer material among them.

They are more susceptible to psychological operations appeals than officers and noncommissioned officers as they are less highly indoctrinated, and their lot in general is harder. They are more likely than officers and noncommissioned officers to reflect any dissatisfaction with the Communist regime which may be felt by the mass of the people.

Not being an idealistic group, and with no assured future in the army, the group has considerable tendency to privatization.

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As enlisted men are usually strangers in the area in which they serve, there is a tendency to discord with civilians. Among themselves, however, the tendency is not so great. In general, the tendency to discord is greater than among officers and noncommissioned officers.

While they are not highly susceptible to encouragement and discouragement, to panic, and to appeals to surrender, desert, or defect—they are more susceptible than officers and noncommissioned officers, as they are not so highly indoctrinated, nor as patriotic and idealistic. As the enlisted men constitute the lowest stratum among the armed forces, they may feel they have something to gain by United States victory. However, as enlisted personnel are not, in general, well educated and as the Communists exert every possible effort to make them hate the United States, they are not inclined to feel good will toward our country.

MILITIA

This is one of the largest groups in the country. There is little cohesiveness among them except that this group is composed mostly of peasants. While the members of the militia regard themselves as a cut above the unorganized peasants, they have little prestige. There is a degree of military organization among them, but along more informal lines than in the regular military establishment. There are few leaders among them but, since they are to some extent screened or selected personnel, they have some potential ability as leaders. Hence, their effectiveness is medium. Their function in time of war is to maintain internal security and "provide volunteers for the regular armed forces." In many instances they perform duties similar to those of a labor corps.

Their degree of susceptibility is essentially the same as that of the peasants, but they are even less inclined to good will toward the United States because they have been more highly indoctrinated with the idea that Americans are hateful. There is little tendency to discord among them, particularly as they do not have much contact with outside groups.

As they know more about—and hence have more cause to fear—many of the things which ordinarily cause panic, such as bombing, U.S. firepower, and the cutting off of food supplies, they are more prone to panic than ordinary peasants.

Being less well organized than regular troops, they have more opportunity to surrender or desert and less incentive to ignore such opportunities. Hence, they are considered high in tendency to desert.

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SECTION V

THE STYLE AND FORMAT OF COMMUNICATIONS

In order to communicate effectively to an audience it is necessary to know *what* to say. Effective communication also requires knowledge of *how* to present the message to ensure that it will be understood and accepted. This section is concerned with the design of messages, i.e., with questions of style and format. Its purpose is to furnish the psychological operator with information on how to prepare messages directed to the population of Mainland China and, in cases of group variation, to members of particular special audiences.

The material is organized as follows: First, general attitudes and values, basic to the *Country as a Whole*, are discussed to acquaint the operator with the psychological temper of the Chinese audience and to serve as a general guide in the style and format of all messages. This is followed by suggestions regarding the manner and terms of address and methods of approach most appropriate for the *Country as a Whole* and for special audiences. Each medium of communication is examined as to its relative effectiveness, and guides are given for the preparation of messages in the various media.

The style and format information presented in this section is a composite of expert consultant opinion. The information represents the present state of the art of how to communicate with the audiences of Mainland China.

I. ATTITUDES AND VALUES

A. SOCIAL

1. *What is Meant by "Face"*

The key to successful communication with the Chinese people lies in a full realization of what is meant by "face." This psychological characteristic of the *Country as a Whole* governs all human relationships; applied to every word, gesture, act, and expression, it appears to the average Westerner as an intricate maze of social and psychological taboos. Actually, the complexities involved in preserving "face" can be resolved to the single problem of preserving self-respect. The two words are almost synonymous, the difference lying only in the greater emphasis placed on self-respect as a fundamental social value. To the Chinese its value is immense. They are a very proud people who consider it extremely important not to hurt anyone's feelings, and they, in turn, expect consideration of their own feelings. To them it is axiomatic that lack of consideration is equal to lack of respect, and lack of respect is the same as a personal insult. An insult results

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in loss of "face" for both the offended and the offender (who should know better than to be impolite). A condescending manner of approach, belittling terms of address, and lack of respect for ancient traditions and customs are all interpreted by the Chinese as insulting. Great care should be taken to avoid such mistakes, for once "face" or self-respect has been lost, the damage is serious and sometimes irreparable.

2. *Courtesy and Dignity*

To avoid hurting anyone's feelings, the Chinese have evolved complicated rules of courtesy. They do not expect foreigners to know all these rules and will not think less of a person if he breaks a rule or two as long as they are convinced that he is sincere and is treating them with respect. Basic good manners of any civilized society are accepted by the Chinese and are given full recognition. There are, however, several points in their code of courtesy which differ a great deal from American practice or upon which greater value is placed. One of these is their aversion to physical contact. They do not like to be touched, to be slapped on the back, or even to shake hands (although some Western-educated Chinese have accepted this form of greeting). They like reserve with their women and gentleness with their children. Chinese girls are much more reserved than American girls and may be insulted if joked with or touched. Because they are reserved and because they value dignity, the Chinese are not as outwardly expressive about happiness, anger, or sadness as are most Americans. They are particularly contemptuous of a person who loses his temper; they consider that only low-class people do that.

Another difference in values is the Chinese respect for the aged. While Americans may fear becoming old, the Chinese are proud of advanced age. Old people are highly respected, even revered, and their advice is valued. Lack of respect to the aged is, therefore, a sign of bad manners. One of the chief criticisms the Chinese make against Americans is that they fail to care for their aged parents.

3. *Veneration for the Past*

In pre-Communist times, Chinese social values were governed almost completely by veneration for the past. The saying was that *Chin pe su ku* (nowadays cannot compare with the ancient). Today the Communists are attempting to reverse the slogan and have ruthlessly attacked and demolished traditional Chinese institutions—good and bad—wherever they were able to do so.

Current opinion in China is divided on this issue, and the dividing line will not run true between factions on all points at stake. Long before the Communists, many progressive Chinese had advocated a reform in the old customs and mores. Consequently, nothing is more inappropriate than for Americans to seek to glorify *all* old Chinese

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ways under the mistaken notion that this will ingratiate them with non-Communists. Instead, such an approach will more likely cast the Americans in the role of rank reactionaries or hypocrites who believe in progress for themselves but would like to turn back the clock for the Chinese. The question is a delicate one and the American communicator should keep an open mind and try to discriminate between what was good or bad in the old social order. This discrimination should not be based on his own social code but should reflect a great deal of knowledge of Chinese history, their way of thinking and the Communist regime's policies and actions. If the American communicator can discredit some of the inferior and undesirable substitutes that the Communists have made at the expense of the traditional culture, he will be considered a well-meaning and thoughtful friend.

One of the greatest changes made by the Communists in the social structure is the emancipation of women. However, suffragettes were active long before the Communists took over in China. Thus it would be absurd for the Americans to attempt now to hark back to the past when women were confined to the home and were subject to *San Chung Sze Teh* (three stages of dependence: on the father when young, on the husband after marriage, on the son after the husband's death; and four virtues—chastity, conversation, work, and bearing).

A controversial change has been that wrought by the Communists in the ancient family system. Traditionally all members of the family (several generations, including sons- and daughters-in-law) lived under the same roof. Authority in the household was patriarchal, intimately bound up in traditional respect for age and the past. While the big-family system was not without its shortcomings, it was a steadying factor—a source of love, warmth, and mutual aid—and it schooled the Chinese in the values of human relationships and the art of living close together. This system, however, had been in the process of breaking down before the Communists seized power. What the Communists have done is to attempt to substitute loyalty to the state and Party for the old loyalty to the family. How much resistance they have met, and in what groups, is not known.

4. *Pragmatism*

In spite of their admiration for ideals and principles, the Chinese are, generally speaking, a pragmatic people. They reason with cold logic, keep their emotions in check, and respond best when they can see the practical side of a problem. Their practicality has made them extremely shrewd businessmen, successful the world over. In communicating with *China as a Whole* and especially in making suggestions, it is best to stress the mutual benefit of any change to both China and the United States. Altruism alone is always suspect; suggestions which have no practical benefit for both parties will be questioned no matter how effective they appear on the surface.

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5. Magic, Myths, Religions, and Superstitions

In general, Americans can expect to gain little in their attempt to communicate with Chinese if they seek to appeal strongly to magic, myths, religion, or superstitions. Worse than not effective, their use may have a boomerang effect. Before the Communists seized power there had been many strong campaigns to eliminate superstition and belief in myths. The Communists have gone further in this campaign. They have largely wiped out ancestor worship by exhuming ancestral tombs and graveyards to make way for increased farming.

Magic has very limited utility as it may be considered cheating; once the trick is discovered its use can cause loss of faith. The numberless myths and fairy tales which have come to be a part of the Chinese culture could be used with great effect if carefully handled. Properly used stories about Chinese heroes, particularly soldier heroes, either from drama or from other sources, such as "Shui Hu Chuan" (translated as "Water Margin" or "All Men are Brothers") could be used with tremendous effect because most Chinese heroes were "failures" from a practical point of view. They were either killed or exiled. The Chinese consider them heroes because they held to their principles and ideals and never surrendered to their enemies.

The Chinese are somewhat superstitious and this could be exploited to an extent in appeals if done by someone who had made a special study of the subject.

Myths and superstitions may be a source of cohesion for certain people living in specific areas, implying pride in local culture, history, and personal ancestors. In times of unrest and stress, use of such references may produce a feeling of cultural understanding and may imply hope and help from an outside source—for example, from U.S. forces since we can be identified, because of our assistance to China in the past, with what are considered traditional sources of succor in times of suffering.

Religious appeals, especially if used in the context of tradition and morals, could be very effective for Mohammedans, Mongols, and Tibetans. But the number of Christians (including Catholics) is so small that it may not be worthwhile to use religious appeals with them. Moreover, in general, religion offers certain special problems. It is important to keep in mind that the Chinese religions (excluding Islam and Christianity) are not mutually exclusive as are those in the West. Also, much of the Chinese moral system has developed in an ethical context only loosely associated with religion in our sense (Confucianism), or where the religious origins of moral issues have become obscured (the Buddhist concept of cause and effect). The moral system has been accepted as part of the general stream of Chinese culture or of the polyglot system of "Chinese religion," rather than as part of a specific religious tradition and article of faith or affiliation. For all

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these reasons, a man may follow any number of religions at any one time. Therefore, religious extremism, or the use of religion as a justification for taking a clearcut stand on an issue, often seems strange to many Chinese.

The cautions with reference to usage of magic, myths, religions, and superstitions mentioned above are important, otherwise misunderstanding by, or even opposition from, traditional elements of the society will arise. Once the educated Chinese, Communist or not, take a dim view of religion, superstition, magic or myth, use of these in communication may boomerang because this influential group will feel the American communicator is showing false pride and speaking down to his Chinese audience.

6. *Humor*

Like Americans, the Chinese are a fun-loving people. They appreciate a good joke and have stock jokes very similar to ours—about professors, stinginess, country hicks, and city slickers. Their conversation is full of humor, and they are easily led to laugh. But, like all other human relationships, humor is governed by the rigid rules of "face" preservation and should be treated delicately or avoided unless the operator is certain that it will cause no offense. On the other hand, he should realize that he, himself, is likely to be a source of amusement. The incongruity of red, brown, or blonde hair and eyes of unfamiliar colors, of great physical stature and a hairy skin, could certainly provoke discomfiting curiosity or open laughter, for many Chinese are still familiar only with black hair and black eyes and share an ancient belief that hairy people are uncivilized; to them an American looks exceedingly odd. In such a case, where one is the butt of a joke, self-respect can often be preserved and friendship gained by taking the badgering good-humoredly and simply grinning back.

B. POLITICAL:

Attitudes Toward the United States

By successive "hate America" campaigns, the Communists have probably wiped out most of the interest the Chinese may have had in the United States. But to some people, especially older ones who have had contacts with America and Americans before, there may be a residual feeling of friendship toward the United States. These Chinese include particularly *professionals, managerial elite, industrialists,* and *intellectuals* who were educated or trained in America. They may still be interested in the American system of free enterprise, American education, technical know-how, mechanical gadgets, cosmetics, soft drinks, articles of clothing, weapons, books and magazines, and all consumer and manufactured goods.

The *military* will be interested, in addition, in the pay of the U.S. armed forces personnel, allowances and pay of U.S. government offi-

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cials, salaries of U.S. workers, scientific achievement, and the high standard of living.

1. The Chinese are particularly critical of the following things about Americans and America:

a. Selfishness of Americans, especially the lack of consideration of their aged parents.

b. Rudeness, loudness, and carelessness.

c. Ignorance about Chinese ways, e.g., lack of knowledge of the language, customs, and mentality.

d. Incompetence of some of the Americans in China, either in official or private capacity.

e. Americans are too practical; they will sacrifice ideals to exigencies too readily.

f. Overemphasis on material comforts—the lack of some of them in China tends to make some Americans impatient, irritable or disillusioned.

g. American boasts of material progress, like owning big cars, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, TV sets, etc.

h. Superior attitude—that the United States is the richest and most powerful country in the world, and the Americans are the cleverest and smartest people, while other nations are poor, diseased, and have to go begging for aid to the White House.

i. After the War of Resistance (World War II), all classes of thinking Chinese were critical of our alleged "coddling" of Japan during the occupation. They thought everything was given outright to the Japanese, greatly overestimating the amount of our aid, and taking no note of what the Japanese actually paid for. They thought this aid should have been given to them.

2. The Chinese particularly admire the following things about the United States and Americans:

a. The efficiency of U.S. scientific systems or procedures (such as automobile assembly lines, etc.).

b. The American system of government.

c. Equality and the rule of law.

d. Informality and frankness.

e. Sense of justice and fair play.

f. Cheerfulness, good humor, and ability to get along easily with others.

g. American kindness, humanitarianism, and generosity.

h. High material advancement and standard of living.

i. The willingness to work hard.

j. Self-reliance (handiness, ability to do-it-yourself).

k. Opportunities for students to work their way through college, if desired.

l. The good health of Americans.

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m. The fact that the U.S. has not had a concession in China; that the U.S. gave freedom to the Philippines; and that Americans took the initiative in returning the Boxer indemnity.

II. METHODS OF APPROACH

A. PERSUASIVE APPROACHES

The consultants were provided with the *Persuasiveness Scale* which follows:

Persuasiveness Scale

Extremely persuasive	5
	4
Moderately persuasive	3
	2
Only slightly persuasive	1
Don't know	DK

They were asked to use this scale to evaluate the persuasiveness of various approaches, which can be used in intercultural communication of information or ideas in China, for two important groups—*China as a Whole*, and the *military*. The results of their evaluation are recorded in the following table.

Persuasiveness Ratings of Approaches for Two Groups in China

Approaches	*China as a Whole*	*Military Audience*
Emotional appeals	4.5	3
Explanation by use of analogies	3.5	5
Figures of speech (metaphor, simile)	3.5	4.5
Humor	2	5
Personal appeal	3	2
Proverb	2.5	
Satire	2	1.5
Candor	0	
Intellectual appeals	4	
Appeals to logic or reason	5	
Illustrations using a story	4	
Use of history	4	
Antithetical couplet*	5	

*An antithetical couplet is a quotation—from the classics, a proverb, or common saying—in two balanced parts, e.g., "Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall of dung cannot be plastered," (Confucius); "A good man does not become a soldier; good iron is not beaten into nails"; "In victory a hero; in defeat a dog," etc.

B. RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS

The validity of the persuasiveness ratings given in the preceding table would necessarily vary according to the circumstances under which a particular approach is employed. *Emotional appeals*, for instance, can be very effective during wartime, in a national emergency,

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or in any crisis. However, the Chinese probably cannot be described as an emotional people; they have seen too many changes to be particularly disturbed by changes in the political regime. If communication is through slogans, posters, and handbills, emotional appeals may be effective, particularly if they are directed at the less intellectual and uneducated groups, such as the *peasants*. For the *military* audience, emotional appeals must be carefully used to be effective; generally speaking, this group is more hardened. However, *enlisted men* and *militia* with less military service are more subject to emotional and personal appeals than *officers* and *noncoms*.

Humor is of doubtful value because although the Chinese have a sense of humor it is governed by different rules and impulses from the American and expresses itself in different ways. *Satire*, on the other hand, could be very effective, as when conveyed through cartoons, but it has been rated low because it must be used with care, since American satire is apt to be misunderstood by Chinese. *Candor* will not be believed or will be interpreted as a sign of weakness. *Figures of speech* and *proverbs* are effective and appreciated only if correctly translated.

Finally, it may be noted that *reason* is by far the most persuasive approach the American communicator can adopt. The *Chinese as a Whole*, whether educated or not, have a strong sense of right or wrong and will readily accept a decision backed by strong and adequate reasons. They are moved by logic and a down-to-earth philosophy and appreciate appeals which combine offers of practical benefits backed up by concrete proposals. Rightness of the preferred side should be stressed, but both sides of an issue should be described in detail, and the good points and bad points explained in each situation.

In general, remember that it is easier to change material practices than deeply-rooted customs. In advocating change, it would help to relate current problems to traditional knowledge or experience. Some suggested avenues of approach are Chinese literature, drama, and customs and ceremonies associated with the yearly cycle (New Year's, festivals, etc.). Comparison with the past may be as follows: first, certain aspects of the past may be shown to be right and other aspects of the present (situation or method) described as inferior to the past, so that improvement should be made. Second, if the past is judged incorrect, the weaknesses are pointed up and suggestions made to avoid the current (catastrophic) results. Third, if the past was insufficient to meet the challenge of the situation, after the situation is described, suggestions may be offered (carefully delineating the good points and the method of achievement). Fourth, if custom and mores are the cause of the present difficulty, only an indirect reference should be made if the matter is brought up at all. If comment cannot be avoided, a moderate and modest suggestion might be advanced for improvement

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of the situation. In no case should there be open and unconstructive criticism of the customs and mores involved.

C. RESPONSE TO PARTICULARS OR GENERALITIES

Because of their penchant for maxims, aphorisms, and moral preachments in general, one might conclude that the Chinese respond most readily to generalities and principles; their love of stories, however, reveals a ready response to particulars as well. It is safe to say that Chinese respond both to particulars and to generalities and principles —if both are convincing, reasonable, and presented in an attractive manner. The famous Chinese sayings, teachings by masters, and folk stories passed on from generation to generation certainly have as much to do with particulars as the principles (although the latter often must be implied).

The general rule is that, whether in the case of narration, description, exposition, or argumentation, the Chinese audience finds it easier to assimilate the message if the presentation proceeds in chronological and logical fashion, from beginning to end, first setting the scene or laying down the premise and then filling in the details and getting down to concrete examples. In a news story, for instance, the Chinese preference is still for the chronological beginning rather than the dramatic beginning.

It can probably be assumed that the higher the level of education (formal and otherwise) of the members of the audience, the more likely it would be for them to react or respond to principles. Generalities and principles, however, must be substantiated with specific examples in order to be convincing.

For the broad masses, concrete examples are the essential element. Broad principles and abstractions may cause the audience to lose interest, while concrete examples gain interest and attention. In the case of the *military*, for example, it would be better to tell *enlisted men* that their *officers* know nothing of tactics and modern weapons, although they might be experts in Marxian doctrine, than to say simply that their *officers* are no good. This is because most Chinese doubt generalities, believing each case or individual is different.

III. MANNER AND TERMS OF ADDRESS

A. PREFERRED MANNER OF ADDRESS

A modest (but not too high or too low) attitude toward Chinese in general is suggested. An easy-going approach, save with older people, can be recommended. Even if an order must be used, the terms of address must be based on dignity and integrity without any implication of pride and contempt. In brief, sincerity, friendliness, and courtesy should be your guide.

There does exist a language barrier between the two peoples. In order to communicate effectively, those Americans who do not speak

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or write Chinese and are under a language handicap should make certain that their interpreters are competent and know what the communicators are talking about at all times.

It is also suggested that the Americans avoid having a preconceived and inflexible idea of how to communicate with the *Chinese as a Whole.* Let common sense set the guide lines, depending on what group one is trying to communicate with. For instance, it would be a waste of time and perhaps ridiculous if an American should explain to the well-informed members of the *professionals* and *students* something they have long known; on the other hand, if he doesn't do the explaining while trying to communicate with the *peasants,* the American will probably get nowhere.

In addressing any audience in the country, speak as an educated man and at the same time avoid affected or high flown language. The Communists have already made great changes in both the spoken and written Chinese language. However, it would be useless for an American to take too much stock of these changes. If he speaks clearly and logically, even if the group does not understand everything he says, he will be respected and the proper attention will be given his remarks. If in doubt as to how to address any particular audience, a safe rule would be to address them as you would Americans under similar circumstances. Above all, be careful not to talk down, not for fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the audience, but to avoid loss of effect in what is said.

One can seldom go wrong in dealing with Chinese, even with Communists, in following the standards of speech and conduct current among gentlemen in any country.

B. EQUAL-STATUS APPROACH

It is important to understand that any equal-status approach is often synonymous with a self-effacing approach in China, since it is viewed merely as politeness. It is most effective in social gatherings and when making requests for information or help, especially when U.S. military power is to be used in China. Americans should consider the Chinese equals at all times, and should conduct themselves accordingly. Not to address the Chinese as equals would show contempt, unfriendliness or arrogance which would only invite resentment and indignation, and therefore would not be effective. Educated and intellectual groups (*journalists, professionals, students*) and the military are particularly sensitive about being accorded equal status.

However, it would be totally different if an American were in a position of authority and desired to adopt an authoritarian approach, when to speak with the courtesy or politeness of equal status would obviously be uncalled for. This is especially true, of course, when an American military officer must treat his Chinese subordinates as subordinates in order to get anything done; there authority and rank ob-

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viously have to be maintained. The equal status under discussion is purely on a man-to-man basis in ordinary social intercourse.

Terms of Address for Equal-Status Approach

When addressing individuals on an equal basis, the most commonly used form is Mr. Huang (Huang *hsien-sheng*); though the informal and familiar "Old Brother" (*Lao-hsung*), Comrade (*Tung-chih*), and Friend (*P'eng-yu*) are also commonly used. *Lao* plus the family name is used by very intimate friends (Lao-Huang, old Huang or old friend). *P'eng-yu* (friend) is used principally in indirect reference. It is now antiquated and slightly ridiculous to refer to oneself as "your younger brother" when conversing with a person. This form, when used at all, is used to address a big group or in public speaking—even then it is rather formal. The more direct first person singular *wo* (I) or *pei-jen* is almost always used in addressing an individual or a group.

Any terms of address by official title, although formal, may also fall into the category of equal status. For example: Chief Engineer (Wong), Secretary General (Chang), Superintendent (Tsai), etc.

For the *group as a whole*, in general, use gentlemen, Chinese friends, Chinese brothers on the mainland, you, and everyone; and for a *special group*, "Students of Shanghai," "The staff and workers on all railways in China," and "Presidents of China's Universities."

For the *military*, in negotiations, it is customary to refer to the other side as "your side," and to the American side as "our side."

C. SELF-EFFACING APPROACH

The use of self-effacing terms, such as "my humble self," has largely died out. Honorifics, such as "your gracious name," "your honorable country," are still used to some extent.

The self-effacing manner of approach may be used if it is intended to show politeness and friendliness toward the *professionals, managerial elite, industrialists, journalists and mass media personnel*, but it is hardly suitable for laborers, for example, who will suspect the communication of harboring ulterior motives.

A self-effacing manner, with the above exceptions, would be unnatural and insincere. It would not be difficult to see through an American who is putting on a self-effacing "show." Moreover, most self-respecting Chinese of whatever group regard Americans and Chinese as equals, and expect Americans to speak and conduct themselves as equals.

Thus, neither an overbearing nor a self-effacing manner on the part of the American communicator would be appropriate. If the American heeds the familiar advice, "Be yourself," he will probably be more effective.

Terms of Address in Self-Effacing Approach

Ordinarily, the term Mr. (Miss or Mrs.) is most frequently used to denote formality, politeness, and sometimes respect, although it cannot be described as self-effacing. For example: Mr. Li, Mrs. Li, and Miss Li are all proper addresses to use with colleagues, superiors, and acquaintances even if you know the person's first name.

To avoid being too polite, however, it is perhaps advisable to refrain from using these terms in addressing those of a lower official rank or those clearly in a subordinate position. It would be unheard of, even hypocritical, to address your own student as Mr. Li (*Li-H'sien-sheng*). The proper term would be *Li-T'ung-hsueh*. This rule would apply only if the communicator speaks Chinese. If he speaks English, "Mr. Li" would be correct in both cases because the Chinese would understand and accept it as common, polite English usage.

In addressing the *military* it is appropriate to use the third person; instead of "we" or "we Americans," or in the case of a high-ranking American, "I," it would be better to say "the U.S. High Command" or "the Americans."

When making a request, the proper phrase to use would be *ch'ing ni* (will you please). However, this phrase is not used as much as "please" is used in English. Ordinarily it would be inappropriate to use *ch'ing ni* in an instruction or request addressed to a person of a lower rank than yourself or who performs menial duties such as a servant, laborer, or peasant—at least it is not customary—but the phrase might sometimes be used to advantage in addressing such groups to show that the speaker is humble and polite.

When addressing groups, such as the *professionals* or *journalists*, use the following expressions: gentlemen, dear Chinese friends, sirs, ladies and gentlemen, Chinese brothers on the mainland. For those of lower status, a simple "friends" will do.

Moreover, in accordance with the principle of addressing people by what they do, such terms are in order as: students of Shanghai, farmers of Hunan, workers of Peiping, and comrades-in arms. None of these terms implies a self-effacing attitude. Beware, however, of prefixing them with "dear" (*ch'ing ai li*). This term is commonly restricted to use by parents, husbands, and wives. Its use outside the family perimeter may show that one is insincere.

D. COMMANDING OR AUTHORITARIAN APPROACH

In general, to any and all Chinese audiences, if the object of communication is to win friends, the authoritarian approach should be avoided, especially by an American. It is least advisable in communicating with intellectuals or educated persons, such as *journalists*, *professionals*, and *students*. Many members of the *managerial elite* and *merchants and industrialists* may not be intellectual or educated

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in the formal sense but they may well be highly intelligent, experienced, and used to being leaders in their own field. With these, it would also be a mistake to adopt the authoritarian or commanding approach.

The American communicator should use the authoritarian or commanding approach only when absolutely necessary—when he is speaking in an official capacity and in line with the carrying out of his duties. Even under these circumstances the authoritarian attitude is suitable only in communicating with official subordinates and in connection with duties having to do with keeping the group under control or in discipline.

The use of the authoritarian approach will usually tend to arouse resentment among *military groups* and the *militia* who do not like to be ordered around except by their *officers*. However, in a deteriorating military situation, the authoritarian approach might well be used when the question of arousing resentment could be disregarded—for example, when giving a warning or threat. The operator should not be arrogant, but at the same time he must be firm. For *enlisted men* and *militia*, the authoritarian approach is somewhat more acceptable than for *officers*.

Terms of Address in Authoritarian Approach

When an authoritarian or commanding approach is adopted, the following terms of address should be used for individuals: The person's full name (surname followed by given name)—for example, Huang Chin-yung. It would be too formal to say Mr. Huang (Huang-*hsien-sheng*) or Dr. Huang, Professor Huang, Director Huang, Manager Huang, etc. In an informal address where the person's name is not known "Hey, you!" may be used.

In speaking to the group as a whole, the following may be used:

You, all of you	*Ni-men*
Everybody, all of you	*Ta-chia*
You people	*Ni-men ta-chia*
Ladies and gentlemen	*Ke-wei or chu-wei*
My friends	*Chu-wei peng-yu*

Some of these forms, although formal, are made authoritarian and commanding by the speaker's tone of voice, his official capacity, and the occasion of the talk. For the *military*, use "personnel of the Chinese Army (Navy or Air Force)" or "Chinese warriors" if a term is desired which is dignified but without any special authoritarian note. The terms used by the President of the Republic of China in addressing the armed forces of his country could be used as a model.

In addressing members of a group in written communication, it is important to keep in mind that the Chinese attach much more importance to the duty performed than to the name or rank of the person

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performing it. Descriptive titles should be used for civilians: "Students of Shanghai," "Members of the Press," "Members of the Medical Profession"; for the *military* use such forms as: "Division Commander," "Regimental Commander," "Quartermaster," "Ordnance Officer," "Section Chief," "Squad Leader," "Commander of a Depot," and so on. Names of ranks are almost never used among *noncommissioned officers*, and even among *enlisted men* a man is usually addressed in accordance with the duty which he performs, such as "Rifleman," "Gunner," "Telephone Operator." The use of correct forms of address and terms of ordinary politeness in addressing either individuals or the group in general does not lessen the force of an authoritarian approach. On the contrary, it strengthens it and increases respect for the communicator. He will be perceived as an educated man and will be appreciated as one who recognizes the status of the group as honorable even though of an enemy country. This is not outmoded chivalry, it is common sense.

E. MANNER TO ADDRESS SPECIAL GROUPS

Cantonese usually are flattered if you recognize them as not only Chinese but also Cantonese—supposedly an intelligent, forward-looking, high-spirited, patriotic group.

For *disaffected and disgraced Communists*, it may be advisable to assume, unless they demonstrate otherwise, that they are still loyal to Marxism or Communism in the abstract; in other words, that they have not gone back on the "high" principles they once entertained, for their grievance may well be only against the current Party line and Party hierarchy. In addition, the American communicator should not adopt an attitude of contempt or indifference toward this group but should show sympathy and understanding so as to draw out their grievances.

In dealing with *former Kuomintang members*, it is advisable not to assume that they were undesirable elements in the first place, or that they are traitors for having joined or served the Communists, for they most probably remained on the mainland out of necessity and not out of choice.

Secret society members, because of their very nature, may not wish to be publicly identified as such. Dealings with them should be handled only by persons well versed in the ways of Chinese secret societies.

F. OTHER TERMS OF ADDRESS

T'ung chih (comrades)—This term in Chinese is not the monopoly of the Communists; it was used by Sun Yat-sen in the nationalist revolution. It is used when persons are allied in a common cause.

Meng-yu (Allied friends)—Applied to Americans during World War II; it may conceivably be used by Americans in the future in addressing Chinese. It is used when allied against a common foe.

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Jang-yu (wartime friends or comrades-in-arms)—It is used among the peoples of nations at war for a common cause or in any struggle against a common enemy.

Ke wei tung-yih (members of the same profession)—It is used in addressing a group belonging to the same profession as the speaker; for example, a newspaperman speaking to a group of *journalists.*

T'ung-jen (colleagues)—*Hsin-wen-chieh T'ung-jen* (colleagues of the journalistic profession). Its use implies that the communicator is of the same profession as the audience and that there is a common bond. Variations of this form may also be used with the following groups: *managerial elite, merchants and industrialists, professionals,* and *religious sectarians.*

T'ung-hsueh (fellow students)—This is a courteous way of referring to or addressing *students,* individually or in the aggregate, even though the communicator is not really a fellow-student.

Chiao Yu (fellow worshippers)—May be used when addressing *religious sectarians,* even if the American communicator does not belong to any religious sect and is not a believer at all.

Chu Wei Nu Shih, or *Ke Wei Nu Shih*—Used when addressing women collectively; and *X Nu Shih* when addressing women individually. The latter is always safe when one does not know whether the woman is *Miss* or *Mrs.*

Lao hsien-sheng (old gentleman)—Generally used in polite speech when addressing an elderly man; *Lao tai-tai* for an elderly woman.

In ordinary address, if you do not know the rank or status of an individual, it is usually safe to address him as *hsien sheng* which means teacher but is about the equivalent of Mr. The Communists seldom use this word now, but it would be appropriate for an American to use it.

When formally addressing a member of an audience, simply say *Ni* _____, not the polite Peking form *Nin* which the Communists do not use and which was not current outside of Peking even in KMT days. Excessive use of *Ni* should be avoided in addressing superiors who should be addressed by their official titles. With the latter, *Ni* may sound too informal, implying a lack of respect.

G. TERMS OF ADDRESS TO AVOID

In an attitude of superiority, using such terms as "You Chinese" should be avoided. Irritants such as "traitor" or "bandit" should be avoided by Americans although they are freely used by Chinese to denounce others. Full names or address without position or rank should not be employed except in the commanding or authoritarian approach.

The Chinese term *wei* or *wai* (hello, hi, or hey), except sometimes in telephone conversations or under very informal circumstances, should

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not be used in addressing a person. It shows a casualness implying lack of respect, and should never be used in addressing a person of superior rank.

There is some disagreement on the use of "comrade" as a form of address. It is the opinion of some that "comrade soldiers," or "comrade," could be used in both an authoritarian and equal-status approach with the *military* or in a political training group, while others believe the term should not be used at all. It is used perhaps more frequently in writing than in conversation.

In dealing with an individual Communist, do not ask his name, for this would imply he is an individual rather than a member of the Party, and would cause him to look down on the communicator.

IV. TRAITS AND MANNERISMS

A. USE OF PICTORIAL AND VERBAL STEREOTYPES

1. *Pictorial Stereotypes*

Applied to China by Chinese

There are no widely recognized pictorial stereotypes for *China and the Chinese.* A red star is the pictorial stereotype for Communist China, while the 12-pointed white star on a blue background is the emblem of Nationalist China.

For the *military:* The young, tall, well set-up, clean-cut, neatly dressed, handsome, determined soldier (sailor or airman). For *enlisted men* and *militia:* Armed soldiers, determined look on their faces, guarding the nation's factories and people—never officious or domineering.

Applied to China by Others

A man wearing a skull or "melon-skin" cap and a long pigtail has sometimes been used by misguided Western cartoonists to depict China —an unfortunate practice because it is misleading to the non-Chinese, and the image is always offensive to the Chinese. Such stereotypes applied by others are resented.

In cartoons, the Chinese Communists picture Nationalist China as a vicious-looking Chiang Kai-shek, subservient to the U.S.; the Nationalists picture Communist China as a brutish Mao Tse-tung, a running-dog of the Soviet Union.

2. *Verbal Stereotypes*

Applied to Themselves

The Chinese have no verbal stereotype to apply to themselves as a whole. But there are verbal stereotypes which people in one part of the country apply to those in other parts. For instance, northerners may call *Cantonese* "barbarians," and Cantonese call northerners (including people in central China) *Wai Chiang Lao* (out-of-the-river-people), or *Lao Hsiung Lao* (old brother fellows). Szechwan people usually

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call those in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River "downstream persons," or *Chaio Ti Hsia Te Jen* (persons underneath the feet). A person from Soochow may be referred to as an "empty head," and one from Hangchow, an "iron head." A native of Ningpo is usually called "soup can" because he likes to drink soup. *Students* generally are called *Chiu chien.*

Applied by the Military to Themselves

"The Liberation Army," "Combat Hero," "Veteran of Liberation in Korea," "Fighter" are descriptions used by the military for themselves.

Applied by Others to the Military

In KMT China, civilians sometimes referred to soldiers as *chiu pa,* naming two writing characters which when combined make the character for "soldier" (*ping*). Soldiers were also sometimes called "wearers of the two-and-one-half-foot coat." The term was not actually derogatory, but not complimentary either. It was considered most uncomplimentary when someone said, "The wearer of the two-and-one-half-foot coat (the soldier) does not speak with propriety." More complimentary are "Veteran," "Defenders of the Homeland," "Frontline Heroes."

Whether a stereotype is welcomed or not depends mostly on the implication and context in which it is used, not on the stereotype as such, since some of the above terms are used with familiar friends in a joking relationship. If terms are used with an implication of deprecation or sarcasm they will be resented, especially if used by outsiders.

B. GESTURES

As a rule, the use of gestures to express oneself is considered uncouth and in bad taste in China, particularly in polite company. Whenever in doubt, don't use gestures!

The following are some gestures used in China, together with their usual meanings.

1. Tilting chin—pointing out an object.

2. Stretching the thumb (usually pointed upward)—for one-self, it indicates contentment or victory; for others, admiration, respect, victory, superiority, first class, and the best.

3. Holding both fists in front of the chest—the older Chinese salute. This gesture also means congratulations, respect, courtesy, or thankfulness.

4. Stretching the little finger—deprecation, pettiness and sarcasm.

5. Stretching both thumb and little finger of same hand—to smoke (opium), numeral six.

6. Thumb and first finger as ring, remaining three fingers tightly

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clasped beneath, in motion toward one's mouth—to drink (wine or water etc.).

7. Fist, held or knocking (pounding) a table or beating the chest—anger, firmness, fearlessness.

8. Wave of the hand—no, rejection.

9. Two hands below cheek or clasped hands on cheek—to sleep.

10. Clenched fist—(Communist) revolutionary ardor.

*11. Stretched bent thumb, remaining fingers in a fist—surrender.

*12. Two fists on chest, head bowed—sincerity, loyalty, honesty.

*13. One hand (or finger) at mouth—secrecy, mystery.

*14. Two hands level, slightly bent—surrender.

15. One hand on another's shoulder—friendship.

*16. Scratch of the head with both hands—sorrow, disappointment.

*17. One hand over nose accompanied by vibrating sound—deprecation, sarcasm.

18. Both hands on waist—contentment or anger, readiness to fight.

19. Hands not touching, shaking from wrist—despair.

*20. Two hands under head—fear, dread.

*21. One hand knocking the head—sorrow.

22. Stroking the beard or chin—contentment.

23. Holding both hands backward—surrender.

24. Forehead struck on ground—insulting submission.

25. Index finger brushing the cheek—shame.

26. Shaking one's own hands—friendship.

27. Low bow—friendship.

28. Spitting—contempt.

29. Wide open eyes—anger, respect.

30. Arms stretched, palms up, shaking a little—disappointment.

31. Shaking a tight fist—anger or determination.

32. Index finger and thumb of right hand stretched as U.S. gesture of a gun—numeral eight, or a Communist (from Communist Eighth Route army).

33. Index, thumb, and middle finger together—numeral 7.

34. Curled index finger—numeral 9.

35. Index fingers and thumbs of both hands to form a circle—diameter of an object.

36. Shaking hands, clapping hands, nodding head, waving hands, hands up—meaning the same as in the U.S.

C. VULGARISMS

Following are five general principles for the use of words in special contexts to serve as epithets, curses, or words of double meaning:

* These gestures are ambiguous and do not always convey the indicated meaning in any clearcut fashion.

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1. Exaggeration—Use of the modifier "too," especially with emphasis on the word in speaking, implies scolding, reprimand, or sarcasm.

2. The use of certain phrases in certain contexts—for example, "way, way up" and "the height beyond reaching" can mean proud. "I cannot bother you," or "thank you for your interest" can also mean "mind your own business." "Both brothers in difficulty" under some circumstances may imply "both brothers are the same," i.e., both are bad. "Each one has his own characteristics" also means "Each has his own bad points." "Treasure" (*pao pei*) can also mean a fool or a useless, superfluous person. "Thirteen o'clock" (*shih san tien*) means nonsense, abnormal, since the clock has only 12 hours.

3. Inflection—Use of a sarcastic expression of the voice turns a seemingly positive word into a negative word.

4. Shift of geographic or dialect area—Certain words or phrases will be acceptable, even considered polite, in one part of China while considered rude in another dialect or geographic region.

5. Volume of the voice—Speaking softly indicates friendship, sincerity, and politeness; while the very same sentence spoken loudly may indicate sarcasm or an insult.

In addition to these general rules, there are words which have double meanings with derogatory connotations. For example: Rabbit implies a male prostitute; airplane carrier, a girl who has sexual intercourse with many men; a green hat, a cuckold; a man benefited right and left is a man who has sexual relations with two women; those with electrical touch are male and female in close physical contact; to dip a series of hill hawthorns in sugar juice means intercourse with a woman in her menstrual period; and a pair of wild Mandarin ducks represent a man and woman committing adultery. These examples, however, are not widely understood, which limits their significance.

V. MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

A. RELATIVE PERSUASIVENESS OF VARIOUS MEDIA

Persuasiveness Scale

Extremely persuasive	5
	4
Moderately persuasive	3
	2
Only slightly persuasive	1
Don't know	DK

The consultants were asked to use the scale above to evaluate the persuasiveness of various media when employed by an American communicator for two important groups—*China as a Whole*, and the *Military*. The results of their evaluation are recorded in the following table.

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1. *Persuasiveness Ratings of Media in China*

Means of Communication	*China as a Whole*	*Military Audiences*
Printed handouts	3.5	5
Loudspeakers	2.5	4
Newssheets	3.5	4.5
Pamphlets	3	3.5
Posters	2.5	5
Radio	4	3.5
Television	*3	0
Word of mouth	2.5	4.5
Individual correspondence	4	5

*When available.

2. *Comments on Persuasiveness of Media*

The persuasiveness of a medium in the dissemination of information or ideas depends to a considerable degree on the circumstances in which a medium is employed, and also on the special audience. For instance, there is as yet no substitute for radio in speed with which a newsbreak can be covered and broadcast to vast numbers of people. So, in this instance, the radio's persuasiveness (or effectiveness) is uncontested. But, it is easy to see that there are other occasions when the printed word, in the form of newssheets or pamphlets, with picture layouts, is by far more persuasive than any other medium. Some of the strong points of the printed medium are: it is a permanent record; it is generally more detailed and more accurate than the faster radio coverage; and it gives a sense of authoritativeness.

The ratings given on the table for *China as a Whole* take into consideration that people with little or no education far outnumber the educated, the intellectuals, or the urban elite. The use of radio would be very effective since it can reach a larger audience, assuming that the number of radio sets has increased considerably in Chinese homes. Because of its authenticity, a radio message made by a responsible official would be especially persuasive. Another effective way of communication is by individual correspondence since the addressee would be flattered by the personal attention such a message gives. However, the number of persons thus reached would be limited.

Printed handouts, newssheets, and pamphlets would be of about the same degree of persuasiveness to the literate. The printed word, always authoritative, is most persuasive in China in newssheet form.

Communication by word of mouth, though it is the main channel of communication in China for news, might result in distortion. The Chinese language is not as clear in tense as English; to express the present, past, and future, an adverb must be added. This leads to misinterpretation, exaggeration or dilution of the original message. Rumors spread swiftly and are perhaps more inaccurate in China

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than in the U.S. Generally, communication by word of mouth is not as authoritative as news coming from an official source such as the U.S. Government or private U.S. organizations.

Television is not available yet; hence, the rating has been made on its probable effectiveness in terms of general criteria of Chinese media preference.

For the *military* audiences, because printed handouts are easy to conceal and may be secretly kept and read, their persuasiveness is high. Word of mouth is the main channel of unofficial communication in any army. Newssheets and pamphlets are moderately persuasive with this audience because of the rather high literacy rate, but persuasiveness is somewhat lower with *enlisted men* and the *militia*. Since television sets are likely to be virtually nonexistent with the *military*, it would not be practical to plan television programs for this audience. Posters and loudspeakers are very familiar sources of information in the *military*.

B. PRINTED MATTER

1. *Newspapers*

The consultants were asked to evaluate the interests of the Chinese people in certain kinds of news coverage. Their opinions are tabulated below:

Interest in Events	*Considerable*	*Somewhat*	*No Interest*
In the U.S.	X		
In the U.S.S.R.	X		
In Europe		X	
In Asia	X		
In Africa		X	
In National news	X		
In International news	X		

In general, social problems of human-interest value, local community news, overseas Chinese activities, the world political situation, news regarding opportunities for material betterment, and military activities in the Far East (including news of new weapons) are preferred.

News stories on major international and national events or developments should prove interesting to all who can read, though they are of primary interest to the educated.

News from special fields is of interest, mainly to members of the corresponding fields in China: science news to *scientists*, education news to *teachers* and *students*, military stories and news to the *military*, etc.

Readers in big cities like Hong Kong, and those who lived in

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Shanghai and Tientsin before 1949 have acquired a taste for movie and entertainment news, sports news, and local news of the "yellow journalism" variety.

Although traditionally Chinese newspapers put advertisements on the front page, now most follow the American style of make-up and use the front page as the page for the most important news of the day. Chinese newspapers also have staggered type sizes, using the largest size type for the main headline of an important story and decreasing in size in the subheads. The most important headline may be in red across the top of the page, but this is used only on special occasions, especially in a national emergency.

The body of newspaper articles is generally set in No. 5 type, or New No. 5, with larger type sizes for headlines. If handwritten characters are used, as in woodcuts or zinc cuts, the writing by all means should be done by a Chinese who has lived recently among Chinese Communists—never by overseas Chinese or Japanese. The Chinese have greatly altered the writing of many characters, and every attempt should be made to use the forms now current. If current forms are not used, the material may be read with difficulty or even arouse an adverse psychological effect.

Chinese type, like Chinese writing, is set vertically from right to left. This is also the order of the pages and the news stories; thus, the first right-hand page is the front page, and the upper right-hand corner is the most prominent spot for a news story.

There is, as a rule, no editorial page. One editorial a day is printed, usually on the second page. Although cuts and cartoons are used, there is usually no daily political cartoon. There are not so many stories continued from the front page to the inside pages. For the sake of credibility, a liberal use of pictures, photographs and other illustrations is recommended, though the Chinese papers generally do not make much use of them.

Most newspapers in Taiwan and Hong Kong follow this layout. Examples are the *Chung Yang Jih Pao (Central Daily News)*, and *Lien Ho Pao (United Daily News)* of Taipei; the *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, and the Communist *Wen Wei Po* and *Ta Kung Pao* of Hong Kong.

Newspapers on the Communist-dominated mainland, however, often adopt a radically different layout, following the Western style of setting the type in horizontal lines, and going from left to right in lines as well as pages. A prominent example is *Jen Min Jih Pao (People's Daily)*.

In *military* newspapers, headlines are not too large; serious news is on the first page; two or so pictures on the first page; the third page contains poems, stories and letters; the fourth (last page) includes short items and foreign news. Examples are *Liberation Army News* and *Warriors Journal*.

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All military papers and magazines are written in colloquial rather than literary Chinese, use the new abbreviated writing characters and, in most instances use Arabic numerals. *Military officers* and *noncoms* are literate and semieducated, but are still naive concerning the West and modern technology. They have very little spare time, but also little in the way of recreational facilities, so reading matter would be welcome. Controls are strict so that discussion and even the mere possession of enemy materials is difficult to conceal. *Enlisted men* and *militia* are barely literate and much more naive than *officers* or *noncoms*. Pictures are best in communicating with them although they are proud of the little literacy they possess.

2. *Printed handouts (Pamphlets, Leaflets, Flyers)*

For ordinary purposes handbills and throwaways in China are 8 x 10, the same size as is commonly used in other countries. Handbills scattered from airplanes may be as small as half a post card. However, since Communist controls are very strict, the size of printed handouts should be as small as possible to facilitate concealment. Rectangular, approximately 6 x 3 inches to 8 x 5 inches, is suggested. In any case, the printed text and pictures must be of large enough type, not only for easy reading, but to give it a sense of authority and credibility. For *printed handouts*, the type size of Chinese characters should be no smaller than No. 4.

The maximum number of pages for a pamphlet should be governed by the particular audience dealt with and by the content of the message. For educated audiences (*journalists, students, professionals*, etc.), the pamphlet can be as long as the message requires it to be, but should not usually exceed 20 or 25 pages in length. For *peasants* it should be as short as possible in order to get a point across—one page is best. For the *military*, one to three pages in length is suggested.

3. *Posters*

Wall posters should be large enough to attract people at a distance and to allow many persons to view them at the same time. Although slogans are often painted on walls so that individual characters are outsized, in general there are no Chinese billboards as large as the American ones that are designed primarily for reading from a speeding automobile. Wall posters should be placed at eye level or higher, with any pictorial work above eye level, if possible.

Artistic calligraphy should be avoided in wall posters, and the texts should be in large, clear type characters for quick reading. For the *military*, very large characters should be utilized with perhaps one picture and as few words as possible.

C. VISUAL AIDS

1. *Pictures*

Pictures are always effective to use as a means of communication.

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They are particularly effective when they are employed to demonstrate the use of a piece of equipment, the benefits of inoculations against typhoid, the need to build a highway, etc., to mention just a few examples. The pasting of pictures on the walls along streets is a common practice in China. Pictures are clear, simple, and easily understood by *peasants* as well as by educated people; though to an intellectual who is interested in reading—more for information and reasoned development of an argument—too many pictures, such as in a pictorial magazine, with little reading matter will prove unsatisfactory.

However, since many Chinese are still illiterate, pictures are one of the most effective media of communication.

Relative Effectiveness of Various Pictures

The relative effectiveness of an individual picture or a series of pictures to be used as a means of communication depends on the problem involved. For example, a series of pictures organized to present a picture story, or individual pictures depicting unusual scenes, or showing the highlights of some events are each effective and useful in their own ways.

For readability, an individual picture of sufficient size is better for the wall or for wall posters, while a series of pictures telling a story is used to better advantage in books, magazines, and other printed matter. If one can be certain the audience will see the entire series, they would be very effective. However, individual pictures would probably be equally effective since their circulation is usually greater.

According to the tradition of Chinese painting, black-and-white wash drawings were considered superior to pictures in color. Even when color was used, tints were preferred to heavy or high coloring.

In present-day cartoons or propaganda paintings, however, the Western technique is followed. Gaudy, heavy colors are employed to brighten up an otherwise dull life. Colored illustrations in general, may then be said to be more effective than black-and-white, especially to attract the attention of the audience. Exceptions are the crudely done but persuasive woodcuts in black-and-white, depicting traditional themes and everyday life, which have been utilized effectively by the Chinese Communists.

A photograph is more effective than a sketch since it will be accepted as concrete evidence and will encourage trust in any accompanying material. It is useful also for eliciting attention.

A sketch may be preferred to a photograph where eye-catching quality, artistic effect, or instructional presentation (e.g., a cross-section of a mine) is desired. Also simple lines cleverly done are appreciated by most Chinese; for example, the cartoons of James Thurber are greaty admired.

In general, the best possible overall quality of art work is desirable. Chinese place great emphasis on attractiveness and are more

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likely to welcome and retain high quality material. Good quality also tends to give a sense of authority to the message.

It does not matter whether the art work is of Chinese or foreign origin. However, indiscriminate and extravagant use of "slick" paper among a people who have to live with the problem of paper shortage, and where more deserving artistic and literary efforts can be printed only on poor-quality paper, tends to arouse negative feelings on the part of the audience. There are technical considerations as well: slick paper may be acceptable if it is used where functionally appropriate, such as where fine halftone reproductions are required; but in the case of a publication whose contents are of a serious and advanced nature intellectually, where text counts more than pictures, slick paper would not be called for. Under certain circumstances, such as when one wishes to avoid attracting attention because of novelty, locally produced paper should be used. Also, if paper can be made useful, e.g., impregnated with soap, it would be prized and kept.

News pictures are effective in the daily press, in magazines, or on display in show windows or on public bulletin boards. Possibly news pictures of current or recent national and international events would prove the most interesting to an average Chinese. Pictures depicting activity in a particular field in America can be counted on to attract great interest among members of that particular field in China.

Some traditional uses of pictures and symbols are as follows:

1. Flower painting for joyful occasions.
2. A unicorn or the Goddess of Mercy (*Kuan-yin*) on the birth of a boy.
3. A sailing boat to encourage study by a student. ("Stand like a sailboat against the stream for if you do not progress you will retrogress.")
4. A white-haired bird on marriage (to symbolize growing old together).
5. Depiction of the "soul returning to Heaven" for funerals.

In general, however, keep in mind that the effect of the picture depends not so much upon the sort used, but the skill with which it is executed or selected, the circumstances in which it is used, and the words used to illustrate it or increase its effectiveness. For example, Chinese prefer a simple picture with a strong impact.

Pictures to Avoid

1. High government officials are not considered suitable subjects for ridicule in a political cartoon.
2. "Pin-up" pictures, and men and women kissing are considered in bad taste especially if Chinese women are involved.
3. Chinese women especially (in contrast to women in general) should not be depicted in a manner to make the Chinese people lose

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face. It would be all right to show a Chinese woman being abused by a Russian, but not by a Chinese.

4. Do not show Chinese women carousing with Russians in a manner to suggest they are thoroughly enjoying themselves (e.g. sitting on a Russian's lap).

5. Emphasizing sex and particularly sexy Chinese women would in most cases be considered offensive.

6. A man in a long gown, or wearing a pigtail, or smoking opium is a symbol of the decadent elements of the past, and as such is considered offensive.

In brief, anything which tends to suggest the Chinese are an inferior race should not be used.

In China, depicting brutality and physical suffering is quite acceptable—as are pictures of dead bodies and physical deformities. However, a picture of "death," such as the type hung in busy American traffic centers or along the highways, would be considered offensive by a Chinese if the picture faced his house. In general, anything which does not cause the Chinese people to lose face would be acceptable for use in a picture for the Chinese. Care should be taken, however, that the picture does not have a boomerang effect if drawn by an American, or by a Chinese working for Americans.

2. *Cartoons*

Although cartoons are not as developed in China as they are in the United States, they can be exploited as a useful device to aid the American communicator. Sarcasm or satire is the traditional function of newspaper cartoons in China. However, cartoons can also be used as a means for the dissemination of information, exposing the weak points or intentions of the enemy, and playing up our strong points. Serialized or issued in book form, cartoons can be assured of a large audience in China, especially among the children and the less literate classes—particularly when made available free or inexpensively.

For the *military* audience, attention is directed to a series of cartoons intended to depict the life of a Communist soldier which appeared in a Taipei newspaper in 1951. These were cleverly done and portrayed him as a simple, decent, confused, unsophisticated country boy who often had a hard time in military life. Much of the material was humorous and at the same time very effective anti-Communist propaganda. Cartoons should not be slanted toward illiterates for this audience, since most of the members of the military are literate.

Many of the cartoons published in the numerous "mosquito sheets," which appeared in China after the War of Resistance and before the Communists took over, were extremely well done and many of them were quite funny. They might well serve as models to follow in drawing cartoons.

There is no special Chinese style for cartoons since they were in-

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fluenced by foreign cartoons from their inception. Differences between them are mainly over topics of discussion, which reflect differences in cultural preferences and problems. For example, divorce is rarely treated in Chinese cartoons but the hen-pecked husband is a popular topic. In advertising, cartoons follow Chinese tastes and desires (e.g., cosmetic advertising is rarer than in the U.S.).

In general, cartoons are crude, shocking, simple—varying from extreme, even bitter satire, to the extremely funny. Often they depict things which we would consider in bad taste, in fact revolting. Personages are often shown in extreme caricature. Chinese cartoons are either in a series or are the single editorial type of cartoon.

All Communist cartoons serve political purposes, hence, their cartoons are not so spontaneous and not so humorous as ours, just as the humor in the Russian *Krokodil* seems terribly dull, heavy, and sometimes bitter, to Westerners.

Cartoons are often drawn with a Chinese brush pen, though they may also be done in pen-and-ink. They are more simple or more crude than Western cartoons, and use more words to capture a wider and less sophisticated audience. Talk is indicated by a balloon near the speaker (especially if only a few words), or to the side within or without the panel, while captions are used for explanation. The caption may be placed below or on the right side of the cartoon (in accordance with standard Chinese language practice).

3. *Maps*

Map comprehension is directly proportional to modern education, which implies that older people, rural people, and those whose education is nil or limited to elementary school are generally unfamiliar with maps. However, most people are knowledgeable about terrain features and the general layout and location of their own small areas, though exactness here would be limited to specialists and those trained in the armed forces (*officers* and *noncoms* being much more knowledgeable than the *enlisted men* and *militia*). The map of China and China's position in the world has been the subject of Chinese Communist propaganda for some time now, and even the unsophisticated (e.g., *peasants*) will have some familiarity with the map of their country.

4. *Use of Color*

For ordinary purposes, black type on white paper is most commonly used and acceptable for posters, newssheets, and printed handouts. For variation, print may be dark blue or dark green, and the paper may be light yellow, pink, or light blue; but the black-on-white combination still is preferred.

For festive occasions, red-colored paper is usually used, but dark-

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colored type on pastel-colored paper may be appropriate. Any other variations would be considered unusual.

Large red type on white paper may be used in headlines for newspaper extras, or for similar uses, to attract the readers' attention, as this color combination connotes urgency, danger, warning, and fear. Bright, gaudy colors, with plenty of red (especially if used to show blood) may also be used under these circumstances.

Red is associated with gay occasions, especially marriage, while white is the color of mourning. Yellow is a religious color associated with Buddhism, Taoism, or Confucianism. For seasons, light red is associated with spring, green for summer, yellow for autumn, and white for winter. Blue and other dark colors denote the noble and formal. Red and mixed colors mean fresh and childish.

For joyous occasions such as New Year, the background of pictures may be white (for snow), or a light beige, possibly with plum trees somewhere in the design.

The clothing of persons in a picture may be any color, but blue and black, or gray are preferable for men; and red or multicolored prints for the dresses of younger women. Middle-aged women would be ridiculed if they appeared in bright-colored dresses. (The multicolored hats worn by American women are amusing to the Chinese.) Headgear should never be white, which is the color of mourning or of misfortune. In general, dark brown is rarely used; and it should be remembered that yellow has religious associations.

Avoid using red for funerals or in sad contexts, and for ordinary messages and announcements; also, bright yellow, pink, green, and other gay color combinations should be avoided on solemn occasions (funerals, disasters, etc.). Black, gray, light blue, and light yellow (canary), and especially white are for sad and solemn occasions, especially funerals, and should be played down or reasonably avoided for depicting a happy occasion. White is absolutely offensive on any joyous occasion.

D. AUDIO MEDIA

1. *Radio*

Any radio program designed to inform and entertain would be effective for the American communicator to use in China. Objective newscasts in Chinese of international and national events, speeches by well-known political leaders of the world, and other timely reports on any events throughout the world, should head the list of effective programs.

In short-wave broadcasts, music would be of doubtful value. For medium- and long-wave broadcasts, talks, drama, and music are all effective radio programs. Short drama, fictional stories, humor, and daily life in the United States are also useful, as are dramatic dialogues accompanied by music and arias from the Peiping Opera.

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The *military*, in particular, prefer the following: popular music (particularly popular soldier music), news items with propaganda carefully seeded in, stories (such as told by teahouse story tellers), either followed by propaganda or with propaganda included; arias from well-known Chinese plays; and local or home news.

Political commentary broadcast by either U.S. professional commentators or U.S. Government officials can both be effective, depending on circumstances and the subject matter of the broadcast. If it is a matter of enunciation of U.S. policy on a given issue, the voice of a high U.S. Government official (the President or the Secretary of State) would carry more authority. If it is a matter in which the U.S. Government as such is considered an interested party, then a private professional radio commentator will command more credence and will provide a chance to illuminate the background of the issues involved.

U.S. Government officials who speak Chinese, or speak with Chinese sound track would be extremely effective. Professional observers and commentators who speak Chinese, or with Chinese sound track would be more effective than officials speaking through interpreters.

It is believed that listeners are accustomed to the interspersing of political commentary in entertainment programs, especially now in Communist China, and do not find it offensive—particularly if they enjoy the political commentary.

The American communicator should be allowed considerable selectivity for the purpose of tailoring the radio programs to suit the needs of his audiences, in order to obtain maximum effectiveness. But selectivity should not be taken to mean that he has the power to suppress or distort news or facts, or to slant the programs in such a way as to be misleading.

In beaming his broadcasts at the Chinese audience, the American communicator should introduce some self-criticism occasionally when the situation warrants it. Self-criticism, when carried too far, tends to discredit the communicator, but if there is little or none, the American communicator would appear self-righteous. Whenever there is a proper occasion for self-criticism, the American should be sincere; he should avoid appearing hypocritical and should give an impression of fairness and objectivity.

2. *Music*

There are two main types of music in China: 1. *Traditional Chinese music*, as represented by the Peiping Opera and by regional folk songs; and 2. Western music, which includes classical music; popular "hit" tunes from musicals, radio, and movies; semiclassical selections; and American folk songs. As is to be expected, Chinese with a modern educational background have had contact with some form of Western music and have learned to enjoy it. However, this liking for Western music does not preclude some of them from being addicted at the same

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time to the various Chinese operas which many of the modern Chinese still can sing and enjoy.

Traditional Chinese Music

In general, Chinese music is not sufficiently developed as an accompaniment to drama to have readily identifiable selections for various moods and emotions. If Chinese music must be used, it can be selected in a general way: that is, happy music is associated with happiness, and melancholy music with sadness, etc. But caution must be raised with regard to having an American communicator using the music of his audience; for when the source is identified as American, it is naturally expected that American music be played. If Chinese music is played the more clever and apt the selections the more an American's motives will be suspect.

Before the Communists came, the arias from the best known classical dramas probably had the most universal appeal. The tunes of these arias follow a set pattern, the words varying according to an infinite number of different persons and situations. When they are sung they bring up ideas of the most moving nature. In a country with as rich a heritage of culture as China, there is a tremendous amount of this music with which the Communists have had nothing to do, such as folk songs, marching songs of the War of Resistance, cradle and nursery songs, and popular song hits of the period just before the Communists came into power. But beware of a boomerang effect if this music is improperly employed, as was explained in the caution above.

These old or new arias will continue to have a great effect on the audience. Upon hearing one of these arias, the individual or group may be influenced not merely by the content of the words, but also because the entire aria may arouse a host of poignant memories of happy hours with parents and friends, or of moving experiences in earlier life.

Even before they came into power, the Communists made use of music of many kinds as an instrument of politics. The more songs they produced, the more were sung—especially by enthusiastic, song-loving college students—and their propaganda benefited accordingly. They used music to amuse themselves and to influence the people in the "Border Areas" (the backwoods districts to which they had been relegated by the National Government). Hundreds of songs were composed or originated in those days, and many more since that time. These include songs of the Long March, of soldier life and peasant life, songs about fighting the Japanese and the KMT, songs about the hardships of life in the "Border Areas." There are no love songs as we think of them.

Once they were in power, the Communists banned many of the old Chinese plays while others were modified by inserting heavy doses

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of propaganda. All these Communist songs can be employed in influencing any audience, especially the military, through a sort of Chinese "Tokyo Rose."

Communist music, in recordings and sheet music, is readily available in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia (e.g., in Singapore), while more traditional music and music related to the Republic of China can be obtained from Taiwan. Nonpolitical, movie, and pop music are to be found in Chinese communities all over the world.

Types of music associated with happiness are cheerful songs such as "Boundless Life" and renditions from the Peiping opera. Though technically not music, the sounding of firecrackers has joyful connotations, as is true also for percussion music (cymbals, gongs, and drums). Music played by Western-style marching bands would probably also appeal to the majority of Chinese, especially children.

To arouse fear and uncertainty: "April Spring Time," "Lady's Sorrowful Thoughts in Autumn," "Flower-Moon Night on the Spring River," "Springtime on the Lake," and "Color Chase the Moon" are some representative songs. Other methods of obtaining this effect are by rapid sounding of the drum, horn, or gong; and the playing of violin music and aria parts of distressed characters of the Peiping opera.

Music associated with disaster: Songs such as "Ambush in Ten Directions," and the sounding of drums. The slow beating of the gong was the traditional means of reporting disaster. (In World War II the gong was used instead of air-raid sirens.)

Music associated with festivals: "Boundless Life"; traditional Chinese orchestra with strong percussion section; and firecrackers.

To arouse patriotism: The national anthem of either Communist or Nationalist China, or military songs and marches, or any Chinese music with a theme of nostalgia is appropriate. For the *military*, there is an endless variety of songs praising Mao Tse-tung, Communism, and the Party, e.g., "Without the Communist Party There Would Be No New China." Also there are martial songs and folk songs particularly appropriate for the *military*.

For state occasions, there is "national" music of more dignified character, and spirited Western band music, such as the Sousa marches. For the *military*, slow pompous martial music is also used.

For ceremonies associated with crucial points in the life cycle:

Birth and Birthdays—Ordinary joyful music on the theme of "The Whole World Joins in Congratulations." In general, there is no special music for this time.

Marriage—Any so-called "national" music may be used, especially "Boundless Life" and "Flower-Moon Night on the Spring River." A wedding is suggested by the braying notes of the *hao*, a reed instrument something like an oboe, played as the bridal chair is carried in

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(if the traditional marriage ritual is still performed). The Western "Wedding March" is used by certain urban and educated Chinese.

Death.—A special band is used emphasizing the wailing notes of the horn and flute, with additional utilization of the drum, especially while the coffin is on display. Western funeral marches and hymns are used at modern funerals, especially by Christian religious sectarians.

Western Music

For the *urban elite* (especially groups like *students, urban Cantonese, journalists, managerial elite, merchants and industrialists*, and *professionals*), Western popular music is familiar and well received. Songs that are used in movies are even more popular because the audience may have heard them in the movies, and therefore, have stronger associations than in the case of music heard from radio or recordings alone. Western light opera, or operetta-type of music, such as "The Merry Widow," "The Chocolate Soldier," are also favorites of urban Chinese who have a taste for Western music. On the other hand, most Chinese who like Western music do not like real jazz or rock 'n' roll, nor do they care too much for hillbilly songs. These are considered cheap and tasteless and are called "yellow music." Some Chinese intellectuals, however, have a taste for Western classical music. This is also true of the Chinese Communist elite, among whom serious appreciation of "long-hair" music is fostered.

It must be understood that the Chinese on the mainland, because they are under strict control and lead regimented lives, know mostly Communist music. For the most part they have not been exposed to jazz or rock 'n' roll. Such audiences as *students* may be interested for no other reason than that it is forbidden.

Audience Preferences

Music is related to both cultural background and age. Band music, jazz, and rock 'n' roll must be limited to urban youth. In the country, among older people and among the unsophisticated urbanites, traditional "national" music, opera and folk songs probably predominate, though movie music and popular songs have made some headway. Western symphony music appeals to very few. Most people prefer string instruments to pipe and percussion (except for the solo use of the flute or panpipes).

For the *military*, avoid any music particularly associated with the KMT armed forces, particularly with KMT soldiers. This would apply to the Chinese (KMT) national anthem, because it is the KMT Party song. It is doubtful that even the official Communist National Anthem, "Chi Lai," has much of an appeal to the *military* since it was written in days of KMT power.

Western or American popular music, jazz, and folk songs used to be very popular with the Chinese *students*, who attended Western

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schools and they would probably like to be brought up to date, having been cut off from this type of music since the advent of the Communists. *To Cantonese*, Cantonese opera music or arias would be especially appealing. To the educated, Western classical and popular music may also be played.

E. OTHER MEDIA

Movies

The American movie industry is well known for its high development. Movies can be a very effective medium, provided more attention can be given to content rather than to such matters as technical perfection and profit. Color shorts on the United States are most effective, and newsreels of recent events would be welcomed.

Chinese audiences are angered by stereotyped representations of Chinese smoking opium, women with bound feet, etc. Unfortunately, many of these old pictures with such "Fu Manchu" stereotypes are still around.

SECTION VI

TASKS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

In this research, the work was focused upon the development of appeal ideas. By definition, an appeal idea is a line of persuasion designed to accomplish a task of psychological operations. An appeal idea, in other words, is a tool or means for achieving a specific task. Appeal idea and task are tied together in a means-end relationship. To guide consultants in developing appeal ideas, it was, therefore, necessary to construct a working list of tasks.

Such a list was prepared by reference to past psychological campaigns and on the basis of anticipated future needs. The tasks which appear on this list are relevant to the major military objectives served by psychological operations. These are—

1. To reduce the combat efficiency of the enemy military forces.

2. To further the war effort by modifying or manipulating attitudes and behaviors of special audiences.

3. To facilitate reorganization and control of occupied or liberated areas in conjunction with civil affairs and military government operations.

4. To obtain the cooperation of allies and neutrals in the war effort.

These objectives are consistent with the six projected military situations set forth in the research assumptions (see Section I, *PLAN OF THE REPORT*) and the tasks have been categorized below under the headings of these situations. The tasks have also been ordered within the broader goals of psychological operations (see Section I, *PLAN OF THE REPORT*, and Section III, *OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS*).

For various reasons, it was neither feasible nor desirable to work with all tasks in the general list in the appeal development phase. First, the selected special audiences have a significant degree of potential for the accomplishment of certain tasks only. Second, only certain tasks have a high degree of military importance under the assumptions that were laid down to guide this research.

The tasks selected for the appeal development phase of this study are those numbered 1 through 67 in the General List of Psychological Operations Tasks given below. These tasks were chosen because (1) they are tasks within the potential of the selected audiences, and (2) they are of relatively high military importance under the assumptions that guided the study. Though arranged in categories, the tasks are

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numbered consecutively as an aid to the use of the Appeal Ideas Section (Section VII, *APPEAL IDEAS OF JUDGED PERSUASIVENESS*) which appears next in the report.

GENERAL LIST OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS TASKS

Part A: Tasks for Military Groups in the Armed Forces Opposing the United States

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

1. To convince enemy soldiers that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (e.g., build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between the peoples of their country and the United States).

Goal—Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

2. To get the enemy soldiers to become confused and openly doubtful concerning the ideology and war aims of their government and the governments of their country's allies (e.g., by pointing out weak points, fallacies, and immoralities).

3. To make enemy soldiers lose faith in the ultimate victory of their side and expect the United States to be victorious.

4. To make enemy soldiers lose confidence in their own military forces (top military leaders, superiors, training, weapons and ammunition, security system, etc.).

5. To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers a disrespect for or lack of confidence in the top national civilian leaders of their country.

6. To make enemy soldiers desire peace (i.e., make them feel the end of the war is desirable).

7. To intensify the enemy soldiers' apprehension about conditions at home.

8. To arouse and intensify nostalgia (severe melancholia, homesickness, morbid sentimentality) among enemy soldiers.

9. To promote apathy (lethargy, indifference, etc.) among enemy soldiers.

Goal—Discord

10. To get enemy enlisted men to become increasingly resentful of officers.

11. To get enemy officers to distrust their enlisted men.

12. To get enemy officers of the same grade to quarrel and fight among themselves.

13. To get one faction of enemy officers to quarrel and fight with another faction.

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14. To get enemy military personnel to become distrustful of and to quarrel with political officers, and vice versa.

15. To get major elements (branches and services) of the enemy military forces to quarrel and fight with other major elements (e.g., arouse resentment among ground troops about lack of adequate naval and air support).

16. To intensify conflicts among ethnic or minority groups in the enemy military forces.

17. To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers resentment against favored civilian groups (e.g., stress inequality of sacrifice).

18. To promote among enemy soldiers feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Goal—Privatization

19. To make enemy soldiers increasingly dissatisfied with military life because of its hardships (isolation, danger, cold, excessive marching, etc.).

20. To arouse resentment among enemy soldiers regarding the failure of their own military forces to provide adequate food, clothing, medical care, etc.

21. To weaken enemy soldiers' pride in and loyalty to their primary unit (squad, platoon, company, etc.).

Goal—Panic and Disorganized Behavior

22. To get enemy soldiers to panic or to behave in a disorganized manner.

Goal—Subversion and Resistance

23. To get enemy soldiers to malinger (e.g., faking diseases, injuring themselves, pretending inability to read instructions).

24. To get enemy soldiers to practice passive resistance (e.g., refusal to fight, fighting inefficiently, delaying action).

25. To get enemy soldiers to become insubordinate.

26. To get enemy soldiers to commit sabotage (e.g., blowing up supplies, disabling their weapons).

Goal—Surrender, Defection, Desertion

27. To convince enemy soldiers that they will be treated well if they surrender.

28. To arouse or intensify among enemy soldiers a desire to live (e.g., overcome fatalism, convince the soldiers that true loyalty requires survival).

29. To get enemy soldiers to surrender or be captured by passive behavior (i.e., cease fighting and wait for opportunity to surrender or be captured).

30. To get enemy soldiers to desert (i.e., take to the hills).

31. To get individual soldiers to surrender.

32. To get groups or units of the opposing military forces to surrender.

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Part B: Tasks for Nonmilitary Groups Residing in the Enemy Country

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

33. To convince members of the group that a U.S. victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between them and the U.S.; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc.).

34. To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation With the United States

35. To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

36. To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns or cities.

Goal—Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

37. To instill among members of the group a lack of faith in the ultimate victory of the regime under which they live and create an expectation of a United States victory.

38. To arouse and intensify among members of the group a desire for peace.

39. To create doubt and confusion among members of the group concerning the ideology and war aims of their government.

40. To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top national leaders.

41. To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top group leaders.

42. To arouse among members of the group nostalgia (severe melancholia, morbid sentimentality) for the generally approved aspects of the past.

43. To promote apathy among members of the group.

Goal—Discord

44. To arouse or intensify among members of the group resentment against profiteers or favored groups.

45a. To promote dissension and conflict between cliques of the group which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

45b. To promote dissension and conflict between the group and other groups in the country which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

46. To encourage disaffection on the part of members of the group because of grievances (ethnic, religious, social, political, economic, etc.) against the government.

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47. To get top national leaders to fight among themselves.

48. To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Goal—Privatization

49. To make members of the group dissatisfied with living conditions (poor or insufficient food, inadequate clothing, excessive restrictions, etc.).

50. To weaken groups members' pride in and loyalty to their primary group (e.g., family group, work group).

Goal—Panic and Disorganized Behavior

51. To get members of the group to panic or behave in a disorganized manner.

Goal—Subversion and Resistance

52. To get members of the group to slow down or create delays.

53. To get members of the group to malinger or practice absenteeism.

54. To get members of the group to strike.

55. To get members of the group to commit sabotage or participate in other forms of active resistance.

56. To get members of the group to organize to take part in resistance movements in enemy areas.

57. To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

Part C: Tasks for Countries or Areas Controlled by the United States Military Government or Civil Affairs (Consolidation).

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

58. To identify and strengthen among members of the group ideals held in common by the liberated country and the United States.

Goal—Encouragement

59. To help rebuild among members of the group a sense of national unity or group solidarity.

60. To help give the members of the group encouragement and hope for the future of their liberated country or area.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

61. To prevent among the members of the group a desire for the return to power of the defeated regime.

62. To counter rumors and false reports among members of the group.

63. To create among members of the group negative attitudes and acts toward aggressive militarism.

64. To create receptive attitudes among members of the group to changes approved by the occupation forces.

65. To help prepare the members of the group for postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation.

66. To get members of the group to assist civil affairs and/or military government in restoring law and order in occupied or liberated territories.

67. To get members of the group to support the control of civilians, displaced persons, and prisoners of war.

Part D: Tasks for Groups in Areas Occupied by the Armed Forces of the Enemy

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

68. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the occupied country and the United States.

69. To convince the members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between members of the group and the United States; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc.).

70. To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

71. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

72. To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

73. To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns and cities.

Goal—Hostility Toward and Noncooperation With the Enemy

74. To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward the enemy.

75. To get members of the group to oppose portions of enemy ideology by making them aware of certain traditional values which are contradictory to the enemy ideology.

76. To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy.

77. To encourage members of the group to deny manpower and food to the enemies of the United States.

78. To discourage members of the group from collaborating with the enemy.

79. To show the allies or satellites of the enemy that they will be welcome to the U.S. side if they disassociate themselves from the enemy.

Goal—Subversion and Resistance

80. To get members of the group to stage slowdowns and delays.

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81. To get members of the group to malinger and practice absenteeism.

82. To get the members of the group to strike.

83. To get members of the group to commit sabotage and support other forms of active resistance.

84. To get members of the group to organize or support resistance movements in areas occupied by the enemy.

85. To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

Part E: Tasks for Groups in Countries Allied With the United States

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

86. To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States.

87. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the allied country and the United States.

88. To convince members of the group that the United States will not interfere in the internal affairs of their country.

89. To promote among members of the group the feeling that the war contributions and achievements of their country are appreciated.

90. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal—Encouragement

91. To make the members of the group feel hopeful about the future position of their country in the postwar world.

92. To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

93. To get members of the group to cooperate with the United States.

Goal—Hostility Toward and Noncooperation With the Enemy

94. To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy government.

95. To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the common enemy and its leaders.

Part F: Tasks for Groups in Neutral Countries

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

96. To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States and its allies.

97. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those

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ideals and values held in common by the neutral country and the United States.

98. To convince members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable.

99. To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

100. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

101. To get members of the group to favor cooperation with the United States.

Goal—Hostility Toward and Noncooperation With the Enemy

102. To discredit among members of the group the ideology and war aims of the enemy of the United States.

103. To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the enemy of the United States, and its leaders.

104. To persuade members of the group to refuse to collaborate economically or politically with the enemy of the United States.

SECTION VII

APPEAL IDEAS OF JUDGED PERSUASIVENESS (WITH ACCOMPANYING SYMBOLS)

This section presents appeal ideas which may assist the psychological operator in communicating effectively with special audiences in Mainland China or with the country as a whole. Those appeal ideas judged by area-specialist consultants to be (1) "higher in relative persuasiveness" or (2) "medium in relative persuasiveness" are presented here. As explained earlier, the appeal ideas are not intended to provide nor can they furnish ready answers to all of the operator's problems. It is expected that the operator will select, adapt, or even reject the appeal ideas according to the requirements of the local military situation, tactical or strategic, or the situation of the civilian population, as the case may be (see A Caution, Section I, *PLAN OF THE REPORT*).

Consultants, selected for their knowledge of the culture of Mainland China, developed appeal ideas for a specified set of problem situations. (A problem situation is the special problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience. See Research Definitions, Section I, *PLAN OF THE REPORT*.) Problem situations considered to be appropriate for the group and to have relatively high military importance were chosen.

For each appeal idea a consultant developed, he was asked to describe the expected reaction of members of the special audience and the cultural factors which would influence the reaction. He was also asked to identify the key symbols (concepts, icons, emblems, designs, references to individuals and events, key elements in pictures or in musical selections, gestures, etc.) in the appeal ideas devised, and to explain the symbolic meaning of each for the special audience.

In addition to appeal ideas obtained from consultants, other appeal ideas were derived from the responses to a specially designed test developed by SORO for administration to members of the special audiences themselves. The test consists of both verbal and pictorial items. The subjects were instructed to respond to the verbal items by providing endings for incomplete sentences and to the pictorial items by speaking for a cartoon figure. Each of the items relates directly to a particular task of psychological operations, although the questions are disguised in such a way that the respondents believed they were answering a standard questionnaire of interest in cross-cultural research. The test can be adapted for administration to any audience of interest. In the

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case of Mainland China, the test was adapted for use with students and military audiences. The test proved to be a rich source of appeal ideas. Many of the appeal ideas for the student audience and most of the appeal ideas for military audiences were obtained from this source.

The appeal ideas obtained for each special audience were presented to area specialists for judgments as to their relative persuasiveness for accomplishing the given task of psychological operations. The major factors used as criteria in determining the relative persuasiveness of an appeal idea were the degree to which it: (1) would gain and hold the attention of members of the audience; (2) would be readily and completely understood by the audience; (3) would be believed and accepted by the members of the audience; (4) would arouse appropriate motives and emotions in the members of the audience; (5) would evoke a similar effect among members of the audience in the foreseeable future, assuming no major changes occur in their sociopolitical way of life.

An attempt was made to avoid submitting an appeal idea for evaluation to the consultant who had developed it. Three independent ratings were obtained for each appeal idea. Only those appeal ideas which received positive and relatively high ratings from all three raters are presented in the pages which follow. Appeal ideas which were judged to evoke negative or adverse effects, damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military objective, have been eliminated.

PRESENTATION OF APPEAL IDEAS

The appeal ideas are ordered consecutively by tasks of psychological operations (Section VI, *TASKS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS*), and under each task, alphabetically by special audiences. If there are several appeal ideas for a given problem situation, those with the higher rating of judged persuasiveness 1, precede those with the lower rating 2.

The key symbols in each appeal idea are specified and their cultural meaning is given. In addition, available supporting information—including the expected reaction of the special audience to the appeal idea, comments upon situational or differential effects (Research Definitions, Section I, *PLAN OF THE REPORT*), special conditions for use, and particular cautions to be observed in using the appeal idea—is presented under each appeal idea. This supporting information applies to the problem situation for which the appeal idea was primarily designed. In some cases, an appeal idea developed to accomplish a particular task with a particular audience is judged to be persuasive in accomplishing the task in question with other audiences or is judged to be persuasive in accomplishing other tasks. The supporting information is not necessarily relevant to these other problem situations.

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In order to maintain the credibility of U.S. psychological activities, the operator in selecting appeal ideas to use should make certain that any event, information, or enemy action recounted in the appeal idea is essentially accurate and within the scope of what is believable to the audience. Some additional principles to be heeded in selecting appeal ideas for use are given on pages 29–31 of *FM 33–5* (1955). The operator is also again reminded of the other cautions set forth in Section I regarding the use of appeal ideas.

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A. Tasks for Military Groups in the Armed Forces Opposing The United States

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE U.S.

TASK 1: To convince enemy soldiers that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (e.g., build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between the peoples of his country and the U.S.).

NCO's

1. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two parts: a. U.S. fighting Japanese; b. U.S. providing relief supplies in Chinese flood and famine areas.	Former friends.
Caption: We are former friends.	

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are very loyal to old friends and feel an obligation toward those who have once helped them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Should prevent hostility toward friends who have helped in the past.

2. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A flood scene, people starving (children with sunken eyes and bloated stomachs), with pictures of ships, planes and trucks bearing supplies under the U.S. flag and marked with the Red Cross. Chinese and American personnel distributing these supplies.	American help.
Caption: Americans help those in distress.	

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To recall American and UNRRA aid and relief during and after World War II, and the promise of future aid at the conclusion of hostilities.

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3. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A right hand clenched, part of the arm showing—in outline showing fingers to front with thumb sticking up, "thumbs up."	1. Thumbs up. 2. Very good (*ting hao*).
Caption: The Americans are very good; remember how they helped the country? Now they can help you to get rid of the Communist bandits.	

Meaning of Symbols: Thumbs up is a culture-wide gesture of admiration and friendliness widely known by Chinese as a gesture of greeting between Chinese and Americans. Very good (*ting hao*) is a verbal greeting linked to this gesture and is equally well known and widely used.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reawakens approval and admiration for Americans by recalling the period of alliance and American aid.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Enlisted Men, task 30, rating of 1.

Enlisted Men

4. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
America will help to return your land, and your livelihood.	Livelihood.

Meaning of Symbols: The backbone of the enlisted ranks is formed of peasants and the most important things in their lives are their own land and no government interference.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the desire for a return to the old way of life where the people could own their own land and the government did not interfere very effectively in the carrying on of their livelihood.

Situational Effect: This must be established American policy in order to be effective.

5. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Americans fight only to protect people from aggression and for the sake of genuine freedom and equality.	Aggression.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The group may not accept these words at face value; however, to learn that Americans are claiming the

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same ideals and war objectives as their own government creates a favorable impression for our side and instills doubt about the justice of their own cause.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 3 developed for NCO's, task 1, rated 1 for Enlisted Men.

GOAL: DISCOURAGEMENT, DEFEATISM, APATHY

TASK 2: To get the enemy soldiers to become confused and openly doubtful concerning the ideology and war aims of their government and the governments of their country's allies (e.g., by pointing out weak points, fallacies, and immoralities).

Officers

6. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
The world believes that you are fighting to take away other nations' sovereignty and rights.	Fighting for evil.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To feel that those who fight in an unrighteous cause will incur the scorn of all decent men.

7. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
You are fighting for the political desires of a few men who do not have the people's welfare at heart or they would end this war now.	Fighting for selfish leaders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To believe that only leaders mad with desire for political power would allow the war to continue.

NCO's

8. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Under the Communists you have been asked to fight and fight again without end. One day the people will rise up and overthrow you for causing so much pain and unrest.	Pain and unrest.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that the people will eventually rise up and destroy those who are responsible for prolong-

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ing the war will be an incentive to the group to take action which will bring the war to an end.

9. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
This war serves only to perpetuate the dictatorship over your country.	Dictatorship.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea that Communist rule is a dictatorship which all normal men wish to see ended, should encourage the group to lose faith in the cause for which they are supposed to be fighting, namely the freedom of the Chinese people.

10. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are asked to sacrifice your personal safety for the justice of all, but are you not sacrificing only for the political ambitions of a minority?	Sacrifice for minority.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As long as there is something to fight for, if only delayed victory, the group will make the sacrifice of serving in the front lines. In a deteriorating military situation, however, the appeal will do much to foster the idea that the long-drawn-out struggle is continuing not for the sake of the Chinese people as a whole, but for the benefit of a small and selfish minority.

Enlisted Men

11. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your leaders are pledged to *world* revolution. This means you will never be at peace.	*World* revolution.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even if the Americans are defeated, there remain other countries which must be conquered before world revolution can be accomplished. Hence, this appeal should result in the maximum of discouragement.

12. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Do you really believe you are fighting for your country and your people's interest, as your leaders claim?	Fighting.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: When things are going well, it is easy for

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enlisted men to feel they are fighting for the best interests of their country and their people, but when the war situation begins to deteriorate, it is natural for them to suspect they have been deceived by their leaders about the real objectives of the war.

13. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
No one has questioned your sincerity and bravery. But do your leaders tell you the real reason why you have been asked to fight this war?	Doubt of leadership.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: First to give the group a pat on the back, then to suggest that their own leaders are their real enemies are effective means of fostering doubt concerning the ideology and war ideas of the Communist Government.

TASK 3: To make enemy soldiers lose faith in the ultimate victory of their side and expect the United States to be victorious.

Officers

14. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A right hand in outline, clenched with fingers to front and thumb stuck up, "thumbs up." Caption: American troops are very good, so victory will follow in sky, on sea, and on land.	1. Thumbs up. 2. Very good (*ting hao*). 3. Victory (*shen*).

Meaning of Symbols: Thumbs up gesture, with words of approval "very good" (*ting hao*), an evaluation of U.S. military might, indicates that victory (*shen*) must follow in sky, on sea and on land.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Acceptance of U.S. military power as being overwhelming.

15. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your armed forces do not have the substantial economic base, the scientific advancement, military planning, or the training of troops that we have. How do you think you can defeat us?	American technology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Before the group has seen American equip-

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ment and firepower, they may be inclined to ignore such an appeal, but as its awareness increases, hopes of victory will recede.

16. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your armed forces have become as a plate of loose sand with some soldiers looking out only for their own personal safety.	Plate of loose sand.

Meaning of Symbols: A plate of loose sand is a collection of items which cannot be united.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In a deteriorating military situation the group will be able to see the similarity of the disintegrating Chinese fighting forces to a plate of loose sand.

NCO's

17. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Show the greatness of U.S. industrial power alongside a puny portrayal of Soviet industry, with China throwing off the "hammer and sickle."	U.S. vs. Soviet.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Of all Western nations, the U.S. has the best reputation for friendly interest in China. Hence the appeal should recall the long history of Sino-American cooperation.

18. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Great American weapons far superior to any Chinese weapons. Caption: How can you beat this?	Superior American weapons.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese have come to believe the West is their superior in modern science and technology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This would lead them to question the technical and scientific ability of their own country and to believe that victory for them is hopeless.

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Enlisted Men

19. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your military leaders are servants of Russian armed forces. What armed forces who are servants of another have ever won a war?	Russian servants.

Meaning of Symbols: There is no hope for victory in a war fought as an inferior ally of the Russians.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Resentment against an ally is a common feeling on the part of EM in a deteriorating military situation.

20. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Great numbers of U.S. troops and equipment coming to China, and a picture of ruined cities and countless dead in China. Caption: We have just started and you are almost finished.	We have started; you are finished.

Meaning of Symbols: A few defeats tend to make the practical Chinese discouraged since they are wary of being caught on the losing side.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The feeling that things will get worse because they are tired and American strength is constantly being renewed.

Militia

21. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You know the American firepower becomes more terrible every day. Every day you see more American planes overhead. You cannot win in the face of overwhelming odds.	American firepower.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes despair at unmistakable indications of the futility of any hopes for victory in a steadily deteriorating military situation.

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22. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
"Strategic withdrawals" and "falling back on prepared positions in order to shorten lines" are nothing but retreats. Empty talk cannot withstand cannon fire!	Retreat.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal promotes despair at reverses. The Chinese have never been known as last ditch fighters, and even such seasoned Communist troops as the "Old Eighth Army" surrendered by the thousands in Korea.

23. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Poor antiquated Chinese weapons contrasted with those of modern U.S. Caption: Do your weapons look like this?	Superior American weapons.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Many Chinese have learned respect for American technology. They can easily see that their weapons are poor compared to ours and realize that they do not have the means to beat the United States.

24. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: China's wealth and economy contrasted with that of the U.S. Caption: How can you overcome this wealth?	Wealth.

Meaning of Symbols: Wealth has long been synonymous with power in China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese are already overawed by U.S. wealth, hence, this should increase their doubt as to their ability to defeat the U.S.

TASK 4: To make enemy soldiers lose confidence in their own military forces (top military leaders, superiors, training, weapons and ammunition, security system, etc.).

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Officers

25. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your armed forces emphasize control of thought rather than technical training. Do you really think you can win against us?	Lack of technical training.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The officers, charged with the heavy responsibility of leading men in combat against the horrifying firepower of American weapons, are particularly well aware of the odds faced by poorly trained men who do not know how to properly operate their own weapons. Hence, the appeal brings home the realization that thought control, which may be all right in a stabilized situation, makes a very poor substitute for proper technical training when things begin to go wrong.

26. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why do you have such difficulty resisting us? Is it not due to your poor weapons supplied by the Russian imperialists who look on you as cannon fodder?	1. Poor weapons. 2. Russian imperialists. 3. Cannon fodder.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the resentment which good officers feel when they see their men sacrificed in human-sea attacks against superior weapons. The realization that if their weapons were better, fewer men would die, increases the resentment of officers toward the Russians. It is the Russians whom the group will hold responsible for the poor quality of Chinese arms and equipment.

NCO's

27. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What strength can there be in armed forces which must use daily "critique meetings" to enforce discipline?	Critique meetings.

Meaning of Symbols: It must be presumed that Chinese NCO's are normal men, in spite of the indoctrination to which they have been subjected, and accordingly at least a considerable percentage of them must look on the silly performance of the "critique meeting" with a jaundiced eye.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As the strain of service in the front

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lines increases, and hopes of victory recede, the effect of the appeal in promoting the feeling that good troops would have no need for such meetings will tend to increase.

28. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your Party members do not cooperate with the mass of soldiers, yet they are given positions of responsibility in your armed forces.	Party elite.

Meaning of Symbols: Party members are in the minority in the NCO group, and it is natural that higher authority should treat them as an especially trusted and favored elite.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Plays upon the natural tendency of non-Party personnel in the armed forces to resent this treatment and dislike those who receive it.

Enlisted Men

29. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When the commanders are corrupt there is weakness in the armed forces.	1. Corruption. 2. Weakness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even if opportunities for corruption are few among the high command, the enlisted men are not likely to know of this. Consequently, it takes little to implant in the mind of an ordinary soldier the thought that where officers have access to public funds and have a hand in distributing supplies, there are bound to be chances for them to make money for themselves.

30. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How can your armed forces be strong when they are built on mutual distrust and suspicion?	Distrust and suspicion.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: When hopes of victory grow dim and the members of the Chinese Communist forces must be threatened and driven rather than led, there is bound to be a maximum of distrust and suspicion. Even the simplest among the enlisted men will realize that this will have an adverse effect upon combat efficiency.

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31. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your commanders talk unrealistically and so cannot keep their promises of strength and victory.	False promises.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: No Communist officer would dare tell his men that he could promise them nothing but blood, sweat, and tears. This fact would tend to strengthen this appeal, since the higher the hopes raised by empty promises, the more bitter the disappointment and disillusionment when promises are unfulfilled.

32. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When the commanders contradict each other, is it surprising that there is weakness in your armed forces?	Discord among commanders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In a deteriorating military situation, arguments among officers are likely to arise, and enlisted men are sure to be aware of this. In view of their awareness, it should not be difficult to make them see that division of opinion does not make for efficiency in military operations.

Militia

33. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
How can a soldier be strong to fight when he must always engage in so many useless activities, such as the ideological night meetings?	Night meetings.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Night meetings not only involve the boredom of listening to endless speeches, but often actually deprive soldiers of needed sleep. To make things worse, soldiers are often questioned about speeches they have heard, and inability to give satisfactory answers may result in censure or even punishment. Hence, the suggestion in the appeal that night meetings reduce rather than increase military efficiency can be effective in shaking the confidence of the group in its leaders.

34. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When soldiers lead a life worse than that of an ox or a horse there is no fight in such armed forces.	Life worse than that of an ox or a horse.

Meaning of Symbols: Militia are often used on work projects which

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to a simple-minded countryman or laborer probably appear to have little, if anything, to do with military operations—such as carrying sacks of rice and pulling loaded carts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To men engaged in such tasks, this prompts the thought that forces which are only good for bitter toil cannot be worth much in armed combat.

35. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Can you ever master the strange Communist ideology? Yet this is what your commanders say is necessary for victory.	Communist ideology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Often even well-educated persons have difficulty in understanding Communist ideology, and the simple-minded farmers and laborers who make up the majority of the militia must find it even more confusing. The suggestion that an understanding of this strange ideology is a necessary condition for victory of the armed forces can do much to discourage the group.

TASK 6: To make enemy soldiers desire peace (i.e., make them feel the end of the war is desirable).

Officers

36. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two hands clasped as though shaking; one sleeve and arm so showing as to be unmistakably Chinese, and one sleeve and hand Western or American. Caption: By taking hands and stopping the war you will return home.	Taking hands.

Meaning of Symbols: Taking hands (clasping hands) is the accepted sign of agreement and friendship.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the desire to quit fighting and make peace.

37. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
War destroys all the wealth and manpower that rightly belongs to mankind.	1. War. 2. Destruction. 3. Mankind.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Provides justification to an enlightened

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group to take a step which will work for the good, not only of China, but of mankind in general.

38. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If this war continues, it will destroy the human race.	1. War. 2. Human race.

Meaning of Symbols: To the sophisticated Chinese, humanism has been an ideal and a practical way of life for many centuries.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: War traditionally is the enemy of the humanistic order, and reiterating this point will strike a familiar chord.

39. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When the war is over, you will be able to speedily build up a rich Chinese nation that will benefit the people.	Peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal offers the group a powerful inducement to surrender; namely an unselfish desire to rebuild war-torn China for the benefit of the people themselves, not of Communist rulers.

40. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
War destroys all those things which you as human beings need to be human.	War vs. humanism.

Meaning of Symbols: To the Chinese, a society is good if it best serves the people's chances to practice the Chinese humanistic approach to life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: War is pictured here as the arch-enemy of humanism, a fact appreciated by the humanistically educated and oriented officers.

NCO's

41. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Returning soldiers being welcomed in home village. Caption: Peace means home, both for you and the Americans.	Peace and home.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese have close feeling for their home which is almost synonymous with peace.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the anxiety of most of the men to give up fighting and return home.

42. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Peace is coming soon.	Peace.

Meaning of Symbols: Distaste for war and love of peace have always been considered great Chinese virtues.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes the traditional desire for peace.

43. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
War breeds only death, because you either kill someone or you yourself are killed.	War.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The longer troops are subjected to the strain of fighting in the front lines, particularly in the face of the horrifying firepower of modern weapons, the more the fear of death will become the dominating force in their existence. The longing to see the end of the war, and the willingness to do anything to bring it about, will be increased by this appeal. It also suggests that anything done to end the war will not only be a blessing to the group, but to humanity in general.

44. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Scenes of construction; buildings, churches, schools, hospitals, and roads. Caption: Peace is the time of construction, as war is the time of destruction.	Constructiveness of peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes peace highly desirable.

45. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In war, whether one wants to or not, one is forced to kill or wound human beings without justification.	War.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea in the appeal that killing in war is a reprehensible act will be effective in helping the group to justify actions aimed at putting an end to the slaughter.

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Enlisted Men

46. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Peace means no more fighting, plenty of food, rest, and clothing.	Peace.

Meaning of Symbols: Peace is one of the main hopes and desires of the people because it is almost synonymous with prosperity.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses the hope for peace and an end to all troubles.

47. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Picture showing the joys of peaceful living. Caption: This is very nice, isn't it?	Peace.

Meaning of Symbols: Peace means a return to normality. Chinese like settled ways, and wars upset old traditions.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reawakens nostalgia for the old peaceful days.

48. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
War wastes your manhood and money that could be put to better use in construction.	Wastage of war.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As long as there is hope of victory, the group may attempt to justify the monstrous waste of war. When hopes of victory recede, however, the group is highly susceptible to the suggestion that the blood and treasure wasted in war might well be devoted to purposes which would better serve humanity in general and the country in particular.

49. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
War results only in poverty, destruction, and other calamities.	War.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If anything can make the soldier desire peace, it is the thought that war is terrible at best, but hopeless war is even more terrible for those on the losing side.

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50. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The sooner this war is over the sooner you can return home.	War vs. home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: When enlisted men have served at the front for a long time, especially in a deteriorating military situation, their dominating thoughts are apt to be about returning home. This appeal should increase this desire as well as the desire to live.

Militia

51. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
No nation can pour out its life blood forever. If this senseless war continues China will be a nation of old men, women, children, and useless cripples.	Weakened nation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: War destroys by killing males and diminishing the economic prosperity provided by males. This appeal reinforces the awareness that peace is the ideal state for the development of the family, and mature men are the base of the family.

52. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Laughing, happy peasants back to work on prosperous farms contrasted with military defense posts in decay and overgrown with weeds. Caption: When peace comes.	Peace.

Meaning of Symbol: Peace is a cardinal virtue and a sign of good government and prosperity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since the Chinese are basically peace-loving and dislike war, a desire for peace would be aroused by this appeal.

53. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There never was a good war or a bad peace. Only peace can save China!	Peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The realization that war endangers everyone and benefits no one.

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54. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Masses of miserable-looking Chinese soldiers (like French in the retreat from Moscow) marching in a murk (labeled war) with the sun (labeled peace) beginning to come up over the horizon. Caption: War has ruined China. In the fighting of the warlord years, in the War of Resistance, and in the fighting in Korea with the U.S.A. (the best friend China ever had), the Chinese people have poured out their blood in endless sacrifice. Were the sons of Han not so numerous, China would long since have perished.	Endless sacrifice.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese revere life and are aware of the huge section of their population that has been slaughtered in this century.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Revulsion against constant warfare which endangers all with dubious benefits.

55. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
As soon as the war is over, there will be a chance to return home to a better life.	Peace and home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Probably few of the militia were ever more than a few miles from their home villages before they were inducted into military service. Hence, the longing to return home will become stronger the longer the war lasts, the more difficult the hardships, and the more hope of victory disappears.

56. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Even now, though they know the war is lost, your Communist masters continue to drive you to endless slaughter.	Endless slaughter.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Because the Chinese are intensely aware of the horrors of war, this appeal should increase revulsion against an endless war which benefits no one.

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Task 6, 7

57. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Farming rather than militia duty!	Farming vs. militia duty.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese peasant prefers to devote his time to farming and avoid unpleasant extracurricular activities, such as militia duty.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A desire to hasten the day when distasteful militia duty is finished.

TASK 7: To intensify the enemy soldiers' apprehension about conditions at home.

Officers

58. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You have heard that families still are being liquidated, yet you soldiers still sacrifice so much for the revolutionary wars. For what end? Is any member of your family safe?	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion of liquidation is sufficient to bring up a terrifying vision to a group, most of whom are serving far from home under conditions which make receipt of mail from their families irregular and uncertain. The thought that no one in his family is safe from the terrible danger of liquidation is calculated to have the maximum effect in making an officer worry about things back home.

59. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Party talks of looking after your family while you are away. But know that it is the men of the family and not the society that alone have the necessary sympathy to overcome family difficulties.	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The officers, an enlightened and skeptical group, know how unlikely it is that Party personnel, occupied with routine duties and their own interests, would look after the families of military men. Consequently, they would not expect Party personnel to take a personal interest in their family affairs should things go wrong at home.

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60. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Chinese letter envelope showing a representative sender's address, addressee, cancelled stamps, and a large red question mark covering everything else. Caption: When the letters from the home district don't come, it is as if the home folks suffer harm.	Letters from home.

Meaning of Symbols: Home is one of the basic concerns of Chinese culture, as well as of primary concern to each individual. The Chinese character for "letter" is composed of the elements "man" and "speech" signifying communication and confidence. This is called in question here by a fateful question mark.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases worry about conditions at home with consequent loss of interest and enthusiasm for staying away from home and for fighting.

61. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When you do not receive letters from home at the time you expect them, how can you tell whether everything is all right?	Letters from home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In the front lines, and even in the rear, receipt of mail may be uncertain at best. This appeal takes advantage of this situation by increasing the worries of the officers even when there may be no reason for anxiety about things at home.

Situational Effects: The appeal is persuasive only when there has been interference with the mail service.

NCO's

62. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A battle-torn village. Caption: Is this your home?	Home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese are very concerned about their home and family and even after years of absence, they would try to maintain home ties.

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Task 7

63. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Does your family have enough to eat and enough clothes to wear?	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese soldiers, as all Chinese, usually have a constant concern about their homes and families, for despite Communist efforts, there are still close family ties.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Can cause NCO's to worry considerably about home conditions.

64. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The family warmth has been destroyed for both you and the rest of your family while you are away.	Family warmth.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This is bound to increase the worry which anyone in the military service is likely to feel about those he left behind when he joined the armed forces.

65. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Under Soviet flag, scenes of famine—old people and young children starving. A well-fed Soviet soldier in the form of a pig, holding a bottle, gleefully surveying such scenes. In companion pieces, show the same "pig" ravaging young Chinese girls. Caption: Behold the Russians.	1. Russian pig. 2. Chinese suffering.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Such experiences at the hands of the Japanese troops are still within the personal recollections of many Chicom troops. Anything along these lines will arouse similar fears.

Enlisted Men

66. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A village showing members of a soldier's family poverty stricken because they lack his help. Caption: Is your family being taken care of?	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: While away from home, Chinese are concerned

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about the family especially as the adult males have primary responsibility for its welfare.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases anger that the state has not kept its promise to take care of families of the soldiers.

67. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Are your relatives being purged or are they doing labor reform?	1. Labor reform. 2. Purge.

Meaning of Symbols: Labor reform and the purge have touched a great number of peasants. Many defecting Chinese soldiers in the past have listed this as one of the principal reasons for defection.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment toward Communist actions against members of their families.

68. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The government cannot solve your personal problems at home while you are away at service.	Family problems.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese know from long experience that to expect the government to take anything more than a detached interest in the family troubles of a man in the army is to lean on a broken reed.

69. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The soil is left untilled while you are away at war, for there are none behind who are as strong as you to care for it.	Untilled soil.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If anything can disturb the morale of an enlisted man and make him worry about the family at home, it is the thought that the "great earth" is lying untilled for lack of his strong hands.

70. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
While you are here in service, your family back home is having economic difficulties.	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: In the families of the great majority of the enlisted men, there is little margin between a state of bare

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sufficiency of the necessities of life and actual want. Men know how easily families can get into economic difficulties, and how hard it is for them to get out of such difficulties with the head of the house away.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal is effective in undermining morale by increasing the soldier's anxiety about affairs at home.

71. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
While you are here in service, your family back home may be suffering in a "struggle meeting."	1. Family. 2. Struggle meeting.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To suggest that his family may be enduring browbeating and insults in a "struggle meeting," or may be subject to the punishment which is often meted out in such gatherings, can cause an enlisted man the maximum of anxiety about the folks back home.

Militia

72. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your cadre say that the revolutionary war will go on forever. So each year your family grows older without you beside them, and each year there are more and more problems at home without you.	1. War. 2. Home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal prompts discouraging thoughts about the never-ending war and the possibility of dying of wounds or disease, and emphasizes the fact that the longer the man of the house is away in military service, the worse conditions at home become. While many a soldier can bear with equanimity his own troubles, he may be extremely upset by a suggestion that things are not going well with his family.

73. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The local cadre did not care about the welfare of your family when you were home. How much less they care now when you are not there to protect and defend your kin!	1. Indifferent cadre. 2. Home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese frequently say that when family

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troubles come, all outsiders (even relatives and friends) are of no use. If relatives cannot be expected to help in times of distress, it is less likely that the local cadre, normally busy and faced with the necessity of looking out for their own welfare, can be relied on for assistance.

74. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Are you sure the letters you receive telling of good things back home are true? Doesn't the cadre see them before you do?	Letters from home.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have a tendency to be suspicious of persons outside their own families. Militiamen know that in many cases letters from home are written under the hard eye of the cadre, and in some cases composed by the cadre themselves. Accordingly, recipients of letters know it is unlikely that the writers would paint a dark picture of things at home, no matter how bad they might be, for fear of getting not only themselves but even those to whom they are writing into trouble.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses the suspicion that no matter how rosy things at home may be reported in letters, they cannot be sure of the real situation.

Situational Effects: Militia who serve locally will not receive letters as a general rule.

75. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Who takes care of your family now when they become ill?	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: Farmers and laborers, who make up the majority of the militia, usually have little money for the care of their family when they fall ill. Sick persons usually have to depend upon such ministrations as their relatives are able to give them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The thought that the members of his family will have no one to care for them in sickness can do much to lower the morale of a soldier serving far from home.

76. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If you die, your family will have nothing to eat, your parents will be forced to leave the family, and your wife may even have to marry someone else.	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: Life in the armed forces, is hard enough with-

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out adding worries over what will happen to the families of the group if the menfolks die of wounds or sickness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that the widow of a man in the militia must either marry again or starve is likely to be particularly disturbing to a soldier.

TASK 8: To arouse and intensify nostalgia (severe melancholia, homesickness, morbid sentimentality) among enemy soldiers.

Officers

77. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Thin discouraged Chinese soldier looking down long empty road fading into distance with only two black birds (ravens) flying over it toward him. Caption: Home is a thousand-*li* away and only ravens bring you news.	1. Thousand-*li*. 2. Ravens.

Meaning of Symbols: Thousand-*li* distant is the traditional phrase for a hopeless distance, and ravens signify an ill omen.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Discouragement and apathy.

78. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You had been promised the "fruits of victory" when you left your family to enter military service. Now that there is no longer any hope of "fruits of victory," why must you be away from home?	Fruits of victory.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The realization that since there is no longer any hope of victory, the first loyalty of the group should be for their own families.

79. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The ambitions you had for your family, the things that you have planned all your life, must be forgotten, perhaps forever, because you are away from home.	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Revives remembrance of the dreams the Chinese officer once had for the future of his children.

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80. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What of the safety of your parents in this war while you are away fighting?	Parents.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Might bring a sense of remorse to many of the group who, when the war was going well, may have been swayed by the Communist teaching that individuals, even parents and other members of the family, count for nothing, while the state is everything. This will make them long to return home in order to make amends for harboring unfilial thoughts.

NCO's

81. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Scenes of holiday merry-making by cartoon sequence—holiday feasting, mah-jong games, weddings, a hot bath, children playing. (Relate the hot bath to Lunar New Year festivities as this is the one time a full bath is sure to be taken, and depict a full change of clothes.)	Holiday merry-making.

Meaning of Symbols: To the Chinese, these customs are representative of the family, the cornerstone of Chinese social life.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls the customs of normal life.

82. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You have been told to forget your family while you fight in a war of liberation. What can a war of liberation mean if you must forget your loved ones?	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Tends to bring to the armed forces the realization that victory can mean little to a country if after it has been won there are no normal human beings and families left to enjoy its fruits.

Enlisted Men

83. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Picture of soldier thinking of all the things he is missing. Caption: Remember your friends, and your family? Remember the fairs, and New Year's celebrations?	Remembrances.

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Meaning of Symbols: Friend, family, and festivities are important in the lives of the average Chinese and are missed by those away in the Army.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Awakens nostalgia for all the pleasures of home.

Militia

84. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
No one is caring for your family at home while you are away in military service.	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: The peasant is more concerned with the basic realities of life than others who have more education and come of better family background.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The majority of the militia have left families behind at home, and undoubtedly many are never free of anxiety about how their people are getting along on their own with the man of the house away and unable to do anything for them.

TASK 9: To promote apathy (lethargy, indifference, etc.) among enemy soldiers.

Officers

85. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You will get into trouble if you do something wrong. Be careful!	Do nothing.

Meaning of Symbols: There are still many Chinese who believe in the Buddhist doctrine, "Do nothing, and there is nothing which will not be accomplished."

86. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You have no contact with home. The "struggle meetings" go on and on. Privation is ever burdening. All these troubles will never end. There is nothing to look forward to.	Never ending troubles.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Tends to discourage members by emphasizing the prospect of the war's dragging on indefinitely and the futility of "struggle meetings" which cannot affect the outcome

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of the war. All of these easily add up to a strong feeling of "What's the use?"

87. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Because you are a soldier, some feel you are worthy only to be sacrificed for others.	Sacrifice.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that there are military leaders, as well as politicians, who are willing to sacrifice them with the most callous indifference. Results in the conclusion that the best thing to do is to resign one's self to fate; to do and feel as little as possible.

88. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In a year as bad as this, why should you bother yourself to be concerned with things?	Bad fate.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are convinced that the concern of a single individual can do little or nothing to change fate (especially a bad fate).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese are most sensitive to being associated with a helpless cause; it increases their tendency to apathy under such circumstances.

89. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Discipline will become loose and organization weak as our side wins more and more battles.	Loose discipline.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Adds to what the officers have probably already noted for themselves. When men are kept for a long time in the front lines fighting, with poor logistical support, against an enemy armed with superior weapons, it becomes increasingly hard to maintain discipline and efficient organization.

90. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What is the use of showing concern? What can you do about it?	Concern.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To a group already discouraged, the suggestion that in a hopeless situation they are damned if they do and damned if they don't is bound to foster an attitude of lethargy and indifference.

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Enlisted Men

91. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols.
What difference can you make?	Helpless individual.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, the average individual believes he is just one little cog in a wheel and does not see the overall effect of just one action.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that the Chinese armed forces will do as well whether one individual soldier does his job or not.

92. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
This war may last for years.	Long-term goal.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are easily discouraged by unfulfilled short-term prospects, and see no point in trying very hard for long-range goals.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Discourages the desire to work hard for an unforeseeable goal, since there is no bright future in sight.

93. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Who cares about whom in a Communist army? Do you not see through trickery? What is the future?	Communist army trickery.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages everyone to look out for himself and to realize that it is useless to try to do anything for people who care nothing for the welfare of the group.

94. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Will you ever be able to escape the evil control of the Communist cadre?	Cadre control.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases lethargy and indifference, because as long as the cadre remains in control, there is no use for the group to try to do anything.

95. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Every word you say leaves you open for a charge of deviationism. Evasive excuses do not fool the cadre.	Deviationism.

Meaning of Symbols: Deviationism is Communist argot for the opinions of those who have strayed from the path of Communist

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righteousness and is considered a danger to the cause. Since this judgment varies with the occasion or the faction in power it is a major source of tension and insecurity in a Communist order.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To suggest that you are damned if you do, and damned if you don't, is a strong incentive to do nothing.

Militia

96. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Do nothing, and you will live to see the day of your deliverance and can begin to work for a free China.	Do nothing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Emphasizes the idea, especially in a hopeless military situation, of simply letting things take their own course.

97. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
For years you have exerted your utmost efforts in making war. It is a sweet and proper thing to die for one's country, if dying will do your country any good, but all the sacrifices of the past years have served only to bring ruin on China. Now the war is lost and nothing you do, even though you die a hundred times, can enable your Communist masters to win, but they will continue to drive you to death as long as they can.	Further sacrifices are in vain.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea that it is useless to continue butting one's head against a stone wall would appeal to the practical Chinese.

98. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Do nothing and there is nothing which cannot be accomplished.	Do nothing.

Meaning of Symbols: When things look bad, Chinese are inclined to exclaim, "There is nothing I can do about it."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages them to do nothing.

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GOAL: DISCORD

TASK 10: To get enemy enlisted men to become increasingly resentful of officers.

NCO's

99. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: High-ranking officers living in luxury—eating well and driving about in cars with their wives. Caption: Your fellow soldiers!	Officer privileges.

Meaning of Symbols: Enlisted men are not allowed to marry, and seldom ride in cars. Thus, traditional luxury-living of officers, as opposed to Communist claims of equality, are contrasted.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Enlisted men will resent the special privileges accorded officers.

100. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Men dying while officers in rear are out of range. Caption: Who dies?	Inequality of suffering.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This is contrary to the Communist idea of comradeship and is based on the usual resentment of enlisted men towards officers for sending men to their death.

101. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Officers are not willing to have a strict reward and penalty system but rather follow their own system of favoritism.	Favoritism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The most conscientious and fair-minded officers cannot hand out rewards and punishment in a manner to suit all their subordinates. An NCO would not be human if he did not feel at times that his officers are guilty of favoritism.

102. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Officers have spies to follow soldiers. Have you noticed anyone suspicious-looking near you lately?	Spies.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese Communist government has

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consistently taught that it is the duty of all persons to observe the conduct of those about them and report at once anything which appears the least out of line with "correct" thought and action.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is natural for everyone, no matter what his place in Communist society, to feel he is constantly being spied upon and possibly falsely accused. NCO's, being in a position between the officers and the EM, are particularly likely to feel that officers, since they have more authority and influence, are spying upon them. The appeal tends to arouse, in the group, distrust and suspicion of the most ordinary and innocent actions on the part of officers.

103. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)	*Key Symbols*
Officers love to talk big but often fail when big problems must be settled.	Talk vs. action.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: NCO's often believe that officers might have had more theoretical training in warfare, but do not know nearly as much about actual fighting as they do. Hence, this would increase resentment toward the better educated who wield more authority and enjoy more privileges.

104. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Bureaucratic officers are interested in gathering wealth and not in the soldier's welfare.	Bureaucratic officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that some officers, particularly those with whom the NCO is not in immediate contact, are getting rich out of the war should promote resentment in the group against officers in general. Whether this suggestion is true or not is immaterial.

105. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
When your officers show a lack of leadership ability they are not removed from command. Why not?	Lack of leadership ability.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is natural for NCO's to feel that if they had better officers, their chances of staying alive would be better. This is based on one of the most fundamental instincts of man-

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kind, the will for self-preservation. As hopes of victory diminish, NCO's, as well as the ordinary enlisted men, will become increasingly critical of the leadership ability of their officers.

106. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Some officers know all about military theory but do not have the practical experience of the soldiers.	Theory vs. experience.

Meaning of Symbols: Contrasts an education in abstractions, with the hard experience and privation of the NCO.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment toward those who have been placed in authority and creates a desire for reward for experience.

107. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Some officers will cheat their soldiers because they have no faith in humanity. Are your officers among these?	Humanity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Plays upon the feeling that officers do not give the NCO's credit for having common sense, a sense of loyalty or amenability to discipline.

108. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Officers who are incompetent will eventually try to lead by terror. Beware!	1. Incompetent officers. 2. Terror.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: "In victory a hero, in defeat a dog" is a sentiment which an NCO is likely to feel toward an officer if the military situation is unfavorable for his side. The appeal tends to foster the thought among the group that even the normal behavior of officers in leading their troops is intended to terrorize, intimidate, and cover their own shortcomings.

109. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
A scene of officers feasting with the Soviet "pig" while troops go hungry.	Pig.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In times of privation, Chinese soldiers are inclined to believe officers have a better life.

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Enlisted Men

110. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Officers finely dressed, eating well, supplied with plenty of wine and cigarettes, and accompanied by women obviously not their wives. Caption: Look how some officers live.	Inequality of privileges.

Meaning of Symbols: The enlisted men are not married, receive a minimum of good food and clothing, and few, if any luxuries. Yet the Communists teach that all are equal.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases resentment of officers' special privileges in the Chinese Army.

111. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your NCO's are always with you—watching!	Watching.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that the NCO is with his men always, not to look out for their welfare but to spy upon them should be effective in helping to destroy respect for both officers and NCO's.

112. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
NCO's are Party representatives. Therefore, they have no warmth and would betray any of you to serve their interests in the Party.	Party interests.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To the average enlisted men the Party is either something far away which can help him little at the front amidst the hard realities of military service, or else it is a vague entity which has caused him trouble and annoyance in various ways, such as by compelling him to listen to boring and confusing expositions of Communist doctrine and ideology. To make them feel that NCO's are Party representatives is to cause the EM to lose respect for the NCO.

113. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Some officers deceive both their superiors and the soldiers under them for their own advancement. Is your officer one of these?	Deceit.

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Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are specially sensitive about being deceived or being taken advantage of.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Enlisted men would not be human if some among them did not accept this suggestion that their officers may be fourflushers.

114. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your NCO's are your ideological masters. Sooner or later they will report you to the political officers.	Political officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To the enlisted men the ordinary troubles of soldier life are sufficiently hard to bear without adding the thought that they can get into other trouble for purely political reasons.

115. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
NCO's never see their own faults. All they know how to do is to try to please their superiors.	Military superiors.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even if an NCO were capable of being aware of his own faults, it is highly unlikely he would let the enlisted men know it. On the other hand, what to the NCO may seem only the military courtesy due to officers may appear to the enlisted men as truckling and bootlicking. This makes ammunition out of a situation which is common to all armed forces.

Militia

116. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Why should your officers receive better pay, wear better uniforms, eat better food, and have better places to sleep than you?	Officer privileges.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Stirs resentment against officers because of real or *fancied* grievances.

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117. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A militiaman on lonely, uncomfortable duty contrasted with militia leaders back in the village, comfortable and enjoying life. Caption: Where are your officers? What are they doing?	Officers' life.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are resentful of those above them who take life easy while they themselves must work hard.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment toward officers and toward the work allotted to them by these leaders. Increases a tendency to be slack in assigned duties.

118. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your political officer represents the same party that has mistreated the people and liquidated families you know at home.	1. Political officers. 2. Mistreatment.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Farmers and laborers, who make up most of the militia, have had ample opportunity to observe the manner in which the Communists hold people in line. They are well aware of brutal repressive measures and threats, often carried out, of liquidation of those who do not conform to Government policy. This appeal should cause the group to associate political officers with the Communist Party and these brutal means of discipline.

119. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
NCO's take the side of officers and so are incapable of even considering your suffering.	NCO's as friends of officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The position of an NCO is often a difficult one. They are usually too concerned with their own troubles to have much consideration for the problems of the Militia. The suggestion that NCO's always side with officers will tend to arouse resentment in the men toward all who have authority over them.

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Task 10

120. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Political officers always make promises that cannot be fulfilled. How can a soldier ever trust them?	Unfulfilled promises.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As the strain of military service increases and hopes of victory recede the recollection of the rosy promises made, but never realized, by political officers will occur with increasing frequency to the group. Engenders resentment against those responsible for empty talk and unfulfilled promises.

121. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
An NCO who is not a good example for his men is not fit to lead.	Poor leaders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that every NCO who ever made a slip is not fit to lead can do much to undermine the morale of a unit by tending to make the men expect an unreasonably high standard of conduct on the part of NCO's.

122. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are the first in daring the enemy cannon fire, the first to die or suffer crippling wounds, while your officers hang behind and drive you on. Your officers do not dare to lead you from the front, lest they be shot from the rear.	You die before the officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In most cases the less disciplined the soldiers (as are the militia), the deeper is the resentment that is aroused.

123. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Village ne'er-do-wells and undesirables, under the Communists, as officials and officers living off the others. Caption: What were your officers before?	Poor leaders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese believe leadership belongs to those proved capable, hard-working, and intelligent and do not consider the present militia officers as possessing these virtues. As in all times of trouble, they tend to look back to "golden ages" of the past when things were supposed to be

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better. Arouses resentment toward both the Government and its village representatives.

124. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
An NCO who does not care about his men's welfare is not fit to lead.	Lack of concern.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: No NCO can conscientiously or efficiently perform his normal duties without making his men feel at times that he is not sufficiently concerned about their welfare. This implants the idea that an NCO is not fit to lead, a feeling which can easily extend to include the officers.

125. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your NCO will report any little thing that he suspects to the political officer. Beware!	Distrust.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Fosters the idea that the NCO is a stool pigeon and talebearer for the political officer. It thus serves the double purpose of arousing resentment not only toward NCO's and officers in general, but also against political officers in particular.

126. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Some officers are selfish, fail to endure hardship, or will not take risks together with their soldiers.	Selfish officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Results in the thought that their own officers are included in the category of those who shrink from hardship and avoid as much as possible the dangers which their men must face.

TASK 11: To get enemy officers to distrust their enlisted men.

Officers

127. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How can you plan military operations successfully when your men will not tell you the truth?	Plan successfully.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is easy for officers to find many short-

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comings in their men on which to blame their lack of success in combat. Such shortcomings may include unwillingness of the men to speak unpleasant truths, particularly when they are talking to officers. Thus an officer may believe his men are deliberately holding back the truth when as a matter of fact they are merely acting in the traditional manner.

128. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Beware of highly intelligent subordinates who will oppose necessary controls by false logic.	Intelligent subordinates.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes an officer regard any enlisted man who happens to be a little brighter or better educated than the average as a smart aleck, know-it-all, or "guard house lawyer."

Situational Effect: Effective in the case of officers who may suffer from an inferiority complex because they have not been well educated or do not come of good families.

129. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Those soldiers who understand politics, but who are not Communist cadre are the troublemakers who are giving you your difficulties.	Troublemakers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment and distrust on the part of officers toward enlisted men who are smarter than the average, but who do not have the stamp of Party approval to insure their political reliability.

130. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why don't your soldeirs have good war records? Is it because they are afraid to fight and are afraid of death? It is you who will be held responsible for their failings.	Poor records.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment of officers toward their men simply because of the soldiers' perfectly natural unwillingness to be killed or wounded in action. In addition, it arouses the fear that the group will be blamed for this lack of fighting spirit on the part of the men.

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Situational Effect: Avoid use with units known to have good war records.

NCO's

131. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You have been provided soldiers from an undisciplined civilian life. Yet the higher-ups expect you to accomplish impossible missions.	1. Inadequate soldiers. 2. Impossible mission.

Meaning of Symbols: The longer the war lasts, the poorer the quality of replacements sent to take care of the heavy attrition, particularly that caused by casualties, in frontline units.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the contempt which NCO's have for raw, poorly trained recruits; and the resentment they feel toward officers who expect them to accomplish results with such inferior material.

132. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
There are those who disobey you as soon as you are not there to enforce your orders.	Disobedience.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Tends to engender the feeling among NCO's that their men cannot be trusted to do anything on their own, either because they are stupid or because of troublemakers among them. Such a feeling can have a destructive effect upon a unit. Consequently, it brings both distrust and suspicion upon all the EM of a unit because of the dirty work of a few malcontents or troublemakers.

133. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You will be blamed because your men do not do their best in fighting.	Blame.

Meaning of Symbols: The NCO's know that when enlisted men do not stand up well in combat, their officers would attempt to shift some of the blame to their shoulders. They also know that if the men fight well, officers are going to claim the greater share of credit for the good performance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Aggravates feelings of despair, helplessness, and resentment which will develop among the group as

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the strain and hardships of war increase and hopes of victory recede.

131. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What is the good of "struggle meetings" when none will speak up and tell you what is really on their minds?	Struggle meetings.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The NCO's are closer to the enlisted men than the officers and often know better what thoughts are uppermost in the minds of the ordinary soldiers. When they see the men keeping silent about these matters they will feel not only disgust at the uselessness of the meetings, but distrust of the men who do not speak up in them.

135. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The worst troublemakers are the hypocrites who will not talk frankly but work against you in secret.	Troublemakers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In some cases, silence on the part of the men might be taken as an indication of contentment; however, among the Communist forces, where everyone is vulnerable to the harm which can be done him by the sneak, the stool pigeon, and the informer, this is not true. This appeal should play upon the distrust NCO's are bound to feel toward men who say nothing to reveal their discontent or the fact that they are actively plotting against authority.

136. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Beware of the timid soldier who will not tell you what is on his mind, but will complain to all behind your back.	Timid soldier.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even good soldiers who consider it useless or unsoldierly to complain may be vicious, cowardly sneaks, working behind the backs of their NCO's. In forces where the spy and informer play important roles, the effect of the appeal in undermining morale should be strong.

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Militia

137. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Our victories are not your fault. Rather your men do not fight as hard as they could, and try to desert whenever they can.	Inadequate men.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In a deteriorating military situation, there is a tendency on the part of officers to blame lack of success in combat on the poor fighting qualities of enlisted men. This causes the officers to treat their men with undue severity because they have no confidence in them, and this in turn will make the men feel hard toward their officers.

TASK 12: To get enemy officers of the same grade to quarrel and fight among themselves.

Officers

138. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
You know of those officers who are immature and argue against you because their thoughts and ideas are not yet settled.	Immature officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: There is a natural tendency on the part of older men to consider younger men brash and immature. Consequently, this appeal should stir up bad feeling and promote quarrels between older and younger officers, especially if the younger are more intelligent, better educated or come of better families.

NCO's

139. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)	*Key Symbols*
How can you trust your fellow NCO's when any one of them may be watching you and secretly reporting against you?	Watching secretly.

Meaning of Symbols: In most armies it is considered dishonorable to spy and report upon one's comrades in arms. In the Chinese Communist army all ranks are taught that it is their duty to snoop, spy, and bear tales, and those who do not conform are punished.

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140. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Selfish NCO's who demand their rights but shirk their duties are the curse of every unit.	Selfish NCO's.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In every group there are some personnel whose eagerness to get everything coming to them exceeds their zeal in performance of duty. The appeal tends to stir up ill feeling against those NCO's who deserve it and also against others who may be trying unselfishly to do their best for the overall war effort.

141. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Those NCO's whose education is inferior to yours are jealous of you.	Jealousy.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Men with little education may become NCO's because they have qualties of leadership and long experience, while men with more education may be quicker to learn or possess other outstanding qualities. The appeal plays upon the natural feeling among the educated that the more poorly educated NCO's are jealous of them, a feeling which may be totally unjustified. Students who have become NCO's would be particularly susceptible to this appeal.

142. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There are those unit commanders who decline responsibility and affect the morale of your unit, yet they refuse to accept criticism and blame you for false betrayal.	Declined responsibility.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Most NCO's, at one time or other, have felt resentment toward other NCO's for what they consider unwillingness to accept responsibility. In most armies it would be considered dishonorable to accuse a man of this in the presence of officers. However, in the Communist forces, any instances of actual or suspected failure to accept responsibility must be aired in a company meeting. Undoubtedly not all who are criticized for such conduct take it lying down and this appeal tends to increase the hard feeling aroused.

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TASK 13: To get one faction of enemy officers to quarrel and fight with another faction.

Officers

143. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There are those of different background from yours who are prejudiced against you and who are working against you.	Different background.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In any organization where a large number of officers are serving, they tend to form groups based on a number of considerations—such as having come from same locality, similarity of family background, or equality of educational advantages. This should aggravate the distrust and resentment with which such cliques or groups often regard one another.

144. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Officers with different responsibilities and duties do not understand the importance and difficulties of your responsibilities and duties. Hence, they have no confidence in your contribution to the armed forces.	Differences in responsibilities and duties.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Officers with a particular set of responsibilities, who desire to make a showing in performance of duty, should be irritated by and feel resentment toward other officers with different responsibilities and duties. An example of this is seen in the distrust and dislike which line and staff officers sometimes feel for one another.

145. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Those officers who joined the army for reasons different from your own and who come from different backgrounds and areas of the country have no feeling of comradeship toward you.	Officers of different background.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Officers have a tendency to form themselves into groups according to common background and interests. The reaction to this appeal should be an intensification

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of the rivalry and clash of interests which exist among the groups.

NCO's

146. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Some of the old cadre are jealous that you too enjoy the privileges of Party membership.	Old cadre.

Meaning of Symbols: Membership in the Communist Party in China not only gives "face" but carries many privileges. The "old cadre" who are not Party members, but have worked long and hard in the cause of the Revolution are jealous of Party members. This is particularly so if the Party members have had less service or are among those who, because of better background or education, are conceited or arrogant.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should promote mutual hard feelings between the two divisions within the group.

147. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The new cadre upstarts want to take away the privileges that you merit.	New cadre.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Older NCO's will feel resentment toward those who have recently acquired NCO status, particularly if the new cadre come of a better educated or more privileged class than the old-timers.

Militia

148. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Some officers are trying to get close to your superiors by attempting to betray you and your associates.	Betrayal.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Just before the withdrawal of the Chinese National Government forces from China, there was a high degree of mutual distrust, jealousy, and suspicion among the officers. Even if the morale of Communist officers is not as low as at the above-mentioned time, the appeal should foster the suspicion among officers that some of their number are attempting to curry favor with the high command at the expense of their comrades, to save their own skins.

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149. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Without a clear-cut division of responsibility between political and military officers and between the different branches of the service, is it strange that there are those officers who would interfere with your group's accomplishment of its assigned task?	No division of responsibility.

Meaning of Symbols: The responsibilities of political and nonpolitical officers usually overlap and their interests clash to some extent.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: When things are going well, conflicts of responsibilities and interest may not be important, but when hopes of victory recede, serious friction can develop on account of such conflicts. This appeal takes advantage of this situation by fostering such friction, especially when officers begin to feel they must look out for their own welfare.

TASK 14: To get enemy military personnel to become distrustful of and to quarrel with political officers, and vice versa.

Officers

150. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Communist Party claims it is the people's party, the government claims it is a people's government, and the armed forces claim they are members of the people's liberation army. Yet the representatives of the political cadre must use liquidation and struggle to enforce discipline. Why?	Liquidation and struggle.

Meaning of Symbols: Armed forces which claim to be fighting for the country and the people should not have to depend upon the horrors of "liquidation" (murder) and "struggle" (mass trials) to enforce discipline.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese officers eventually will be revolted by Communist practices in the army and government.

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Task 14

151. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You are a devoted political leader who does all he can, yet the unreasonable soldiers blame you for everything that goes wrong, even for things that do not happen in the unit.	Unreasonable soldiers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes the political officer regard enlisted men as dumb, driven cattle, unable to appreciate the officer's responsibilities and unaware of his sterling worth, but at the same time willing to blame him for the unpleasant situation prevailing at the front.

152. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Think back to what has happened to those who have cooperated with the political officers. They have been cast aside as old tools whenever they are no longer needed.	Cast aside.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes ill feeling toward political officers by pointing them out as selfish men whose only use of line officers is to exploit them to the limit and later to cast them aside without compunction.

153. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
For whom is the political officer working so hard, you or the foreigner?	Foreigner.

Meaning of Symbols: The association of the political officer with the Communist Party, and hence with Russia, is inevitable.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes discord between line officers and political officers because the latter serve an unpopular ally, rather than the best interests of their own country.

154. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You have been a devoted political officer, yet you may be purged tomorrow on a whim of the slackers in Peiping.	Purged.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes the political officer fear and distrust his own superiors, and at the same time plays on the antipathy which both political and line officers fighting at the front feel toward Party and military officials serving safely in Peiping.

NCO's

155. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The political cadre are know-it-alls, even when it comes to the latest technical military information on which they have not been trained.	Untrained know-it-alls.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As the war continues, the political cadre will be increasingly regarded as upstarts and looked down on because of their lack of battle experience.

156. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
When even the old and trusted members of the Party suffer liquidation, how can you place your trust in *any* political officer?	Liquidation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even if there is no foundation for such suspicion, when liquidations occur, political officers are sure to be suspected of having connection with them. This appeal plays on the distrust for the political officers which is already strong among NCO's.

157. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Who has met a realistic political officer?	Lack of realism.

Meaning of Symbols: The political officer, because he deals mostly in intangibles—such as Party theory and doctrine, Communist ideology, thought control, and propaganda—is likely to be thought of as having his head in the clouds while others must cope with the hard realities of military service.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Tends to strengthen the natural antipathy which the down-to-earth soldier feels for the "egghead."

158. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
As soon as there is difficulty, the political officers blame you, for they are sure they themselves can never be wrong.	Blame.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is particularly galling to NCO's to be blamed by political officers, whose responsibilities are comparatively light, and whose opinions and judgments are seldom open to question except by those on a high level of authority. When things are going badly for the armed forces, it is inevitable that the NCO's should come in for a large share of blame from the political officers who emphasize "incorrect" political indoctrination in military reversals.

159. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How can you know whether the political officers' policies are ideologically correct or whether they are his own personal policies which he claims are those of the Party?	Personal policies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea fostered by the Communist high command is that the political officer is "Sir Oracle" on all matters having to do with Communist policy and doctrine. This inevitably gives rise to the suspicion, that the political officer is using this alleged infallibility to promote his own interests. Until such time as Communist NCO's have become robots, incapable of independent thought, the appeal should be effective.

160. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Who ever met a political officer who kept his promises?	Broken promises.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The longer the war continues, the more officials of the government, officers, and others in authority are going to be charged with having broken promises. The political officers, because of their favored position, and because they have undoubtedly made many promises which could never be fulfilled, will be among the first to have the charge laid against them.

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Enlisted Men

161. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The political officer or his running dogs are spying on you right now.	1. Running dogs. 2. Spying.

Meaning of Symbols: "Running dogs" is the term used in China for toadies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To the enlisted men the idea that they are being spied upon by the political officer is disturbing, but even more disturbing is the thought that this officer has working with him stool pigeons and informers whom the men may have trouble identifying.

162. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The political officer always urges you to sacrifice your precious life in the war. He certainly cares little for your life.	Sacrifice your life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Ordinarily it is not the function of the political officer to lead and command, but rather, to exhort the men to performance of duties which often involve great hardship and danger. This emphasizes the fact that the political officer has little regard for the lives of others.

163. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Remember the flowery words of the political officers when you entered military service? How much of this has been true now that you are fighting in the front lines? What kind of conscience can these men have?	False promises.

Meaning of Symbols: A political officer who took heed of the dictates of his own conscience would not last long in the Chinese Communist armed forces since he has no choice but to make promises which he knows will never be realized. It is inevitable that the men should come to place no confidence in what the political officer says, and to have no respect for his integrity as a man.

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164. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The political officer wants to control even your thoughts. How can you trust such a man?	Thought control.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The enlisted man knows he must expect his actions to be controlled by the nonpolitical officers, but he would not be human if he did not resent the efforts of the political officers to control even his thoughts. Distrust is a natural consequence of this feeling of resentment.

165. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The political officer is interfering in all aspects of your daily life to serve his own interests.	1. Interference. 2. Self-interest of political officer.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In some cases, enlisted men are aware that the political officers serve hard and exacting taskmasters. However, it is easy for enlisted men to feel that the political officer is an officious busybody, working entirely for his own advancement.

166. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Party members will never let you obtain the promotions you deserve.	Denial of promotion.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Hard feelings on the part of the enlisted men toward the political officers, representatives of the Party in the armed forces, for blocking their chances of improving their military status and enjoying an easier life.

Militia

167. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The political officers always claim to know all the answers and refuse to admit it when they make mistakes.	False infallibility.

Meaning of Symbols: In Communist forces, politics enter into every phase of military life. Hence, because of the nature of his duties, the political officer must constantly appear to be infallible and fully informed. To admit he might be wrong

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about anything concerned with politics, hence also about military affairs, would tend to create misgivings among the men concerning the soundness of the whole Communist system and ideology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is impossible for the political officer to avoid the distrust and dislike of his fellow nonpolitical officers and he may consequently feel that the hand of everyone is against him.

168. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
No matter what you say and to whom you say it, the political officer will learn of it and it will be twisted to appear as reckless and dangerous talk.	Malicious talebearing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: All ranks in the Communist forces have had ample opportunity to observe the censure and severe punishmen meted out to those who indulge in careless talk. This appeal fosters the feeling that the political officer is to be blamed for these punishments because he is a snoop and talebearer, ever on the lookout for the most ordinary "soldier griping."

169. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The political officers have sold out the fatherland and taken in a thief as father. That is why life is hard and there is corruption.	1. Fatherland. 2. Thief as father.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The political officers, because of their close association with Communist ideology, are identified with the Russians. They are held up as the dupes and tools of an unpopular ally. The appeal should result in dissension between political officers and those who perform only strict military duty.

170. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Who ever met a reasonable political officer?	Unreasonable political officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Obviously a reasonable man would stand little chance of lasting long as a political officer in the Chinese Communist armed forces. The straightforwardness of

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this appeal tends to increase the natural dislike which nonpolitical officers are likely to feel for political officers. The political officer will be quick to sense and resent this feeling, with a consequent spread of friction.

171. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The political officers spur you on in hardship and austerity while they themselves seek luxury.	Luxury vs. hardship

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Stirs up dissension between political and nonpolitical officers by implanting the suspicion that the former talk austerity but seek luxury. Causes resentment on the part of the political officers when they feel they are unjustly accused of not practicing their teachings. If the political officers attempt to remedy the situation by making more luxuries available, it may endanger the overall support position.

172. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The political officer is only interested in meaningless words. How can he solve or be interested in your practical problem?	Words vs. practical problems.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The political officer, in the nature of his duties, must expound Communist doctrine and talk in Communist jargon. Both of these tend to sound more and more hollow under the strain and dangers of front line service. The suggestion that an officer who deals altogether in intangibles can have little understanding of practical problems, and less ability to solve such problems, should be well received.

TASK 15: To get major elements (branches and services) of the enemy military forces to quarrel and fight with other major elements (e.g., arouse resentment among ground troops about lack of adequate naval and air support).

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Officers

173. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The other services do not understand the special duties and mission of your service.	Lack of understanding of other services.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Resentment that their importance to the overall war effort is not understood or appreciated by the men in other services.

174. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The other services always blame you for their setbacks and failures. They never give you credit for your successes.	Blame by other services.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In a situation of uncertainty, with a lack of knowledge of the whole picture, it is easy to suggest that any confusion has been due to the other segment operating in a different area or in a different sphere. This also reinforces the predilection for a scapegoat to prevent a loss of face.

175. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When your service makes suggestions in the best interests of the armed forces, the other services accuse your service of working only for your own interests.	Accusations by other services.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that even when the group is working the hardest in support of the overall war effort, it is not understood by small-minded meanies in other branches of the armed forces.

NCO's

176. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The men of the other services will not cooperate with your service because they are serving the interests of their ambitious superiors.	Noncooperation.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: When one branch or service begins to suffer because of lack of support from another, there will be a tendency to attribute it to noncooperation, or to selfishness in the high command of the other forces. For example, a lack of planes providing air cover for infantry may be due to the fact that there are no planes left in the Chinese Air Force. However, the ground troops will be more likely to blame it on a desire of the sister services to save their own skins and weapons.

177. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The other services are envious of the earned reputation of your service.	Jealousy of other services.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is common for members of one arm of the military forces to blame a deteriorating military situation on the lack of cooperation of another arm. Hence, it is easy to instill the feeling that lack of cooperation was due to jealousy.

178. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How can you trust the other services when they are so distrustful and jealous of you?	Distrustfulness of other services.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: When victory does not come, one arm of the service may feel that others are not cooperating because of distrust and jealousy. The appeal tends to foster indignation in one arm against what is considered a stupid and unrighteous attitude on the part of the others.

Enlisted Men

179. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Which service gets special pay and better treatment? Certainly not yours.	Lack of special consideration.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To Army enlisted men, the appeal should suggest the picture of Navy men living on clean and comfortable ships and of Air Force personnel enjoying excellent accommodations in spacious barracks, while they "sweat it out" at the front.

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180. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Each service has a different pattern of work and different work circumstances. Why must you be forced to follow the pattern and circumstances of other services?	Forced conformity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To make the enlisted men of one service feel they are being forced to conform, to their disadvantage, to the methods of operation, and manner of performance of duty in other services, promotes friction among different components of the armed forces.

181. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The other services talk of unity only in order to force you to accept their control and ways of doing things.	Forced control.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should intensify friction among the different services.

182. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Which service has the better uniforms and food?	Inequality of treatment.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes the familiar feeling that the grass is always greener in someone else's yard.

Comment: Substance is provided by the fact that in general, the EM of the Navy and Air Force do have it better than those serving in the Army.

Militia

183. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The other services will withhold support from you or keep their strength to themselves whenever the situation becomes dangerous, as now.	Lack of support.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Unless the Chinese Communist Navy attains a strength and importance many times greater than it has now, few in the Army will ever see much of it. Similarly, the more the military situation deteriorates, the fewer planes ground troops will see overhead. The suggestion that the Navy and Air Force are deliberately failing to make their proper contribution to the war effort will be effective in turning the Army against the other services.

Situational Effect: Most effective among ground forces, since there are few, if any, militia in the Navy and Air Force.

184. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Treatment and privileges are better in the other services.	Privileged status of the service.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes the belief that the grass is always greener in someone else's yard.

Situational Effect: This should be particularly effective among militia serving in ground forces who, in general, have some justification for thinking that the Air Force and the Navy lead a better life than the Army.

185. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why do the other services have such a superiority complex and look down on your service?	Superiority complex.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The personnel of the Navy and Air Force must of necessity be a more select group than the men serving in the Army. Hence, the appeal should be effective in stimulating the feeling that the more elite services are conceited snobs who look down on ground troops because the latter, in general, have had less education and come of more humble backgrounds.

Situational Effect: Since there are few, if any militia serving in the Navy or Air Force, this appeal is mostly suited for use against components of the group in the Army.

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TASK 16: To intensify conflicts among ethnic and/or minority groups in the enemy military forces.

Officers

186. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Three bowed heads in row with distinctive head gear of Moslems, Tibetans, and Mongols with Chinese characters "Hui," "Tsang," and "Meng," under each respective head. Brutal hand with club, outlined over the three heads. Caption: The Han treat other people cruelly.	Bowed head.

Meaning of Symbols: "Great Han chauvinism" is the way Chicoms themselves characterize Han arrogance toward minorities. A bowed head is the most humiliating aspect of subjection or surrender.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses anti-Chinese resentment from members of minority race groups who find themselves subjected to control of Chinese.

187. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Only the Han have the necessary education to play an important role in the armed forces.	Education.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To the Han, it offers justification for a policy of discrimination which in turn stirs up anti-Han feeling among the minorities.

188. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Only Han officers have the proper leadership qualities.	Leadership qualities.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal plays skillfully upon the traditional feelings among the Han that they are a superior race. In addition, it offers an incentive to the Han to behave in a manner which will stir up ill feeling toward them among ethnic and minority groups.

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Task 16

189. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The members of minority groups (or minority group "X") always stick together and become special factions or cliques in the armed forces.	Minority group factions.

Meaning of Symbols: Ethnic and minority groups, surrounded by Han who are sometimes overbearing, naturally tend to stick together and form groups which may not have the bad characteristics one associates with factions and cliques, but can easily be suspected of having them by the Han.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that such groups, no matter how harmless they in fact may be, are potential sources of trouble.

190. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Han predominate in the country and in the armed forces because the use of other nationalities in responsible positions will only lead to confusion and strife.	Han superiority.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal plays skillfully upon the traditional feeling among the Han that they are a superior race. In addition, it offers an incentive to the Han to behave in a manner which will stir up ill feeling toward them among ethnic and minority groups.

NCO's

191. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The other racial groups are not honest for they always play tricks behind your back. This is very dangerous in wartime. Beware!	Dishonesty of other racial groups.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese people, proud of their long history and heritage of culture, have traditionally looked down on the racial minorities. To suspect other racial groups of dirty work and to consider them unreliable is a natural tendency in a deteriorating military situation, and this appeal would tend to promote such friction.

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192. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Han Chinese eating pork and using mosques as barracks. Caption: Don't fight for infidels.	Infidels.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses the resentment of Moslems toward Han Chinese habits, Communist atheism, efforts to destroy Moslem religious powers, and desecration of holy places.

193. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why fight for the Han?	Han (Chinese).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since the minority groups already believe the Han Chinese constantly take advantage of them and act superior to them, this should arouse feelings of nationalism and independence in the minority groups.

Enlisted Men

194. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Han soldiers fighting while minority groups take it easy at home. Caption: Why aren't the Hui (or Chuang or Thai, etc.) helping to fight?	Minority groups.

Meaning of Symbols: The Han do not trust the minorities. They feel that all should help protect the country but many minority groups are free of military service. Also, minorities receive many favors and exemption from certain Communist punitive policies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases resentment toward minority peoples, leading to possible clashes.

195. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Han have always monopolized the good positions and treatment, and they continue this policy in the armed forces.	Han-monopolized positions.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The ethnic and minority groups are few in number and very few officers come from their ranks. It is natural for EM belonging to these minority groups to feel that they are generally discriminated against in the way of promotions and pay.

196. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The minorities do not understand the Chinese sense of nationalism and therefore cannot be trusted to sacrifice themselves for the country.	Lack of understanding of minorities.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This not only plays upon the contempt which the Chinese people have traditionally felt for minority and ethnic groups, but serves the double purpose of stirring up resentment in these groups because of this attitude on the part of the Han.

197. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Han are imbued with racial discrimination and the psychology of racial superiority.	Racial superiority.

Meaning of Symbols: In many instances, the attitude of the Han toward ethnic and minority groups is not one of contempt so much as of total indifference.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: EM of minority groups are undoubtedly acutely aware of this feeling, and it tends to strengthen the resentment which they naturally feel on account of it.

198. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Huis (or Tibetans, Lolos, Mongols, Kazaks, Ilis, or Moslems, etc.) have killed many Han.	Huis (or others) killing Han.

Meaning of Symbols: There is a long tradition of conflicts between certain minority groups and the Han Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Resentment towards fighting for people who have often killed Han.

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Militia

199. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why aren't the Chuang (or Lolo, or Hui) on militia duty?	Minority groups.

Meaning of Symbols: The minorities are looked down on by the Han. In addition, the minority groups are seldom given militia duty since they are not trusted enough.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases resentment toward the seemingly special favors of minority groups.

200. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Han militia dying to save minority peoples harassed by American soldiers. Caption: Why are you risking your life for the Hui (or Chuang, etc.)?	Risking your life.

Meaning of Symbols: The Han look down on and resent the peculiarities and special attention of the non-Han, including some freedom from military obligations, shown by the government. Chinese are especially resentful of those whom they believe are taking unfair advantage of them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Stirs up resentment against minority peoples and one's own leadership for making the individual protect these peoples.

201. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Only evil and biased people resent your race. The Han military leaders claim to be fighting against all racial hatred, but still there is racial hatred against you. Why?	Racial hatred.

Meaning of Symbols: In spite of the Confucian saying, "Within the four seas all are brothers," the Han have traditionally looked down on the ethnic and minority groups.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even under conditions of ordinary military service, members of minority groups in the armed forces

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would feel they are being discriminated against, since their numbers are few and the great majority of officers are Han. In a deteriorating military situation, these groups will tend even more to feel they are hated by the Han, even if such hatred does not in fact exist.

TASK 17: To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers resentment against favored civilian groups (e.g., stress inequality of sacrifice).

Officers

202. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Fat face surmounted by civilian-style headgear with two hands holding heaping rice bowl and pair of chopsticks to face. Caption: Things are not equal—the civilians eat and are happy while soldiers have empty stomachs and eat only bitterness.	1. Fat face. 2. Heaping rice bowl.

Meaning of Symbols: Eating is a major concern in Chinese culture and there are many figures of speech connected with it. Fatness also symbolizes privilege and ease.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses envy and anger toward a civilian population living a life the antithesis of the soldier's, and hence leads to the desire to end the war.

203. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Some civilians serve only their personal interests and do not care about the interest of the public or your welfare.	Personal interests.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that among the civilians safe in the rear areas are selfish men who care nothing for either the public interest, or the welfare of those fighting at the front.

204. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Civilian profiteers lack the patriotism of the military.	1. Civilian profiteers. 2. Patriotism.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that the only true patriots are the men fighting at the front.

205. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Civilian profiteers are happy to sacrifice the military in wartime in order to build up their personal profits.	Personal profit.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that some civilians are perfectly willing to see soldiers die at the front as long as they can make money in the rear.

NCO's

206. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two pictures: a. showing soldiers dying in battle; b. showing government and Party officials living in fine houses, eating and living well. Caption: Why die for them?	Sacrifice for selfish leaders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment over dying for government and Party officials who give orders, do less work, and live well.

207. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: City people peacefully enjoying life and living well. Caption: City people aren't fighting.	City people.

Meaning of Symbols: Most soldiers are peasants with a distrust and dislike of city people. City people versus the peasantry is an old controversy in China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a reaction of bitterness toward city people, with an increasing desire to stop fighting.

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Enlisted Men

208. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A series contrasting military and civil life. *Military*—poor food, poor quarters, cold, wet, no luxuries, wounded and dying. *Civil*—good food, fine homes, dry and comfortable; theatres, cigarettes, liquor, safety. Caption: You are giving much more than the cadres and government workers.	Inequality of sacrifice.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, there is a traditional resentment toward government officials who live at the benefit of others. In addition, there is the usual soldier's resentment toward civilians.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases resentment toward the cadres responsible for the war.

209. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There are civilians who are making a fortune at the expense of the nation's distress while you sacrifice.	Civilian profiteers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Emphasizes the feeling, already strong among enlisted men, toward civilians who make money out of the war while they suffer and die at the front.

210. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In wartime, profits should be turned over to the public welfare, but some civilians believe they should keep them for themselves.	Wartime profits.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Soldiers confronted with death and disagreeable surroundings tend to resent and envy civilians who escape such danger and discomfort. These thoughts are conveniently rationalized and justified here.

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Militia

211. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Why not let the theatrical companies and entertainers, the low ranking cadres, the civil officials, the farm workers and others safe in the rear areas take their turn at serving in the front lines where you are daily risking your lives?	1. Civilian safety. 2. Risking your lives.

Meaning of Symbols: During World War II, no Chinese with any money, position, education, or influence ever served in the ranks, and very few as commissioned officers. Under the Communists the situation may be somewhat different, but even so it is highly unlikely that there will be anything like the general responsibility for frontline service that there was among Americans in this war and in Korea. The militia in particular is likely to be used as cannon fodder.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In most cases soldiers are receptive to the idea that favored groups of civilians are avoiding dangerous military service.

212. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: City people eating in restaurants and buying food at well-stocked markets. Caption: Where has your food gone?	Taking of food.

Meaning of Symbols: The peasants always resented the taking of their harvest by the government and feel bitter toward those consuming it.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases resentment because of food shortages and the fact that the city people are better off.

TASK 18: To promote among enemy soldiers feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

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Officers

213. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Russian troops eating and drinking and living in luxury while Chinese troops—poverty stricken—are at the front.

Caption: The Russian "Big Noses" have plenty.

Russian "Big Nose."

Meaning of Symbols: Big Nose is a derogatory term for all foreigners, here the Russians.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the Chinese Communist resentment of the food that they know has been sent to Russia.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: NCO's, task 18, rating of 1.

214. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Russians sitting in the government buildings in Peiping giving orders.

Caption: This is a foreigners' war.

Russian foreigners.

Meaning of Symbols: In China there is an innate feeling of xenophobia—especially the hatred of foreigners imposing a foreign culture on the Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases a feeling that Russians are an uncivilized and uncultured people. Stirs rebellion over fighting for them.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: NCO's, task 18, rating of 1.

215. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Food being taken from the peasants and being given to Russians.

Caption: Your food is going to feed the Russians.

Feed Russians.

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Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have a feeling of resentment toward outsiders, especially those who affect their livelihood.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should increase the feeling of resentment toward the Russians and encourage the group to withhold food from the government.
Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Militia, task 18, rating of 1.

216. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Pictures comparing Chinese arms, clothing, and equipment with that of the Russians. Caption: The Russians keep the best for themselves.	Russians.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are suspicious of the Russians and consider them uncivilized and uncultured, and are somewhat ashamed of being allied with them.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should promote feelings of jealousy and resentment toward the Russians.
Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Militia, task 18, rating of 1.

NCO's

217. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Russians are trying to run China. They are foreigners.	Russian foreigners.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, dislike for aliens with different culture is widespread. They especially distrust the Russians and dislike their attitude.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses the feeling that the Russians are too overbearing, do not mix with the Chinese, and act superior.
Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Enlisted Men, task 18, rating of 1.

218. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Scenes of Soviet debauchery in China.	Soviet debauchery.

Comments: This is an example of crude propaganda but similar portrayals by the Japanese showing Uncle Sam and John Bull being kicked out of China by a Japanese soldier began to show results in attitudes after a year or two of sustained exposure.

Situational Effect: This is recommended in field combat situations.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 213 developed for Officers, task 18, rated 1 for NCO's; Appeal 214 developed for Officers, task 18, rated 1 for NCO's.

Enlisted Men

219. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Look at Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and every other country which ever was allied with the Soviet Union! Do you want to share their fate?	Enslavement of allies.

Meaning of Symbols: Despite the efforts of leaders and the Soviet Union to keep the Chinese in ignorance of the fate of satellite countries, they are in general well aware of what has happened.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Resentment and distrust toward a country which has enslaved former allies.

220. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
China and the U. S. fighting side by side, crushed Japan. After Japan was conquered what did America ask of you? Nothing! On the contrary she sent you food, clothing, money, and machines and helped you in many other ways. The Soviet Union in contrast will make slaves of you.	Russian servants.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is safe to assume that most Chinese are aware of American respect for nationalism and that despite all efforts to represent America as their greatest enemy, we are really their best friend. The appeal should increase nationalism as well as hatred for the Russians.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 217 developed for NCO's, task 18, rated 1 for Enlisted Men.

260. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Soldiers being blown to pieces. Caption: Stay in one piece.	One piece.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese have a dread of dying dismembered because the spirit would also be dismembered.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since even death by bullet would be preferable, it would increase anxiety regarding this manner of death.

Enlisted Men

261. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Beware of our new weapons.	New weapons.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese have a traditional fear of unusual ways of death and are well aware of the advanced technology of the Americans. Since they have been told that Americans use inhuman weapons and believe that we are capable of producing them, this appeal should increase their fear of these new and terrible weapons.

262. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. troops using strange gadgets in order to learn of Chinese plans. Caption: We know your plans. You will be trapped.	We know all.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese have a lack of knowledge of modern science and believe that science can do almost anything. This would cause them to fear that if they carry out their plans they will be trapped and killed.

263. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You may be next in the human-sea tactics planned for the next battle.	Human-sea tactics.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even members of the EM who have not participated in a human-sea attack know how terrible it is. The thought of having to take part in one would certainly be a strong incentive to panicky and disorganized behavior.

264. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbol
The commanders are talking about starting another liquidation and struggle campaign in your unit.	Liquidation and struggle campaign.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: "Liquidation" and "struggle" bring up horrifying pictures. The thought of such experiences is apt to have a profound effect.

265. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Americans are ready for an all-out effort to capture prisoners.	Prisoners.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Not only arouses fear of the dangers they will face if the Americans launch an operation to take prisoners, but also suggests that favorable opportunities for surrender are soon to be presented which will make it possible to avoid the dangers.

266. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are being watched more closely than ever by your political officers.	Political control.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: For enlisted men, in a deteriorating military situation, to be watched closely by political officers strongly suggests that a big offensive, with a probable accompaniment of human-sea attacks, is about to get underway. This thought will be likely to cause men to lose their heads.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes them believe the actions of Americans speak louder than the empty words of a government which has brought on the miseries of war.

310. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Those of your fellow soldiers who have come over to our side have enjoyed the assurance of survival, justice, and a bright future. They are ready to welcome you when you join them.	Fellow soldiers will welcome you.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Provides assurance that those who go over to the American side will not only find themselves in a better situation with more hope for the future, but will also be welcomed by their own comrades in arms. The knowledge that others have already gone over to the American side will act as both an incentive and as a justification to take similar action.

TASK 28: To arouse or intensify among enemy soldiers a desire to live (e.g., overcome fatalism, convince the soldiers that true loyalty requires survival).

Officers

311. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese soldiers rushing in droves into a pit, the bottom of which cannot be seen, filled with the dead and labeled "endless war." Caption: In the past 50 years, millions of Chinese soldiers have been driven into the pit of endless war, and still the senseless slaughter continues.	The pit of endless war.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To increase the desire to live which is especially strong among the family-conscious Chinese.

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Militia

267. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese troops being blown all to hell by artillery fire, while U.S. planes bomb and strafe overhead. Caption: Your already know the terrible power of American ground and air weapons. Much more terrible weapons can be used against you.	Terrible weapons of U.S.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The insecurities of everyday life in the Far East lead easily to panic in a group already familiar with the terrible effect of U.S. firepower.

268. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A terrible tiger, with blazing eyes and claws extended, leaping straight at the person looking at the drawing. Tiger is labeled "American firepower". Caption: The so-called American paper tiger can tear you to pieces.	Paper tiger.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese Communists have long ridiculed America as "a paper tiger which looks fierce but frightens no one."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases fear of terrible effect of American fire-power. Stirs resentment against regime which has pooh-poohed fighting power of U.S. forces.

GOAL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE

TASK 23: To get enemy soldiers to malinger (e.g., faking diseases, injuring themselves, pretending inability to read instructions).

Enlisted Men

269. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Anyone who pretends to be sick and hurts himself a little can evade military duty.	1. Evasion. 2. Pretense.

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Meaning of Symbols: In China, pretense and evasion are perfectly legitimate if one can get away with them.
Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Militia, task 23, rating of 2.

270. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)	*Key Symbols*
Illustration: Incompetent-looking officials obviously unable to determine how to cure a person. Caption: They won't know if you are sick or not.	Incompetent officials.

Meaning of Symbols: The group knows that the present local officials are not from the intellectual class—and they have low estimate of their ability. Most village officials are semi-literate at best, and few able doctors are available.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: To pretend illness and evade responsibility.

271. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Illustration: Picture of a soldier faking an injury. Caption: You can outsmart them.	Outsmart.

Meaning of Symbols: In China credit is given to the man who can outsmart his superiors.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: The soldiers may try malingering if they think they can get away with it.

272. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
If you are clever you can fool your officers.	Cleverness.

Meaning of Symbols: Tricks and ruses to avoid distasteful duty are well known and even respected in Chinese history. The peasant, the backbone of this group, likes to think he can outsmart the educated.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases a desire to malinger and thus avoid battle.

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Militia

273. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Soldier seated on the ground rubbing at his heel (presumably blistered). Caption: Even a minor injury can be irritated so that you cannot fight.	Self-injury.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages militia to think up some means, even involving self-injury, to avoid battle.

Comments: There are probably few, if any, armies in the world in which it would be more difficult to malinger, fake disease, or avoid duty by self-injury than in the Chinese Communist forces since there is no sick report.

274. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Officer issuing order to a platoon, with balloon words, "Do you understand?" coming out of his mouth. Coming from soldiers are balloon words, "Don't understand." Caption: When asked if you understand an order, say you "don't understand", and perhaps the order will be given to some other soldier or soldiers.	Don't understand.

Meaning of Symbols: Very few written orders are issued in the Chinese Army, so opportunities to claim inability to read a written order would probably seldom, if ever, occur. In issuing verbal orders, the usual practical procedure after the order has been issued is to shout at those receiving the order, "Do you understand?" The troops are supposed to shout back with one voice, "Understand!"

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 269 developed for Enlisted Men, task 23, rated 2 for Militia.

TASK 24: To get enemy soldiers to practice passive resistance (e.g., refusal to fight, fighting inefficiently, delaying action).

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Officers

275. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Who will take care of the members of your family if you die? Certainly not the People's Government. In spite of promises it is not even taking care of them now while you are away; sometimes it has even harassed them without provocation.	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The People's Government, fighting with their back to the wall, cannot be expected to take care of millions of people in the families of soldiers serving at the front. This arouses two disturbing thoughts; one apprehension about what will happen to the family if the officer is killed in action; the other, that the government can very easily neglect a family, and for many reasons well known to the group may actually mistreat or harass it.

276. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What are the higher-ups doing to help you? Our planes are in the sky. Where are your planes?	U.S. air power.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should strengthen the feeling that they have lost the war, especially when they no longer see their own planes overhead and enemy planes are constantly in the sky.

277. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Those who are first are the first to die.	The first die.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This would encourage the natural tendency of many Chinese to hold back and not be first, especially in a situation of danger.

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NCO's

278. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Vigorously fighting soldiers being killed in combat while those taking it easy are still alive and unhurt. Caption: You can live if you know how.	**Live.**

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese believe it is better to run and live to fight another day. This appeal strengthens this belief as well as the desire to take no unnecessary risks and thus insure a return home.

279. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Is the survival of the nation or your people at stake in this war? No! Why are you dying then?	Dying (without cause).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Every effort will be made by the Communists to imbue the armed forces with the idea that they are fighting with their backs to the wall for the survival of the Chinese nation and people. As the war continues, however, and as hopes of victory recede, the basic urge to live will become stronger and the armed forces will heed the propaganda less and less. The appeal will tend to give credence to American assurances that China is not in danger of losing its national existence, or the Chinese people of losing their freedom.

280. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
It will be hard enough for you to protect your own life when the next battle starts. Nevertheless this will be easier than trying to do the impossible tasks your commanders will ask of you.	Impossible tasks lead to death.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Every time a soldier goes into action and carries out the orders of his superiors, his chances of survival are less. The appeal strengthens this realization which comes to every soldier in an active sector.

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281. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You fight for the Russian beasts who do not understand the Chinese idea of "human beings."	Russian savages vs. Chinese human beings.

Meaning of Symbols: This is based on the opinion held by most authorities on China that the Chinese people, in spite of all the ballyhoo about "the big brothers," consider the Russians an inferior people, incapable of understanding and appreciating the qualities which have made the Chinese respected and admired.

282. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Now you know our strength. Are you still willing to throw away your life needlessly?	1. U.S. strength. 2. Needless death.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The longer the war continues and the less chance there is to provide rest and recuperation for front line troops, the more Chinese soldiers will ask themselves the question in the appeal and the more passive resistance should increase.

Enlisted Men

283. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: a. cadres living well entitled, Profit; b. a one-legged soldier on crutches entitled, Loss. Caption: You suffer hardships and die in vain while the cadres eat well, dress well, and protect their worthless lives.	Hardships.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes the men feel that within their own organization is a small group enjoying special privileges, simply because of Party affiliation. Acts as a strong incentive to be as slow and dilatory as possible in performance of duties and in obeying orders.

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284. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Healthy cadres getting medals and promotions while wounded soldiers look on. Caption: Only Party people get promoted—not those who fight well.	Party rewards.

Meaning of Symbols: Promotion and reward are largely dependent on Party position rather than credit being given to those who do the work.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment of Party system and a feeling that good fighting gets no reward.

285. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Picture of battlefield covered with bodies. Caption: Hard fighting results in many deaths.	Death from fighting.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese have adverse feelings toward unnecessary violence. The appeal suggests that hard fighting may result in death while easy fighting may enable the soldier to stay alive.

286. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your treatment is poor in the Communist armed forces. They are only interested in your risking your life.	Poor treatment.

Meaning of Symbols: To Chinese military mer, "treatment" means pay and allowances.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that poor treatment is a bad way of being rewarded for risking their lives in battle is bound to be well received.

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Militia

287. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese soldiers rushing forward in human-sea tactics, and falling in windrows before U.S. shot and shell and the strafing of planes overhead. Caption: Don't rush to your own destruction.	1. Human-sea tactics. 2. Destruction.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes desire to avoid the fate of those in the forefront of battle.

Comment: Inherent aversion to death or maiming in battle will more than compensate for any implication that he who hangs back in the fighting is a coward.

288. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
After working all day you should rest like the others.	Rest.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Rest is essential to the Chinese and although opportunities for it are scarce, it is still sought after. This would encourage them to resent sentry duty at night and possibly seek a place to sit down and perhaps even sleep.

TASK 25: To get enemy soldiers to become insubordinate.

Enlisted Men

289. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Officers who do not honor what they have promised are not worthy to lead.	False promises.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Every sensible officer knows the best way to lose the respect and confidence of his men is to make empty promises. Communist officers, however, have no choice but to make such promises and must face the consequences of having to command sullen, disillusioned men who can easily become insubordinate.

290. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How unreasonable officers are. Can you ever finish all the work they demand of you?	Unreasonable officers.

Meaning of Symbols: Even in ordinary circumstances, an officer has to issue many orders which may appear unreasonable to all or part of his men. In a deteriorating military situation, his orders may appear even more unreasonable.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This should encourage the natural tendency of the men to act in an insubordinate manner in protest against such orders.

291. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Many unreasonable commanders are only bluffing cowards. Those who disobey will soon learn how limited officers' powers really are.	1. Bluffing cowards. 2. Unreasonable commanders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In deteriorating military situations, it is likely that a good many enlisted men have seen soldiers get away with insubordinate conduct. This appeal should foster strong temptation to see if their own officers will put up with insubordinate conduct.

292. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Officers expect you to sacrifice your life without reward.	Sacrifice.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Every time an enlisted man sees a comrade killed or wounded in action, he realizes his own chances of survival are growing steadily less. This should tempt the men to act in an insubordinate manner toward their officers, since it is under their orders that they find themselves exposed to the dangers of combat.

293. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Think over the orders you receive. Many commands are issued just to serve an officer's ambition for promotion.	1. Unnecessary orders. 2. Selfish ambitions.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Many orders appear stupid or unnecessary to enlisted men. Consequently, it is easy to instill in the minds of the enlisted men the idea that such orders are issued merely to enable the officers to make a showing and increase their chances of promotion and higher pay.

294. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You will be sent to a foreign country to fight and die and your body will not be returned to China for burial—unless you do something about it now.	Death on foreign soil.

Meaning of Symbols: Most soldiers fear death, but not too many are concerned about where they will be buried if they fall in action. To the Chinese, however, the thought that their bones will not rest in the soil of the homeland, if they are killed, is horrifying.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If China is engaged in war with a country from across the seas, it will be easy to start a rumor, regardless of foundation, that Chinese troops are going to be sent to fight in some far-off land. This suggestion will be a powerful incentive to take action which will preclude the possibility of dying outside China.

295. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Officers who are selfish and without warmth are not fit to lead.	Selfish and unfriendly officers.

Meaning of Symbols: To many of the militia, particularly to those who have had the least experience in military life, the normal conduct of an officer may make him appear selfish and unfriendly.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that officers are not fit to command.

296. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What do officers care if you live or die? They treat you as animals, fit only to receive their demands one after another.	Animals.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since it is the duty of officers to issue orders and the lot of enlisted men to obey them, it is easy for the militia to feel they are being herded around like cattle by men who are indifferent to their welfare. The appeal should stimulate insubordination.

297. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Commanders who ask for the most risks are usually the ones most afraid of death themselves.	Cowardly commanders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A conscientious officer must sometimes avoid useless and unnecessary risks, because he knows he is worth more to his unit and his country alive. The appeal fosters the impression that officers who are trying to stay alive for the good of their men are in fact unwilling to share danger equally with their subordinates. Consequently, it should be an incentive to insubordinate conduct on the part of the militia and greater risks on the part of the officer.

GOAL: SURRENDER, DEFECTION, DESERTION

TASK 27: To convince enemy soldiers that they will be treated well if they surrender.

Officers

298. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
There is no shame in coming over to the American side. We respect your convictions.	Respect of convictions.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Assurance that those who surrender are admired by the Americans not only as valiant fighters, but as true patriots who will lose no face in putting an end to a hopeless struggle

299. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
To gain personal integrity, come over to our side where it is honored.	Personal integrity.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The assurance that if they surrender the group will be honored as virtuous human beings, not despised as worthless cannon fodder.

300. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You can play a useful and honorable part in the future of mankind only if you come over to the American side.	Service to mankind.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal provides justification for surrender with the very highest motive: a desire to serve humanity.

NCO's

301. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The American side stands for generosity and the advantages of democracy for all. If you come over to our side you can share these principles with us.	1. Generosity. 2. Democracy.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have learned through painful experience that they cannot expect to receive fair treatment from a Communist government, and that they have been cheated of the democracy promised them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that they will find democracy on the American side will be a powerful inducement to give up the struggle.

302. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
It is an honor to follow one's convictions and join the American side. We respect you for your sense of righteousness.	Respect for righteousness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Furnishes men, eager to give up the struggle, a justification for taking concerted action to bring it to an end. Suggests that Americans will consider surrender as a righteous act, appealing strongly to men who may be fearful of the treatment they will receive if they place themselves in the hands of the Americans.

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303. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There is freedom for you to act and think on the American side.	Freedom.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Offers hope to a people long restricted by the curbs and restraints of Communism, that there will be freedom of thought and action after surrender to the Americans.

Enlisted Men

304. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your officers have lied to you about conditions on our side. Let one of your own men tell you about his experience on our side. (Incident of a specific surrender to follow.)	Lying officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Direct words from one of their own comrades will have a powerful effect in motivating the desired conduct—surrender.

305. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Do you know how many former comrades in arms have come over to the American side and are enjoying a full life? Here are some pictures of them.	Comrades in arms.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese believe in "safety in numbers" as a principle of action. Hence, the pictures will speak more convincingly than a thousand words to men concerned mostly with the desire to live and to enjoy some of the ordinary comforts of life.

306. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your officers have deceived you by spreading wild stories about the Americans. This is because they fear that you know it is right to come over to our side whenever you can.	Deceitful officers.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: In their hearts the officers themselves know surrender is inevitable and the enlisted men know the officers have already lied to them about many things. The appeal makes it easier for the enlisted men to believe they have not been told the truth about what will happen to them if they surrender.

307. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When you come over to the American side you can be assured that your cruel Communist officers will never be able to harm you, for soon they will be destroyed.	Safety from Communist officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal assures that surrender will entail no risks of retaliation by Communist officers. This encourages men who may have been hanging back in making the radical decision to surrender.

Militia

308. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
For those who come over to the American side, we guarantee no hard labor and no mistreatment of any kind.	No hard labor and no mistreatment.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Hard labor and what they must inevitably look on as mistreatment are the common lot of the militia. Since most of the group are simple men who think in simple terms, this appeal should be effective in providing the impression that there is everything to be gained by surrender to the Americans.

309. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
We may not speak the same language as you but we are one with you in principle while your Communist enslavers speak your language but are not one with you in principle.	Common principles.

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312. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Three pictures: a. Soldiers surrendering; b. living happily in a POW camp; and c. building and farming. Caption: Surrender—Live—Build.	1. Surrender. 2. Live. 3. Build.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should intensify the desire to live both now and as a civilian.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: NCO's, task 28, rating of 1.

313. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
All those who died before you were told they were sacrificing to build a better China. Is a China of endless war a better China?	Endless war.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resistance to such a state policy; traditionally, such policy was considered evil.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Militia, task 28, rating of 2.

NCO's

314. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Veterans after the war rebuilding their homes (with American help). Caption: Be around to rebuild your home.	Home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reawakens a desire to re-establish the family by pointing out that the situation is not hopeless and depends on the soldier surviving.

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315. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A reconstructed area with prosperous veteran leaders. Caption: The new China can really use you. You can become prosperous in a new China.	Future prosperity.

Meaning of Symbols: All Chinese desire to advance their standing and the position of the family. Hence, there is a strong desire to prosper, not so much to build a new land as to advance for one's family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Holds out the hope that there is a bright future if one can stay alive.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Enlisted Men, task 28, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 312 developed for Officers, task 28, rated 1 for NCO's.

Enlisted Men

316. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Postwar scenes of prosperous village filled with happy men. Caption: Life will be much better soon, if only you are there to enjoy it.	Better life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The realization that life may be worth living and by taking suicidal chances, the soldier defeats his chance to stay alive.

317. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two parts: a. village where militia fought, in ruins; b. village where militia surrendered, intact. Caption: Your village will be safer if you do not die needlessly.	Safe village.

Meaning of Symbols: The old home is very dear to the average Chinese who is more interested in his home area than in the country's welfare.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: A desire to save the home village provides a good rationalization for surrendering.

318. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: The village home of a deceased soldier, showing the family having a very hard time. Caption: Your family needs you.	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are highly concerned about the future of the family especially since its survival may be in doubt if the adult male soldier dies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages soldiers to seek the way of survival rather than death.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Militia, task 28, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 315 developed for NCO's, task 28, rated 1 for Enlisted Men.

Militia

319. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese soldiers rushing in droves into a pit, the bottom of which cannot be seen, filled with the dead and labeled "endless war." Caption: In the past 50 years, millions of Chinese soldiers have been driven into the pit of endless war, and still the senseless slaughter continues.	The pit of endless war.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To increase the desire to live which is especially strong among the family-conscious Chinese.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 313 developed for Officers, task 28, rated 2 for Militia; Appeal 318 developed for Enlisted Men, task 28, rated 1 for Militia.

TASK 29: To get enemy soldiers to surrender or be captured by passive behavior (i.e., cease fighting and wait for opportunity to surrender or be captured).

NCO's

320. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Surrendered soldiers being fed, clothed, and given a chance to return home. Caption: American forces treat surrendered soldiers as friends, not enemies.	Home.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The promise of proper clothing, good food, and the opportunity to return home would tempt the members of this group to surrender.

321. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Waving, smiling American troops coming up to greet surrendering Chinese troops. Caption: You have only to wait until we come.	Wait.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese prefer to wait before taking any conclusive actions since if they take no overt action it cannot be wrong.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests an easy way to surrender since no action is necessary.

322. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Communists do not treat human beings like human beings. How long must you remain a beast?	Human beings vs. beasts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As the miseries of a protracted war increase and hope of victory grows less, the more the Chinese people will tend to feel that Communism degrades the individual and insults the dignity of man. The appeal suggests that since the Communists treat men like beasts, they are beasts themselves and thus the stupidity and uselessness of further sacrifice for a Communist government will become more apparent.

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Militia

221. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You sons of Han are dying like flies in a vain and senseless attempt to help your so-called Big Brother conquer the world. This is a fight in which you cannot win. If "Big Brother" is defeated, as he surely will be, you will go down to ruin with him. Even if he should win, you would be defeated, for you would become his slaves.	Servants of Big Brother.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are suspicious and distrustful of other nations and especially hold contempt for and distrust of the Russians.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Plays on the fear of the Chinese lest they become the slaves of a country which for hundreds of years they despised and mistrusted.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 215 developed for Officers, task 18, rated 1 for Militia; Appeal 216 developed for Officers, task 18, rated 1 for Militia.

GOAL: PRIVATIZATION

TASK 19: To make enemy soldiers increasingly dissatisfied with military life because of its hardships (isolation, danger, cold, excessive marching, etc.).

Officers

222. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You are putting up with deprivation only to serve the Russian interests.	Deprivation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As dangers increase and things continue to go against their side, officers may feel these hardships must be endured only to serve the interests of an unpopular ally whom they dislike and distrust.

223. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Watch your step! If you deviate just a bit, you will be reported.	1. Deviation. 2. Reported.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The thought that an officer must guard against the slightest slip, in blind adherence to Marxian doctrine, must make him more dissatisfied with military life.

NCO's

224. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A scene of holiday feasting on such occasions as Lunar New Year, Moon Festivals, Dragon Boat, etc., showing a likeness of Sun Yat-sen and the Nationalist Flag. Caption: Times were happier under a different flag.	Happier times.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings recollections of peaceful times when men were home.

225. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two pictures side by side: a. soldiers sitting under crude shelter from rain or snow—tired, poorly clothed, and eating cold food; b. civilians inside a house (showing rain or snow outside) with fire, warmth, happiness, and good food. Caption: This is how your home villagers live while you suffer.	Soldiers vs. civilians.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Resentment of harsh army life and jealousy of civilian life.

226. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Soldiers huddling together to keep warm. Caption: Why are you cold?	Cold.

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Meaning of Symbols: Allotted clothing and fuel probably is so sparse that most of the men are cold and uncomfortable.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Leads NCO's to wonder why they are uncomfortable, why they are fighting, and why they are in the army.

Situational Effect: Of seasonal importance (cold weather).

227. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If your family is in difficulty, how can you help them while you must be away in service?	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As the NCO's hardships and dangers increase, the larger their personal and family problems appear. All of these problems add up to a general dissatisfied feeling and a realization that little can be done for their families.

228. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If you spend your whole life in military service, it is as though you were spending it in jail.	Jail.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As the strain of the war grows and hopes of victory recede, the hardships, the dull routine of military service, and the restrictions on personal liberty become increasingly hard to bear. The parallel between life in the army and life in jail should be effective in causing discouragement and dissatisfaction.

229. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Military life certainly lacks the warmth of family life.	Family warmth.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Regardless of how bitter or poor the family life of NCO's may have been, by comparison with hardships of service at the front, it would appear infinitely better.

Task 19

Enlisted Men

230. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Lonely soldier in the cold, thinking of village life. Caption: Remember life at home.	Home.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are great home lovers and always remember the native home that represents safety and serenity for them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses a feeling of nostalgia for home.

231. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Table loaded with favorite foods. Caption: When did you last have a good meal?	Good meal.

Meaning of Symbols: Army food is very meager and poor. Though accustomed to poor meals, all Chinese enjoy good food which represents personal peace and security as well as sustenance to them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increase unhappiness with army life.

Situational Effect: For some the fare in civilian life may have been much worse than in military service.

Militia

232. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: On right, soldiers in heavy packs slogging through mud and rain. On left, eight civilians seated at a round table, hogging down a feast. Caption: When did you last eat meat? When did you last sleep on a kang? When did you last see your loved ones?	1. Eat meat. 2. Sleep on a kang. 3. See loved ones.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Soldiers are already inclined to believe that those in the rear "never had it so good!" This appeal

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should intensify resentment against difficult conditions of life at the front, in contrast to real or fancied good life in the rear areas.

233. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Militiamen poorly equipped and lacking proper uniforms. Caption: Why are you cold, wet, and alone?	1. Cold. 2. Wet. 3. Alone.

Meaning of Symbols: Cold and wet are symbols of the absence of proper clothing and shelter. Alone reinforces the Chinese preference to share responsibility with others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases dissatisfaction with militia duty. The peasants do militia duty in addition to regular farm work and receive no pay for it.

Situational Effect: Effective only in circumstances noted.

234. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your military life is without freedom just as is the life of oxen and horses.	Life of oxen and horses.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The realization that they have as little freedom as a farm animal is most likely to make the militia dissatisfied.

TASK 20: To arouse resentment among enemy soldiers regarding the failure of their own military forces to provide adequate food, clothing, medical care, etc.

Officers

235. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two pictures: a. warehouses filled with food, clothes, and weapons; b. soldiers in wornout clothes, eating poor food, sick, etc. Caption: The authorities are keeping your supplies.	Withholding of supplies.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Should strengthen the belief, already strong among Chinese soldiers, that rear-area officials are holding on to their supplies. This is based on the knowledge that in the past, corrupt and ambitious officials held back supplies.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: NCO's, task 20, rating of 1; Enlisted Men, task 20, rating of 1.

236. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Army officials wasting time while supplies are piled up in the rear. Caption: Your army is not taking care of you.	Neglect by officials.

Meaning of Symbols: It has been common in the past for soldiers in the field to be short of supplies while arsenals and warehouses were full.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases resentment of rear-area officials.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: NCO's, task 20, rating of 1; Enlisted Men, task 20, rating of 1.

237. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two empty hands, palms up. Caption: When the superiors don't care, the soldiers go into battle empty-handed.	Empty hand.

Meaning of Symbols: Empty hands are a widely used concept of want. In a society still thinking in terms of hand labor and handicraft economy, hands have great significance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Disgust over poor support and equipment.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: NCO's, task 20, rating of 1; Enlisted Men, task 20, rating of 1.

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238. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Tables showing relative supply per soldier of Red China, Nationalist China, Japan, Russia, and U. S.	Other armies better supplied.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese have a superiority complex and do not like to be surpassed in anything.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Resentment that an old civilized country such as China should be behind other nations.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Enlisted Men, task 20, rating of 1.

NCO's

239. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U. S. forces with great supplies of food, clothing, medical supplies. Caption: Our soldiers are well treated.	Well-supplied soldiers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese soldiers tend to feel that others look down on them and mistreat them. This appeal should arouse resentment and jealousy and increase the dissatisfaction with their own military and government leaders.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 235 developed for Officers, task 20, rated 1 for NCO's; Appeal 236 developed for Officers, task 20, rated 1 for NCO's; Appeal 237 developed for Officers, task 20, rated 1 for NCO's.

Enlisted Men

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 235 developed for Officers, task 20, rated 1 for Enlisted Men; Appeal 236 developed for Officers, task 20, rated 1 for Enlisted Men; Appeal 237 developed for Officers, task 20, rated 1 for Enlisted Men; Appeal 238 developed for Officers, task 20, rated 1 for Enlisted Men.

TASK 21: To weaken enemy soldiers' pride in and loyalty to their primary unit (squad, platoon, company, etc.).

Officers

240. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
How much more punishment can your unit take from us?	Punishment.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: To have Americans ask this question of Chinese officers will inevitably shake the pride in, and loyalty to, the unit in which they happen to be serving. It should also encourage the officers to wonder how much longer they can stand up to American firepower.

Comment: Persuasiveness depends on the degree of truth in the appeal.

241. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your unit is not fighting in the interest of the people or to defend the nation.	Selfish interests.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reinforces the doubt that must occur sooner or later to every Communist officer, particularly as the war situation goes against his forces, as to whether or not he is really fighting for his country and his people.

242. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Some of the men in this unit do not accept leadership no matter how able. No wonder you have done so poorly against us.	Poor followers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes officers feel that the Americans sympathize with their having to lead such poor fighting men in action.

NCO's

243. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your unit is widely known as the way of sacrifice and the road of death.	1. Way of sacrifice. 2. Road of death.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In a deteriorating military situation, an ambitious, conscientious NCO often has doubts of his own organization. The suggestion that his unit has acquired the reputation of being a "hardluck" outfit, in which casualties run unusually high would shake his pride and loyalty and increase his desire to be serving somewhere else.

Situational Effect: The effectiveness would be increased by including specifics gained through tactical intelligence.

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244. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You have risked your life and suffered hardships only for the benefit of others.	Sacrifice for others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The hardships of service in the front lines become increasingly unbearable, and the dangers of combat loom more menacing, as hopes of victory recede. The suggestion that these hardships are endured only to benefit others will tend to weaken the pride and loyalty which a good NCO normally feels for his unit.

245. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Who has heard of your unit back at headquarters? No wonder the promotions and medals have not been coming through as you have expected.	Unrewarded effort.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As things get tougher at the front, any unit may feel it has been forgotten, especially if the men think they are due for relief. Even if a unit has received its normal quota of promotions and decorations, NCO's often feel they are not receiving their share. The suggestion that they are either being deliberately discriminated against, or have been forgotten should affect their pride in their unit.

246. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How can a unit which cannot satisfy your personal wishes or offer a chance for advancement win honor and glory for you?	Unfilled personal wishes and advancement.

Meaning of Symbols: The average NCO in a Chinese Communist unit is a dedicated, highly indoctrinated man, whose principal hope for the future lies in making an oustanding record in his performance of duty.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In a deteriorating military situation the thought—that through no fault of his, but because of the failing of his unit, his chances of making a showing are adversely affected—will cause pride and loyalty in his organization to be shaken, and his value as an NCO consequently lessened.

Situational Effects: The effectiveness would be increased by including specifics gained through tactical intelligence.

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247. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Have you noticed the underlying hostility among the men in your unit?	Underlying hostility.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As the strain of front line service increases, the more prone the NCO's will be to feel that the enlisted men are not only indifferent to their efforts to instruct and lead them effectively, but are actively hostile. Makes them think the men will take advantage of every chance to work against them, even to the point of shooting them in the back at the first opportunity.

Enlisted Men

248. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Have you noticed how all the good treatment in your unit is reserved for the cadre?	Favored cadre.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Whether true or not, the idea that the cadre gets the best of everything is an easy one to foster among enlisted men. The appeal suggests that a unit in which this is the case is not one of which to be proud.

249. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
A soldier in your unit is never sure of his own life and is always criticized for anything that goes wrong. Yet he is always asked to defend the "glory" of the unit.	Privations of soldier.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The longer the enlisted men serve in a deteriorating military situation, the more they are going to be concerned about staying alive, getting enough to eat, and having a decent place to sleep, not about defending the "glory" of their organization.

250. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In your unit there are no shining goals to work for or good leaders to educate you as there are in other units.	1. No goals. 2. Poor leaders.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since enlisted men seldom realize conditions are similar in all units, this should reinforce the idea that another unit would be better than their own.

Militia

251. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In this unit you are not sure of your own life, you are often oppressed, and you are cheated and even publicly criticized. Where then can you find glory in your outfit?	Lack of glory.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The militia, originally mostly farmers and laborers, have had little experience in military matters before entering full-time service. They are not likely to know know that life in one unit of the armed forces is pretty much the same as in another. Hence, they can be easily influenced by the suggestion that the unpleasantness is found only in the particular unit in which they are serving.

252. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Everywhere you go you are under surveillance. Why?	Surveillance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is probably hard for the majority of the militia to adjust to a military life in which they are constantly ordered around and have virtually no freedom. In addition many of them undoubtedly feel they are being continually watched. This strengthens the feeling of inadequacy and makes the militia more dissatisfied with military life.

253. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your unit does not fight to protect either country or people, but rather it is the tool of selfish men. Your mission is to enslave others and become the tool of aggression.	1. Tool of selfish men. 2. Tool of aggression.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In most cases it is difficult for soldiers to understand how the sacrifices of army life can benefit either

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the country or the people to a great extent. The suggestion that they are fighting an aggressive war in order to impose upon innocent people a system of government, which they too dislike, is unlikely to make them proud of their unit.

GOAL: PANIC

TASK 22: To get enemy soldiers to panic or to behave in a disorganized manner.

Officers

254. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
We have just received an improved Napalm bomb.	Napalm bomb.

Meaning of Symbols: Especially feared by Chinese troops in the Korean conflict was the Napalm bomb.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea of emphasizing the horrible effect of some modern weapons is a simple one, but nonetheless effective.

255. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
We now have enough bombs for indefinite continuous bombing.	Continuous bombing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reminds the group that civilians, which may include their own families, will feel the effects of the bombing as well as the armed forces.

256. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
We have just received new artillery weapons.	New weapons.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If atomic artillery has not been previously used by the Americans, the appeal carries a strong suggestion that it soon will be. Any suggestion that more fearful weapons will be brought to bear is bound to have a strong effect, even if there is little intention of actual use.

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NCO's

257. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A late model U. S. flamethrower in action by a Nationalist soldier, firing upon Soviet troops (not Chinese Communist), who are being burned to a crisp.	U. S. flamethrower.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To intensify fear and remind them of the horrible effect of such weapons as the napalm, the most feared weapon among Chicom troops; as much or more so than the Japanese incendiary bombs of the Sino-Japanese war of 1937 and throughout World War II.

258. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
To run away is to live, but to stay is to die.	1. Run. 2. Live.

Meaning of Symbols: Running from a sure or even possible death is not as disgraceful to the Chinese as in many more militant cultures. Running away rather than staying and fighting is part of the Chinese way of escaping unpleasant things.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Strengthens the desire to leave the battlefield and thus avoid certain death.

259. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why are your commanders placing unreasonable restraints on thoughts and actions? What do they fear?	Unreasonable restraints.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Long continued service in front line areas tends to make soldiers feel that the bonds of discipline are being constantly tightened. The suggestion that the reason for this restraint is that their officers are desperate and have lost all hope of victory is a powerful incentive to panicky or disorganized behavior.

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Enlisted Men

322. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You don't have to desert. Just wait for the Americans.	Wait.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese prefer passive action in accomplishing a task. They like the idea of waiting for impersonal fate to decide the future.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A passive attitude of just waiting for the arrival of U.S. forces.

324. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Act now—before the battle starts. Why take risks?	Act now; no risk.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This avoids taking unnecessary risks, a policy which all Chinese appreciate. Suggests that if one is going to surrender, it might as well be before the dangers of battle.

325. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You have the opportunity to get out of your "pit of fire" and to obtain safety.	Pit of fire.

Meaning of Symbols: Suggests that life at the front is a hell; but that there is a way of ending its miseries and increasing the chances of survival.

Militia

326. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Let your officers rush forward to die! The day when you can be driven to die like flies in battle has gone forever!	Hold back.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea that inaction can accomplish everything has strong appeal for the Chinese. If others are surrendering or allowing themselves to be captured, they may be led to realize that they should not hold back.

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327. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your comrades in arms are surrendering daily by the thousand, knowing they will be well treated and given a chance to work for a free China. Why let others enjoy better days after you are dead or crippled?	1. Enjoy better days. 2. Surrender together.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have a sense of practicality, and feel safety in doing what others are doing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a desire to live like others for the brighter future rather than to die and accomplish nothing.

328. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Four parts: a. a militiaman hides from his comrades as a U.S. patrol approaches; b. some comrades are killed and others are taken prisoner; c. the individual surrenders voluntarily; d. the same individual being taken care of while the others are treated as ordinary prisoners. Caption: To hide is to be safe.	1. Hide. 2. Safety.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese prefer to play it safe, to sit on the fence when the future is in doubt, but they also like to be on the winning side. Consequently, they would avoid all actions which might lead to bad results. Encourages them to shirk sentry duty, and thus avoid future retaliation and gain reward from the victorious Americans.

329. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You don't have to do anything. We will come to you.	Do nothing.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, passive action is more favored than active since no onus will be attached if unsuccessful. Chinese therefore find it easier to do nothing and not commit themselves, thus avoiding blame.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages them to passively wait for United States troops to come.

TASK 30: To get enemy soldiers to desert (i.e., take to the hills).

Enlisted Men

330. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Picture of soldier taking to the hills and thus avoiding battle. Caption: You don't have to fight.	Avoidance of fighting.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reminds the soldier that since it is foolish to do something distasteful if it can be avoided, he need not participate in battle, thus avoiding danger.

331. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Save your lives before it is too late.	Self-preservation.

Meaning of Symbols: To the Chinese, very few things are worth sacrificing one's life for.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The soldier would be encouraged to take action to save his own life, or at least run away to fight another day.

332. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Soldier hiding while fighting is going on in his village. Caption: If you know where you can hide, you can live.	Hide to live.

Meaning of Symbols: Desertion does not have a stigma in China and the will to live is very strong.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since desertion is comparatively common, many enlisted men might be influenced to hide, as others have done in the past, from military forces and military service.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Militia, task 30, rating of 1.

Militia

333. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A soldier moving into a field of tall grain with mountains in the distance. Caption: Once away from your unit you will be safe, for the people know the war is lost and are only waiting for U.S. troops to come to bring peace and order.	Safety.

Meaning of Symbols: Security and safety in a hostile environment is a prime Chinese ideal.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages members of the group to save themselves before it is too late.

334. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Former militiamen living in the hills in safety and comfort. Caption: You don't have to be a militiaman.	Safety and comfort.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Intensifies the desire to avoid unpleasant duty by deserting, an old custom among the peasants.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 332 developed for Enlisted Men, task 30, rated 1 for Militia.

TASK 31: To get individual soldiers to surrender.

Officers

335. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
We grow stronger every day as you run out of food and ammunition. If you do not act now, the only fate you may soon have is death.	American strength.

Situational Effect: If used at the proper time, the boastfulness and threat of the appeal would make it more effective.

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336. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
There is no way out. If you do not make the decision, only death awaits.	Death.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Plays upon one of the most fundamental of human concepts, the desire to stay alive.

337. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You have the opportunity to cease fighting for a dictator who does not care about the people's welfare.	Dictator.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The suggestion that the group would be fully justified in ceasing to fight for such a leader would be well received.

338. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When you make the decision you will not only strike for your own freedom, but will help to relieve the suffering of your fellow countrymen.	Freedom and liberation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Offers justification, on a high plane, for the act of surrender.

339. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
This is your opportunity to help fight for human freedom in China.	Human freedom.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The officers have been told, by the Communists, that they are fighting for human freedom. Consequently, in a period of declining military fortune and an accompanying disillusionment with the Communist cause, this appeal may supply the idealistic incentive to vindicate their earlier misplaced commitment to human freedom, by now allying with a force that *can* bring freedom to a new Chinese society.

NCO's

340. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Save yourself.	Yourself.

Meaning of Symbols: In terms of Chinese culture, saving yourself is more important than saving a stranger.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes primary responsibility for one's self and one's family and not for other who are strangers.

341. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You now have the chance you have been waiting for, to escape from your life of being treated as cattle driven to slaughter into a life with a happy future.	Happy future.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases desire to surrender by soldiers, sick and weary of the endless misery and sacrifices of a long and hopeless war.

Enlisted Men

342. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. supplies of food and clothes and POW's living comfortably. Caption: We have food, clothes, and good shelter for you.	Comfort.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This should appeal to the strong desires of the Chinese nourished by a long history of poverty and the search for an easier and better life. As a POW, there would be no need to be uncomfortable in a cause of little concern and it is best to fight for the one who pays the best.

343. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
On our side, you won't have to fight any more.	Avoidance of fighting.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since soldiers are often eager to get out of the army to safety, this appeal should increase their desire to desert future battles.

344. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Save yourself now so that you can eventually revenge yourself on the Communists.	Revenge.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Hope of revenge on those who have cheated and exploited them can be as strong as the desire the soldiers have to live and to see their families again.

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Militia

345. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
If you surrender you will receive good food with pork twice a day, adequate clothing, comfortable quarters, and if you need it, medical care. Your comrades are surrendering daily, why not join them?	1. Pork. 2. Good treatment.

Meaning of Symbols: The fondness of the Chinese for pork amounts to a passion and to a Chinese "meat" means "pork."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since the most elemental of human wishes are represented here, the appeal should play on the desire for good treatment.

Comments: If backed up by feeding pork twice a day to the prisoners, the news will not fail to reach the Chinese forces.

346. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Militiamen arguing, while another leaves alone to surrender. Caption: Don't wait for the others.	Don't wait.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To act alone without waiting for group approval. Chinese are willing to act apart from the rest of the group if the stakes are high, as they are here (the higher priority being safety).

347. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: One militiaman surrendering to U.S. patrol. Caption: The one who is alone can take advantage of the situation.	Surrender alone.

Meaning of Symbols: To surrender is a way out of present difficulties, and by doing it alone one need not trust others or compromise others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Militiamen might take advantage of isolated duty to surrender.

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348. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Individual Chinese soldier, with hands upraised (open but not too high), walks toward a squad of American soldiers who beckon to him, but do not point weapons at him.

Caption: Many know further resistance is useless, and long to surrender. Those who act on their own can save their lives before the whole unit is destroyed!

Key Symbols

Self-preservation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Militia have not had the training, either in action or in rear areas, of regular troops, and are not well disciplined. In general, they have little stomach for war, particularly if it is believed that only fear of higher echelons of command prevents their officers from surrending. Hence, the individual is far more likely to surrender on his own initiative, just as thousands of Chinese surrendered individually in the Korean Conflict.

349. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Surrender ticket. In English: This man wants to surrender, treat him kindly and take him to any officer or noncommissioned officer. In Chinese: Abandon your arms and hand this ticket to any American soldier and you will be accepted for enlistment in the United States Army. A private in the U.S. Army receives _____ in U.S. dollars per month, equal to _____ dollars per month in People's currency, has a clothing allowance of _____, including shoes, three good meals a day, with meat at least twice a day regardless of cost, and the finest medical attention in the world, both at the front and in the rear areas.

Key Symbols

Benefits in the U.S. Army.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Engenders the desire to enjoy the wonderful life of an American soldier. It might evoke incredulity but even so, the appeal would arouse endless discussion

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among the group, which in itself would contribute toward the desired end—surrender.

350. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Surrender ticket (in Chinese). Abandon your arms and take this ticket to any American soldier and you will be well treated. (In English and then in Chinese.) This man wants to surrender. Treat him well and take him to any officer or NCO.	1. Surrender. 2. Good treatment.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Guarantees that if he surrenders the prisoner will not be persecuted as the Communists allege.

TASK 32: To get groups or units of the opposing military forces to surrender.

Officers

351. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
A national leader of courage and intellect will discuss a cessation of fighting with you. Watch for his words.	National leader.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To think in any way about surrender in a desperate situation inevitably tends to influence the group to take such action. The somewhat puzzling tone of the appeal makes it all the stronger.

352. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese soldier with gun on ground at feet. Caption: When officers lead troops to turn over their guns, the American troops treat them with friendliness and both sides are at peace.	1. Turn over guns. 2. Friendliness. 3. Peace.

Meaning of Symbols: "Turn over guns" is the least derogatory description of surrender since it saves face. Friendliness is

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linked to American attitudes and action and is based on traditional Chinese knowledge. Peace is harmony and equalization.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages the thought that surrender, euphemistically called "turning over guns," will result in friendly treatment from the Americans and peace for all.

353. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The strong and daring are going to cease fighting. Are you one of them?	Cease Fighting.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Implies that it is not the weaklings and the cowards who are surrendering, but the strong and the valiant.

354. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Fear is the price of continuing to fight for Communism.	Fear.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that by surrendering the group can put an end to a life of fear, death, and other problems of concern.

355. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Some have abandoned this war which is not in the national interest. Why don't you and your comrades join them?	Abandon the war.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since others of the audience have taken the big step, the remainder are more than justified in doing the same.

NCO's

356. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Unit surrendering together and then living together in prison camp. Caption: Stay alive together.	Live together.

Meaning of Symbols: The feeling of joint responsibility is high in Chinese culture.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The possibility of staying together increases the attractiveness of surrending, especially if there is a feeling of guilt.

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357. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If you want to cease fighting but have doubts, talk it over with a buddy you can trust. He probably has the same idea. Together you can do it.	Together.

Meaning of Symbols: This fits in very well with the proverb, "One man is dead; two men are alive," in other words, what one man cannot accomplish on his own, he can accomplish if he can find someone to work with him.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The more NCO's talk over giving up the struggle, the more likelihood there will be of units surrendering en masse.

Enlisted Men

358. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A whole squad (or platoon, or even company) surrendering. Caption: It's easy if you come together. You will stay together.	1. Surrender. 2. Stay together.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, group guilt is better than individual guilt; since by doing things together, blame does not fall on any one man.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Urges EM to get together in order to plan a group desertion.

359. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Treatment of soldiers by superiors is so poor that the superiors no longer deserve support; it is time for all those who have been badly treated to cease fighting.	Bad treatment.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Even in an adverse military situation when hope of victory is dead, most men will need some justification before they can take the radical step of surrendering. This appeal offers justification by suggesting that when superiors are no longer able to look out for subordinates, they need no longer be obeyed.

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360. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Those whose lot in life is similar and who have the same wishes for the future are going to cease fighting. Are you one of them?	Similar interests.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Those who are united in bonds of common interests and hopes for the future should take common action in seeking a means to put an end to the fighting.

Militia

361. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A well-turned out Chinese officer, in front of a unit of smart-looking Chinese troops, shaking hands with a clean-cut appearing American officer, who is accompanied only by a small group of officers and enlisted men in a jeep. Caption: In the War of Resistance, in the fighting before the Communists took over China, and in the Korean Conflict, many Chinese units surrendered, and no one thought the less of them for it.	Honorable surrender is no disgrace.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese, long accustomed to war, are equally accustomed to the idea of surrender by units when further resistance appears useless.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To realize the uselessness of fighting in a hopeless cause. The militiamen are not rabidly indoctrinated veterans, as are the personnel of some Communist units, and it may be assumed that most of them would definitely prefer surrender to continued fighting.

362. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The American forces respect you for your bravery and fighting ability. The Americans never wanted this war, and came to China only to free you from brutal, savage, and incompetent leaders to whom your lives mean nothing.	Americans come to free you.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Such a system can only produce resentment against obvious exploitation. By acknowledging respect for their bravery if not for their wisdom, honorable surrender is not to be considered a disgrace.

B: Tasks for Nonmilitary Groups Residing in the Enemy Country

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE U.S.

TASK 33: To convince members of the group that a U.S. victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between them and the U.S.; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc.).

China as a Whole

363. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The American soldier is the friend of every Chinese.	Friend.

Meaning of Symbols: When selecting a friend, it is natural to consider congenial dispositions and desirable interests, rather than a relationship based on the necessity of getting along with any kind of character. Americans share this feeling with Chinese, but this is not true of the Russians.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Builds up feeling of friendship for America by pointing out similarities in character between Chinese and American people.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 383 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 34, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 33.

Merchants and Industrialists

364. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
America has never demanded an inch of Chinese soil or exploited Chinese economic life and never will. Americans desire only that you be free to live, work, trade, and enjoy life in a free world. Americans are your best and truest friends.	Never made demands.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese, being conscious of obligations, are happy to associate with those who do not place them under

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obligation. The United States, it is here argued, wants China to achieve its aspirations because it has like interests and is not seeking Chinese favor and indebtedness to the U.S.

365. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

The real enemies of the Chinese people are the Russians. Behind a mask of false friendship, the Russians hate and fear you because they know you are smarter and more capable than they; because they know you were a great nation with the highest civilization in the world when they were savages living in caves.

Key Symbols

1. Mask of friendship.
2. Fear your superiority.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese believe that they are superior to non-Chinese and are not surprised to learn that "inferiors" might hate and fear them. To claim friendship while plotting in hatred would be the height of hypocrisy and an abuse of trust, in brief, a true enemy. Those who oppose such an enemy are friends.

366. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Thousands of Sino-Americans in the U.S., among them many of your blood relatives, love the land of their ancestors as fervently as you do, and are as proud of the ancient Chinese culture. There is scarcely an American, no matter what his ancestry, who does not consider the Chinese people, outside of the Communists who have cheated and exploited you, as his true friends.

Key Symbols

1. Sino-Americans.
2. Respect for Chinese.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese abroad are still considered as Chinese by the people of their country and since they are a part of American life this is testimony to a bond of mutual participation between the United States and China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese are very proud of their culture and those who respect it gain their admiration and friendship.

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367. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese and American soldiers shaking hands. Caption: Within the Four Seas, all are brothers.	Within the Four Seas, all are brothers.

Meaning of Symbols: This quotation from the classics is known to every Chinese, and has particular appeal when applied to a nation with a record of friendship to China. It is probable that as long as people speak Chinese, this saying will be quoted.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Awakens the desire to cooperate with real friends. The group, in spite of efforts of the Communists to represent the U.S. as an enemy, is aware of our record of friendship.

368. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Would your enemies send thousands of doctors and teachers to work all their lives in China for your welfare? All of you have known some of these Americans who worked for your good. Did any one of them ever act like an emeny?	Doctors and teachers.

Meaning of Symbols: Doctors and teachers have high status in China; those who respect them earn Chinese respect in turn. On the personal level, effective to the average Chinese, many of these Americans made lasting impressions of friendship and mutual interests, surviving Communist efforts to eradicate these memories.

Students

369. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The United States has always been sympathetic to China and has tried to understand her.	Sympathetic to China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Many students will remember that the United States defeated the Japanese who, unopposed, would have swallowed up China; that we fought for the freedom of Cuba; that on our own initiative we freed the Philippines; that we opposed the unequal treaties and the 21 demands; that we

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took the initiative in the remission of the Boxer indemnities; and that we never had a concession in China.

370. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The U.S. has always helped China with military and economic aid when she needed them.	Help.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: After World War II when China was receiving the maximum of aid from the United States, the students did not deny we were helping their country, but claimed we were doing it in order to use China to fight the Soviet Union. As sentiment among students turns against the Communist government, they will probably remember the aid and forget their allegation that the United States had an ulterior motive in giving it. However, a sense of gratitude has never been a conspicuous trait in Chinese character.

371. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The United States has always fought for democracy and the rule of law.	1. Democracy. 2. Rule of law.

Meaning of Symbols: The group has had ample opportunity to examine the Communist policy of "democracy" and compare it with American practice; and to note the absence of rule by law, especially where their own group is concerned.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls American attempts to aid those among them in China espousing these two causes.

372. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Both China and the U.S. have great pride in their country. This is the basis for true equality between them.	Pride of country.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are very proud of their country which, to some outsiders, seems rather to be ethnocentric arrogance. They can understand those who hold an equal pride in their own country. They will also appreciate recognition from the U.S. of their own self-respect.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Russian arrogance supported by the Communist leadership, so visible to the students, will be compared with American comradeship which was characteristic of earlier periods of intellectual contact between the two nations.

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TASK 34: To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

China as a Whole

373. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The United States will protect you from the wrath of your stern discipliner, the Communist Party.	Protect you from wrath.

Meaning of Symbols: When someone is about to be punished, there is always another who will speak for him and drag him away from the angry discipliner. Such a protector is, in effect, a liberator from pain and evil.

Cantonese

374. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The U.S. and China are traditional friends.	Traditional friends.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls the friendly attitude toward the U.S. This feeling is still strong despite Communist campaigns to the contrary.

375. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
U.S. troops helped you during World War II.	Help.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests friendship and deliverance from danger. Recalls memory of alliance with U.S.

Forced Labor

376. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Americans are here! They are your yu-p'eng-tze-yuan-fang-lai.	Yu-p'eng-tze-yuan-fang-lai.

Meaning of Symbol: Denotes a friend who has come from a far away place, and whose presence after such a hard journey makes one happy. "Presence" here is liberation for the Chinese.

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377. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The United States is a free and democratic nation. The U.S. forces are a righteous army fighting for your freedom.	Righteous army.

Meaning of Symbols: A righteous army is an army of liberation in the traditional Chinese concept and is deemed to be worthy of support.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Traditionally, the Chinese have regarded the United States as the most friendly foreign power. These traditions survive Communist propaganda. Consequently, the appeal should evoke refusal to cooperate with Communist war aim and war effort.

Comments: This appeal must be used with concrete statements of fact to counteract the effect of anti-American Communist propaganda in this area.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 34, rating of 2.

Former Kuomintang Members

378. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
We helped you with incalculable aid before. We stand ready to aid you again.	Helped before.

Meaning of Symbols: In China the past is a guide to the present and future, and hence there should be a feeling of friendship toward the U.S., for old friendships are sacred.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls past years when the U.S. helped China in World War II and provided aid through UNRRA.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 377 developed for Forced Labor, task 34, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members; Appeal 389 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 34, rated 1 for Former Kuomintang Members.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

379. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The American people and the Chinese people share the same goals of Independence, Freedom, and Equality for all humanity!	1. Share the same goals. 2. Independence. 3. Freedom. 4. Equality for all humanity.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reawakens earlier hopes of the group to follow in the footsteps of American democracy. From the turn of the century up to the loss of China to the Communists, many far-sighted Chinese in this group have looked to the United States for their inspiration.

380. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: American troops advancing under gunfire in the distant background while in the immediate foreground, Chinese in U.S. uniforms and U.S. soldiers feed hungry civilians, repair shattered houses and buildings and roads, and tend the wounded.

Caption: The United States is the traditional friend of the Chinese people!

Key Symbols

1. United States.
2. Friendship.
3. Chinese people.

Meaning of Symbols: Friendship has a very deep significance in Chinese life and thought. The past history of Sino-American friendly contacts has been excellent.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses respect for American humanitarianism and awakens Chinese people's warm memories of happy and successful Sino-American military collaboration from 1941–1945.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 384 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 34, rated 1 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors.

Merchants and Industrialists

381. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Since American forces defeated Hitler, the people of West Germany have enjoyed freedom and prosperity such as they have never known before. East Germany is a slave camp. Americans fight for freedom; Communists fight to enslave the world!

Key Symbols

West German prosperity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Strengthens sympathy for the Americans who have fought against dictatorship and allowed merchants and industrialists to prosper and progress under peaceful conditions and social prestige.

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382. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Japanese people, after you and the Americans had crushed the militarists, were given complete freedom following a period of U.S. occupation, and are now more prosperous than ever before in their history. If the Americans were willing to help the Japanese, they will be even more eager to help the Chinese people, to whom they are bound by close ties of traditional friendship and also by blood.	Japanese prosperity under American sponsorship.

Meaning of Symbols: Merchants and industrialists in China have envied and been jealous of the fair treatment America has given to a similar group in Japan, and they would welcome such treatment for themselves.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: They will welcome and cooperate with the American Army, with whose record many of the group, particularly those with relatives and friends in the U.S.A., are familiar.

383. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: One formerly employed by Chicoms in their propaganda against the Nationalist government, but readapted for current circumstances depicting scenes of troops liberating the Chinese people from slave labor camps, now by Americans. Caption: United States troops fight to free China from its Communist chains!	United States troops.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates a positive relationship of friendship for a country which once before, in 1941–1945, helped to free the Chinese people from an oppressive political regime.

Communist tyranny was a household slogan in Mainland China before 1949. It was assiduously propagated by the Nationalists. The idea has not disappeared from the Chinese mind and could easily be reinforced by the oppressive actions of the Chicoms, as well as by effective anti-Communist propaganda.

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384. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: One formerly employed by Chicoms in their propaganda against the Nationalist government, but readapted for current circumstances depicting scenes of troops liberating the Chinese people from slave labor camps, now by Americans. Caption: United States troops bring the Chinese people freedom from their Communist oppressors.	1. United States troops. 2. Chinese people. 3. Freedom. 4. Communist oppressors.

Meaning of Symbols: United States troops have had a good record in Mainland China, particularly during World War II. Their presence among the masses of Chinese (Chicoms excepted) was considered friendly and helpful—seldom resented. This feeling, from all reports, still exists despite Chicom "Hate America" campaigns.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses warm feeling of friendship toward the United States, a country with whom the Chinese people have had at least a century of amicable relations.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 34, rating of 1.

Professionals

385. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When U.S. troops were in China before, did they strip China of factory equipment as the Russians did?	Strip China.

Meaning of Symbols: The term refers to the stripping of Manchurian factories by Soviet troops in 1945 when Russia claimed to be an ally of China.

386. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Americans come to help you to make your country rich and strong, with freedom in your daily life so you can develop your personality freely.	American aid.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The professionals welcomed the Communist regime, even though they knew little about it, because

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at the time economic conditions were so bad that they thought a new government would surely improve matters. When the Communist government falls, many of the better informed and fair-minded will be willing to admit to the American record of fair dealing with and assistance to China.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Students, task 34, rating of 1.

387. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Americans will come as allies, as always.	Allies.

Meaning of Symbols: The symbol "allies" implies that we are equals with mutual interests and understanding.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls China's role as a U.S. ally in World War II.

Relatives of the Executed

388. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Friendly American troops and Chinese Nationalist troops helping to free the Chinese people from their imprisonment in the communes. Caption: The American friends will truly liberate you from your life of slavery in the communes!	1. American friends. 2. Liberation. 3. Life of slavery. 4. Communes.

Meaning of Symbols: Liberation has been repeatedly used by the Chinese Communists in their propaganda as a euphemism for slavery. This deception is now clearly realized by the Chinese people. The warm memories of U.S. friendship are still not forgotten.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses deep sense of hope and gratitude toward the liberators, who are not strangers but old and tested friends.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Religious Sectarians, task 34, rating of 2.

389. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Americans were your father's friends.	Father's friends.

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Meaning of Symbols: There still remains a feeling of loyalty and respect for ancestors. Therefore, their father's friend should be their friend also.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a feeling of trust that those who had befriended their ancestors would free them and be friendly.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 34, rating of 1.

390. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
With the Americans, there is hope for you to take revenge on those who have liquidated your kinfolk.	Revenge.

Meaning of Symbols: Revenge for wrongdoing to one's relatives is a paramount responsibility to Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Hope exists when the United States promises to support a task considered worthy and necessary *by Chinese.*

Religious Sectarians

391. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: American troops breaking in the gates of a prison, from the barred windows of which ragged, starving Chinese (labeled religious people) stretch out their hands, begging to be saved. Caption: In the past 60 years the United States has fought and won five wars and has not added one square inch of territory by force of arms. While since 1945 the Soviet Union has swallowed many countries which were formerly independent.	American troops liberate; Communist troops enslave.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Christians know that every country which the U.S. ever conquered in war is free today, and that the people have complete freedom of religion. The yoke of Communism rests particularly heavy on a group traditionally individualistic and resistant to regimentation. The appeal should bring renewed hope of liberation from the religious oppressions and restraints of Communism.

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392. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
U.S. troops once helped against the Japanese; they are helping against Russia now. They are lending a hand.	Help.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Members of the group would recognize the contrast between the U.S. as a friend and communism as an enemy.

393. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese people (labeled religious believers) struggling in an angry sea (labeled Communism), while people in a boat (labeled U.S. troops) extend helping hands to save them. Caption: Struggle for your lives, rescue is at hand!	Rescue at hand.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses desire to join with anyone who is against the government. It is characteristic of Chinese to wait for help from others rather than seek it themselves, that is, "the Lord helps those who can get others to help them!"

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 388 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 34, rated 2 for Religious Sectarians.

Students

394. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Americans will help you to rejoin your family once the war is over.	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Communists never encouraged the students to hope that under them family ties would be restored and strengthened following the disruption and confusion of the War of Resistance and the fighting between the KMT and the Communists. In spite of Communist efforts to weaken family ties the students will welcome a chance to see their parents and other loved ones again.

395. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Americans will bring peace and a chance to study in security.	Peace and study.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The students have become aware of the difficulty of freedom of study, the capricious manner in which favor or revenge is handed out, and the bellicose threats in the name of peace that characterize a Communist regime. Security for students, therefore, depends on the successful rejection of these characteristics. The Americans also stand for destroying these characteristics in the existing regime.

396. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
With the Americans will come new ideas for the future.	New ideas.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are much more interested in the future than in the past. Disillusioned by the cruelty and hypocrisy of the Communist regime, they will feel they stand a better chance under the Americans, who have been associated with many of the innovations in China in this century.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 386 developed for Professionals, task 34, rated 1 for Students.

TASK 35: To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 405 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 35, rated 1 for China as a Whole.

Cantonese

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 411 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 35, rated 2 for Cantonese; Appeal 416 developed for Secret Society Members, task 35, rated 2 for Cantonese.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 357 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 35, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists; Appeal 412 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 35, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Com-

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munists; Appeal 416 developed for Secret Society Members, task 35, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Former Kuomintang Members

397. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Military areas are dangerous.

Key Symbols

Dangerous.

Meaning of Symbols: An association between the military and danger is taken for granted since many Chinese have suffered in the past through war.

Differential Effects: Not effective with the military audience.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 35, rating of 2; Relatives of the Executed, task 35, rating of 2.

398. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Installations under bombardment. In foreground, Communist militia executing Chinese labeled "counterrevolutionary."

Caption: Military objectives are doubly dangerous to you. If they are bombed or shelled during hostilities, you will be blamed by the regime for being a counterrevolutionary! You may be blown to bits or shot for espionage.

Key Symbols

Doubly dangerous.

Meaning of Symbols: Being under suspicion, this group would be very conscious of the double jeopardy in which they placed themselves if they were found by the Communist militia in the immediate vicinity of these military targets.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses circumspection and fear and serves as a very effective warning.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Relatives of the Executed, task 35, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 412 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 35, rated 1 for Former Kuomintang Members; Appeal 416 developed for Secret Society Members, task 35, rated 1 for Former Kuomintang Members.

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Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

399. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A man asleep on a railroad track with a train about to run over him. Caption: Hanging around military objectives is like sleeping on a railroad track or dancing on the edge of a precipice.	Foolishness of courting unnecessary danger.

Meaning of Symbols: To die needlessly is the height of stupidity to the practical Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that they avoid flirting with death.

400. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A man asleep on a railroad track with a train about to run over him. Caption: He is no hero who dies through his own stupidity.	Foolishness of courting unnecessary danger.

Meaning of Symbols: To die needlessly is the height of stupidity to the practical Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that they avoid flirting with death.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 36, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 414 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 35, rated 2 for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

401. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives under air bombardment, with dead and wounded civilians in the foreground. Caption: You will save your life if you stay away from military installations!	1. Save your life. 2. Beware. 3. Death traps.

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Meaning of Symbols: Death is one of the most avoided words in friendly conversation. Self-preservation has a very high priority as an attitude among the Chinese people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes fear and would impress people with need for avoiding these dangerous spots. Many of the people in China are aware of [illegible] dangerous aspects of military warfare and would not be [illegible] clear of such sites.

402. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: [illegible])

Illustration: M[illegible] bridges, railroa[illegible] objectives and [illegible] dead and w[illegible] ground.

Key Symbols

1. [illegible] are
2. [illegible]ans.

Cr[illegible]
i[illegible]

[illegible] Note of the
[illegible] or military
[illegible] of such sites.
[illegible] Card designed for Managerial
[illegible] Use Leaflet Property Owned and Land

Managerial File

[illegible] *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: [illegible])

Stay [illegible] with your families. W[illegible] Carefully
carefully at military objectives, not
of the Chinese people.

Meaning of Symbols: The [illegible] been
[illegible] of loyalty.
[illegible] which
[illegible] Leaflet Property
Owners and Land Investors [illegible] Leaflet

404. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Bombs have no friendly feelings.

Key Symbols

Bombs, no friendly feeling.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have a very realistic sense of the [illegible]

[illegible]

Merchants and Industry

405. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Depict various installations to be avoided. Emphasize their dangerous character by showing them being bombed from the air or under cannon-fire.

Caption: For self-preservation avoid such areas.

Key Symbols

1. Self-preservation.
2. Avoid.

Meaning of Symbols: Self-preservation is a dynamic word to the Chinese. It has added meaning when combined with the word "avoid," for then it has high precautionary value.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Appeals directly to the basic desire of the Chinese to live. While a curious people, they are also a people who will heed warnings, particularly if danger to body or life is involved.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: China as a Whole, task 35, rating of 1.

406. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: The American forces do not wish to harm a single Chinese civilian, but they cannot permit military targets to escape destruction and thus enable your Communist masters to continue their futile resistance which is daily driving thousands of Chinese to useless slaughter.

Key Symbols

Destruction.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses sympathy for the American efforts to destroy a mutual enemy and to restore peace to the mutual advantage of both the U.S. and China. This appeals to the logic and ethical sense of the Chinese.

407. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Depict various installations to be avoided. Emphasize their dangerous character by showing them being bombed from the air or under cannon-fire. Caption: During wartime, many peaceful areas become highly dangerous! Avoid them and you will not be hurt!	Highly dangerous.

Meaning of Symbols: When anything is known or marked as highly dangerous it is generally respected by the people, many of whom are highly superstitious and dread the thought of death or injury.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses existing sense of alarm and fear among civilians and alerts them to the perils. If they follow their usual reactions, they would purposely steer a wide course from these dangerous military areas.

408. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A railway bridge, with a train on it, being destroyed by aerial bombing. Caption: Before the end of the War of Resistance, the Chinese and American Air Forces had destroyed the majority of all the targets of military importance in Japan. Had the Japanese not surrendered, every target would have been destroyed.	Destroyed all targets.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes desire to avoid useless death. The group is well acquainted with what happened to Japan during World War II, especially to the commercial and industrial empire which was almost wiped out. The inevitable is faced in a practical way by Chinese.

Task 35

Professionals

409. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
If you go near ....., you will endanger your life.	Danger.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings recognition of danger to life, and the recoil from it. Chinese are especially fearful of situations with real danger to limb and life unless there are strong emotional reasons for risking it.

410. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
These are key objectives, and their destruction will aid in the downfall of the Communists. Help us prevent the killing of innocent people.	1. Strategic objectives. 2. Killing innocent people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A Chinese intellectual understands better than a coolie the key nature of such objectives in a country-wide campaign. Hence, the reaction to this appeal would be aversion to the idea of innocent people being killed.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 415 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 35, rated 1 for Professionals; Appeal 418 developed for Students, task 35, rated 2 for Professionals.

Relatives of the Executed

411. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Contrast civilians safe from danger with those killed and wounded by shell fire or bombing while wandering near military objectives Caption: Observe caution, direct your steps from danger. This is the way of the prudent person.	1. Caution. 2. Prudence.

Meaning of Symbols: Caution and avoidance of disagreeable, painful, and deadly things have always held high priority in the thinking of the non-Communist individual. Prudence was the mark of an intelligent, cultured person, a trait which the lowliest uneducated peasant also aimed to develop.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Strikes a responsive chord since even in pre-Communist peaceful periods, they were urged to be safe and sane in all their daily conduct. At same time, fear of death also arouses strong sense of prudence.

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Generality: Appeal judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 35, rating of 2; Secret Society Members, task 35, rating of 2.

412. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You will be accused of sabotage if you are near military places.	Accused.

Meaning of Symbols: To be accused under the Communists stimulates great fear, since even innocent people are often accused of crimes for flimsy reasons.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This group will try to avoid any actions which may lead to accusations.

Differential Effect: Ineffective with the military.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 35, rating of 2; Former Kuomintang Members, task 35, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeals 397 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 35, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed; Appeal 398 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 35, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed.

Religious Sectarians

413. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Do not throw away your life foolishly. Do not throw yourself into a pit.	Useless waste of life.

Meaning of Symbols: On both Chinese and religious grounds, life is the gift of Heaven. To destroy the life of another, or your own life, is a sin.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes repugnance of Chinese, especially religious people, to waste of life, as opposed to Communist callous disregard for human life.

414. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Human life is the most precious thing in the world. The U.S. Army shows respect for human life by trying to avoid killing of civilians, but military objectives must be attacked and bullets, bombs, and shells have no eyes.	Human life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Persuades them to take American advice by demonstrating mutual belief in the preciousness of life,

though there would be a military advantage to U.S. in destroying the enemy. To the practical Chinese this is a demonstration of American understanding of their ideals and wisdom.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 35, rating of 2.

415. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Bombs have no eyes.

Key Symbols

Danger.

Meaning of Symbols: A chief tenet in Chinese religions, especially Taoism, is to preserve life, and avoiding danger is one concrete way of achieving that goal. Most Chinese have been taught to avoid unnecessary danger. It is considered foolish even to undertake adventure unless the practical values are considered to be worth the danger involved.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a feeling of danger and shows the common sense of avoiding it.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 35, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 416 developed for Secret Society Members, task 35, rated 1 for Religious Sectarians.

Secret Society Members

416. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Kinds of military objectives to be avoided. Emphasizing the dangerous military character by showing them being destroyed by cannon fire or air bombardment.

Caption: You owe it to your loved ones to avoid these dangers.

Key Symbols

1. Loved ones.
2. Dangers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Appeals to the need for self-preservation and family responsibilities which is strong in every Chinese individual.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 35, rating of 1; Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 35, rating of 1; Former Kuomintang Members, task 35, rating of 1; Religious Sectarians, task 35, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 411 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 35, rated 2 for Secret Society Members.

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Students

417. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Preserve your body for a better cause worthy of your risk.	Self-preservation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students have long believed that a great part of the responsibility for the future of China rests on their shoulders. The idea that their lives are too precious to be thrown away needlessly will certainly appeal to them.

418. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Save your life for better purposes.	Self-preservation.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 35, rating of 1; Professionals, task 35, rating of 2.

419. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Military objectives are dangerous associates. Value your lives.	Danger.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 35, rating of 1.

420. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Life is precious not only for yourself but also for mankind. If you preserve your life and do good, others will benefit.	Precious life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Under intense stimulation students may recklessly sacrifice their lives, but ordinarily the majority of them are too smart to run unnecessary risks. They would be highly susceptible to the suggestion that their precious lives must not be wasted.

421. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
A man lives but a short time and should try to live a full and valuable life.	Full life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students in general are smart, and except sometimes when swayed by mass hysteria, they are usually clear and often coldblooded thinkers. They consider themselves a

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select group and the idea that in their short span of human life, foolish and unnecessary risks need not be taken is bound to have a strong appeal.

422. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
One can only fulfill responsibilities to others by preserving one's life.	Preserve life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are highly conscious of what they consider their responsibilities to the nation and the people, and the suggestion that they must not do anything which will interfere in the carrying out of these responsibilities, such as needlessly sacrificing their lives, will have a strong appeal.

TASK 36: To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns or cities.

China as a Whole

423. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
The quiet and security of human relationships are in the village.	The village.

Meaning of Symbols: The city is a place of certain convenience; however, the village is always associated with pleasant experiences and security.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 403 developed for Managerial Elite, task 35, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 36; Appeal 418 developed for Students, task 35, rated 2 for China as a Whole, task 36.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

424. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Illustration: People fleeing a burning city.	Life.
Caption: Better to leave property behind and save a life than to stay home and die.	

Meaning of Symbols: Life has been treasured over material possessions in the Chinese ethical system.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Disasters, both man-made and the result of acts of God, are an old story to the Chinese. In the face of overwhelming disaster, flight is the only sensible course.

Situational Effect: Use only as warning in case of immediate danger.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 400 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 35, rated 2 for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 36; Appeal 414 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 35, rated 2 for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 36.

Merchants and Industrialists

425. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: The industrial part of a city being blown sky high and civilians going up with it. Caption: Remember what the Chinese and U.S. Air Forces did to the Tokyo-Yokohama industrial area during the War of Resistance. The industrial areas of these cities were far better defended than the one in which you live.	U.S. Air Force power.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes desire to avoid the fate suffered by the Japanese people during World War II. Merchants and industrialists have many contacts with people in Japan, and with both Chinese and Japanese merchants doing business there. There are about 50,000 Chinese in Japan, many of whom were there all during World War II. Therefore, all know well American military power.

426. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Americans do not wish to kill or injure a single civilian, but the city in which you live and work is of vital strategic importance, and it will be destroyed.	Destruction.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The practical Chinese are being asked in this appeal to bow to the inevitable and to cooperate with the United States to save their lives. In contrast, the Communists would sacrifice lives to preserve useless material possessions.

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Students

427. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A U.S. bomber flying over ---------- city whose evacuation is desired. Caption: The U.S. bomber returns!	United States bomber.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese remember American planes used in World War II, (especially the Flying Tigers which were so successful against the Japanese), and those used more recently in competition with Communist planes in the Taiwan Strait.

428. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The unimportant village or town is the only place of refuge. The small village is the safe village if it is not near an important center.	Small village.

Meaning of Symbols: The life close to the soil, in contrast to life in the urban centers, has always had primary ethical connotations to the Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages the group to move to or seek jobs in less significant and more remote areas.

429. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
To live is to serve one's country better and for a longer time.	Life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The nobility of the sentiment, "It is a sweet and proper thing to die for one's country," will appeal to the romantic and sentimental-minded students, but they are also fully aware of the stupidity of sacrificing lives in rash and careless acts which cannot help anyone.

430. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
It is the will of mankind to live, not to die. So you must strive to make your life as long as possible.	Long life.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students will recognize clearly the necessity of prolonging valuable human lives by avoiding acts which uselessly destroy them. Students are selfish and conceited, and receptive to the idea that their lives are far too valuable to be thrown uselessly away.

GOAL: DISCOURAGEMENT, DEFEATISM, APATHY

TASK 37: To instill among members of the group a lack of faith in the ultimate victory of the country in which they live and create an expectation of a United States victory.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.
Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 435 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 37, rated 2 for China as a Whole; Appeal 532 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 42, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 37.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.
Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 431 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 37, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Former Kuomintang Members

431. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Remember how the powerful Americans defeated the Japanese.	Powerful Americans.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls American strength in China in World War II and the long-time Chinese admiration of the Americans.
There has been a questioning in recent times of Chinese power in the face of the West, and a disturbing knowledge of the inferiority of Chinese technology vis-à-vis the West.
Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 37, rating of 2.

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432. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Before the Americans could use their full strength in Korea, human-sea tactics pushed them back. After the Americans gained full strength, their firepower defeated the human-sea tactics.

Key Symbols

Human-sea tactics.

Meaning of Symbols: This term made a deep impression on the Communist-organized ex-KMT forces fighting in Korea. The disadvantages of human-sea tactics as compared with firepower are obvious.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should cause the group to realize that Americans are capable of effecting mass destruction. Increases resentment toward Communist brutal human-sea practices.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 450 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 38, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members, task 37.

Managerial Elite

433. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Chicom security troops pointing rifles and bayonets at the backs of overworked merchants and industrialists prodding them to labor more diligently.

Caption: Threats and persecution by the Communists cannot increase war production!

Key Symbols

1. Threats.
2. Persecution.
3. Production.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese traditionally conceived of the good society as being one in which rationality prevailed without recourse to threats, intimidation, and persecution by the political authorities. The Chinese have come to hate the Chicom use of the term production, which seizes the fruits of their labor for the regime and not to improve the living standards of their own family or group.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes passive and open resistance against the regime which violates the Chinese belief in reasonableness. The Chinese people resent physical threats and abominate persecution. They do not mind working hard if necessity dictates but not for human tyrants.

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Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 474 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 39, rated 1 for Managerial Elite, task 37.

Peasants

434. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Flood and rampaging waters.

Caption: The dikes are broken now, the flood is spreading.

Key Symbols

1. Broken dikes.
2. Flood.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese thinking passes commonly from image to abstraction. This will suggest inevitable defeat since it is a dreaded, familiar image with a powerful suggestion of irreversible disaster.

Relatives of the Executed

435. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: The United States leading the well-equipped colored but free nations of Asia, (the Philippines, Thailand, South Vietnam, etc.), contrasted with the Chinese Communists flogging the enchained Chinese masses to pull broken-down military tanks in which Chinese and Soviet Communist soldiers are riding.

Caption: Who can defeat the United States, the leader of Freedom and Democracy? Certainly not the Chinese Communists who enslave their own flesh and blood to serve an evil master, Soviet Communism!

Key Symbols

1. Leader of Freedom and Democracy.
2. Enslavement of own flesh and blood.
3. Serving an evil foreign master.

Meaning of Symbol: Enslavement is to be shunned by all respectable Chinese. One does not sell one's flesh and blood to serve evil foreigners. Those Chinese who engage in such traffic in human flesh are bitterly hated and their killing is wholly justified.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses respect for United States technical military efficiency and for its support of the independence of the free nations of Asia; while at the same time arousing the

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hatred of the masses against their Chinese Communist and Soviet overlords.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: China as a Whole, task 37, rating of 2.

Students

436. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Can you win a war when you know that you are not fighting for truth or world peace?	Not fighting for peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In their hearts many students know the war against the United States was not fought to bring peace to the world, but to impose communism on nations. They also know the Communist government has constantly lied to the people about the objectives of the war. In a deteriorating military situation they will be among the first to despair of the Communists' chances of winning such a war.

437. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Can you win a war when so many are indifferent to it, even the soldiers?	Indifference.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are great bandwagon climbers. They will be among the first to detect signs of apathy. They will then begin, guardedly at first, to shift their position.

TASK 38: To arouse and intensify among members of the group a desire for peace.

China as a Whole

438. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
If you die now your whole family will suffer.	Family will suffer.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, there is a great belief in collective responsibility. Hence, support of war brings sufferings on relatives as well as on the individual who is killed.

439. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are asked to fight an old acquaintance at the bidding of your leaders.	Acquaintance.

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Meaning of Symbols: There is a Chinese social code that acquaintances made should not be dropped. The Communists are forcing the audience to attack the acquaintance, the United States.

440. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You have no stake in this conflict because you have nothing to protect or lose.	No stake in the conflict.

Meaning of Symbols: Poor people traditionally have no stake in fighting since they have no possessions to protect or lose. This war is no exception.

441. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists are gambling with your lives and future. Will they have luck and win?	Luck of the gambler.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese believe you have a right to luck. Here since luck is questioned, so are the motives of the initiators. Only peace can foil the gamblers.

442. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A machine gun set up in a rice field, and soldiers tramping over rice plants. Caption: Your rice fields have become battlegrounds.	Rice fields as battle grounds.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases dissatisfaction with war at the expense of the people's livelihood. Stresses Chinese individual idealism and the firm belief in the wastefulness of war, for win or lose, the rice is gone.

Managerial Elite

443. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Don't let China become a land of "broken mountains and rampaging waters."	Broken mountains and rampaging waters.

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Meaning of Symbols: This phrase is from the well-known poem of Tu Fu about war devastation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes ominous sense of threat of devastation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 450 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 38, rated 2 for Managerial Elite.

Merchants and Industrialists

444. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A destroyed city or village, with wretched families huddling among the ruins, while arrogant Communist cadres harangue the people to resist.

Caption: Why wage hopeless war?

Key Symbols

1. Hopeless.
2. War.
3. Scenes of destruction and arrogant cadres.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese people have been traditionally peace loving. War to them has been considered the most dreadful of all calamities.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses both passive and active resistance to the Chicom regime, since the group has traditionally frowned on war in general. The group would probably hate the regime, which they have never loved, for forcing them to continue a war in which even the little property they had left after communization was destroyed.

445. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Since the Communists took over China you have lost the little left you after the War of Resistance. Worse still, you have been treated not as citizens, but as public enemies. The businesses which took years to build were taken from you, nominally for the people. Now in this senseless war with America nothing remains to be taken from you but your toil and your lives. Only when peace comes can the sufferings of the Chinese people end. Peace can come only when the Communists have been destroyed.

Key Symbols

1. Public enemies.
2. Your efforts enrich others.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese merchants and industrialists remember well the time when they were much better off and can never reconcile themselves to the exactions and restrictions imposed by the Communist regime. The appeal should create the feeling that the group has suffered more than any other group.

446. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

In the few years of peace after the successful conclusion of the Northern Expedition, largely through your efforts China made the greatest progress in her recent history. Now there is no peace and you and China suffer.

Key Symbols

Your efforts created wealth.

Meaning of Symbols: Merchants believe that what material progress was made in China during this century has been due to their efforts, and that this has been accomplished in a period of peace. Now the government is committed to war, destroying property, and disrupting their activities.

447. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A destroyed city or village, with wretched families huddling among the ruins, while arrogant Communist cadres harangue the people to resist.

Caption: This war is worse than the plague! The Communists are responsible for its spreading! Stop the war and save the Chinese people!

Key Symbols

1. War.
2. Plague.
3. Communists.

Meaning of Symbols: War, plague, and Communism were equally detested by the people before the mid-1940's. While Communist purges and brainwashing have driven hatred underground to a great extent, it still exists generally. The materialist-minded Chinese people abhor useless destruction.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses deep hatred of Chinese Communists. This group has always distrusted the regime which has pledged the group's destruction. In the past, this group never hesitated to charge the Chicoms with waging needless civil war against their own people and destroying their property in order to subjugate them.

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Peasants

448. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Big-nosed Soviet bandit wants all the rice, wheat, and oil-bearing seed, etc. That is why you get little to enjoy yourself.	Big-nosed Soviet bandit taking food.

Meaning of Symbols: Foreigners are often referred to as big noses. "Bandit" was associated with "Communism" by the Nationalists in the 1920's, 30's, and 40's. Chinese are very food conscious and to accuse someone of taking food to which he is not entitled is an insult.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings revulsion against association with Russia.

Professionals

449. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Peaceful coexistence does not mean class struggle.	1. Peaceful coexistence. 2. Class struggle.

Meaning of Symbols: The terms as used here emphasize the peaceful coexistence of all political groups and all classes of people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Stirs opposition to the Communist concepts of class struggle.

Relatives of the Executed

450. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
War will only continue the killing of your friends and relatives.	Killing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Peace is an old Chinese virtue or blessing, greatly to be desired. Consequently, this appeal should strengthen the desire for the end of a war which has resulted in the deaths of many relatives and friends.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 38, rating of 2.

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Religious Sectarians

451. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chinese farmers and their families tilling their land in peace and contentment, as Chinese and American technicians and agricultural experts show them how to increase their crops; contrasted with repressive features of Communist life in the communes.

Caption: When the United States stands for freedom of the individual, the right to farm one's own land, and to keep one's loved ones together in peace and comfort, why support an evil regime which denies all these basic human rights? Without your support the Communists could be destroyed.

Key Symbols

1. Farm own land.
2. Loved ones together in peace and comfort.
3. Evil regime.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The sharp contrast between their present pitiful lot and the life they formerly led under a non-Communist regime would arouse among the group deep hatred of the Communists, and a desire for an early release from such bondage. The tangible benefits of the democratic traditions of the United States are well known.

452. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

War has been the curse of China for thousands of years. Better a dog in peace than a hero in war.

Key Symbols

Peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: No people are more aware of the miseries of war than the Chinese, particularly this group. To be alive and to have a chance to see better days seems more logical than to die in the hopes of achieving utopia.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 482 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 39, rated 1 for Religious Sectarians, task 38.

Students

453. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

War makes men kill their fellow men encourages evil in men, and destroys human achievement.

Key Symbols

War.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Re-emphasizes the awareness of the destructive effect of war on everything upon which their hopes of the future depend.

454. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Peace unites families; peace allows resumption of study for careers. Continued warfare thwarts aspirations.	Peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: An intellectual career and the enjoyment of a large family are the primary ambitions of the traditional Chinese student. It is believed that accomplishment is possible only in times of peace; hence, the appeal emphasizes the traditional antagonism of the intellectual toward war.

455. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The war is fought to take away attention from internal problems which are not being solved.	War detracts from problems.

Meaning of Symbols: Students are traditionally inclined to be against the government. They are well aware that during the War of Resistance the cry was often raised among liberal elements in the country that the government was using the threat of Japanese aggression to avoid any attempt to solve some of China's pressing internal problems, such as the necessity for land reform.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Undoubtedly numbers of students will see that the Communists are using the bugaboo of alleged American imperialism to draw attention from such unpopular issues as the horrifying threat of the communes.

456. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
War means only the cruel destruction of human beings and what man has created.	Cruel destruction.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students, since they are acutely aware of the stake they have in the development of their country, will be more horrified and distressed at the terrible destruction of war.

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457. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
It is the innocent who have suffered most in war.	Innocent sufferers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students, being well-informed about the effects of the war, already know that the great mass of the people, particularly the poor and those without influence, never desired the war. This appeal re-emphasizes the cruelty suffered as the result of it.

458. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Who can escape the ruin of war, whether one deserves it or not?	Ruin of war.

Meaning of Symbols: Certain classes of people may think war affects only a part of the population. The students, because they are observant, well-informed about the situation all over the country, and capable of interpreting what they see, know that no one can escape the disastrous effects of war.

459. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In war women lose husbands they depend on and mothers lose sons they depend on.	War.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the awareness of the effects of war on the family, especially the deprivation of the adult male from its support.

460. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How many families will survive this war?	Families.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should recall memories of their own families, broken up by the war, and remind them that countless others have suffered this fate.

461. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are fighting not for patriotism, because Communism is nonpatriotic. There is no Fatherland for Communists; there is only a world to be subjugated.	Patriotism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes revulsion against Chinese fighting for non-Chinese causes or interests. The homeland and a Chinese racial consciousness have strong appeals for Chinese.

462. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
War brings harm to the poor and helps the rich and privileged.	War helps the rich.

Meaning of Symbols: While students at heart are not as deeply concerned for the welfare of the people as they wish to appear, they are in a position to observe clearly the misery which war brings to the poor. Traditionally, students are opposed to the rich and the privileged, even though in many instances they come of rich families and have always sought special privileges for themselves.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Tends to encourage them in their role of champions of the poor and enemies of the rich and privileged.

463. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The war benefits only a few and not you.	Benefits a few.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students feel that the burdens of war rest more on them than on other groups. Even though few people in a Communist society can profit from the war, the students will quickly identify these profiteers and resent their having an easy time, far out of proportion to their contribution to the war effort.

TASK 39: To create doubt and confusion among members of the group concerning the ideology and war aims of their government.

China as a Whole

464. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A man grasping Siberia, Dairen, and Port Arthur. Caption: Has America taken any of your territory as Russia has?	Siberia, Dairen, Port Arthur.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates doubt of the theme of U.S. imperialism, one of the chief slogans of the government. Taking of territory has been regarded as the most concrete form of im-

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perialism. In contrast to the U.S., Russia has grabbed Chinese territory.

465. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
This war is not for China but for a fanatical doctrine.	Fanatical doctrine.

Meaning of Symbols: "Fanatical doctrine" connotes intellectual orthodoxy, an abstraction for which the practical Chinese have usually been unwilling to fight.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Sets people apart from leaders whose theoretical formulations are fundamentally uninteresting to the great majority.

466. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists talk of politics and the international role of Communism in this war, but what do these ideas mean to you?	Communist slogans.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese traditionally are indifferent to political issues in abstraction. War, therefore, can have only a personal meaning.

467. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Man labeled China, and girl labeled Communism. Caption: A man saw a girl who had a lovely slim body and graceful walk. Her face was hidden by a parasol but he thought she must be pretty. He was determined to see her face so he ran after her. He jerked the parasol away and saw a hideous face with a long flickering red tongue. The body then changed into a demon and pursued the man.	The beautiful woman who turned out to be a dangerous demon.

Meaning of Symbols: An old South China folk tale, symbolizing something that looks good on the surface but turns out to be evil on closer contact.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a more doubtful attitude toward Communist promises.

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Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 483 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 39, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Former Kuomintang Members

468. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Communism is irreconcilable with Chinese cultural traditions, which in times past earned the respect and admiration of the whole world.

Key Symbols

False doctrine.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese usually cherish their own traditional orthodox civilization and despise outside or false doctrine—very persistent and important value.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases hostility toward political authorities for imposing an alien ideology on the Chinese people in order to eradicate Chinese civilization.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 483 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 39, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members; Appeal 539 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 42, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members, task 39.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

469. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Two huge gateways; one marked Communism, the other Freedom, with people streaming through the freedom gate and only a few stragglers passing through the other.

Caption: After the Korean conflict, many thousands of Chinese prisoners-of-war chose to go to Formosa and freedom rather than return to the mainland and slavery. Thousands of refugees leave Communist countries every day, but none go from free countries into Communist areas.

Key Symbols

Choice of freedom.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Appeals to Chinese practicality. For, why should they die fighting to impose on others a system which they themselves hate. Chinese have traditionally refrained from interfering in the affairs of others, for such interference often brings disaster. "What you don't like for yourself, don't do to others." (Confucius.)

470. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Chinese people are tired of war, yet the militant policies of the Communists breed on war.	War.

Meaning of Symbols: Since World War II, abhorrence of war has been a major characteristic of Chinese psychology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases opposition to the militant policies of the new regime.

471. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Newsmen must be free agents.	Free agents.

Meaning of Symbols: Journalists have always prided themselves on their independence and the right to determine their own professional standards.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reinforces objection to Communist demand that all journalists must follow the Party line.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

472. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chicom Party leaders living luxuriously amid scenes of war and devastation, with the populace starving. Caption: You fight for a handful of mercenary Communist Party leaders!	1. Mercenary. 2. Communist Party leaders.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes hostility toward the regime because of the unreasonable demands to fight on in a hopeless situation. Before 1949, when a situation appeared hopeless, they either leaned in the direction of the apparent victor, offered only token resistance, or gave up fighting altogether. Such action was entirely rational according to traditional Chinese thought.

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Communist Party leaders have never been loved by the people, only feared. Land owners and investors formerly carried on their operations for the benefit of their families and group. Since the Communist take-over, they have been denied this right. Their bitterness and hatred of the Chicom regime would be increased by the awareness that they fought, not for themselves, but for mercenary and selfish Party leaders.

473. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Who profits from this sacrifice of the Chinese people? Only the Chinese Communist leaders!

Key Symbols

1. Profits.
2. Sacrifices.
3. Communist Party leaders.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese people, like all others, do not wish to make needless sacrifices. Being an extremely rational people they also believe in seeking for material enrichment (profits) in all their economic activities. As for the Chicom leaders, they have always been regarded with dislike and fear.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hatred toward leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese people believe that when the people suffer and starve, whether from natural or man-made catastrophes, it is time to change or overthrow the political regime in power.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 533 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 42, rated 1 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 39.

Merchants and Industrialists

474. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chicom security troops pointing rifles and bayonets at the backs of overworked merchants and industrialists, prodding them to labor more diligently.

Caption: When a chicken cannot produce more than one egg a day, why must you be whipped or tricked by the Chinese Communist to produce more?

Key Symbols

1. Communism.
2. Productivity.

Meaning of Symbols: Communism has always been, and probably will continue to be, a hated term to this group. Productivity

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in every respect has always been highly regarded by the Chinese people. It was the symbol of a rich and happy life. Under the Communists, it has come to mean a wretched, hard-pressed, half-starved existence.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since force has been used against this group by the regime many times in the past, the hatred for the regime must be long smoldering. It could burst into flame with sufficient provocation. The Chinese people prefer to be influenced by the humane, rational approach and not by one that uses brute force and deceit.

475. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Your sons are no longer your own under the Communists.	Father-son relationships.

Meaning of Symbols: The primacy of the family is fundamental to Chinese social relationships. Their desire is for the family to live and work together.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes revulsion against the existing regime.

Peasants

476. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
The Communists say that peasants are one of the centers of New China and among the honorable people in the state. But where is your reward?	Honorable workers.

Meaning of Symbols: Honorable working people are glorified by the Chinese and, according to folk beliefs, they should and will be rewarded. Reference here is to lack of consumer goods under Communists' "industrial" policies in spite of the promised honors to the common man.

477. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Illustration: Fox without a tail haranguing group of other foxes with beautiful tails. Caption: A fox lost his beautiful tail in a trap. He then tried to persuade the other foxes to cut off their tails, on the	Hopeless and unjust cause.

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ground that these appendages were both useless and inconvenient. But the other foxes would not listen to him.

Even weak peoples who have known freedom never willingly accept Communism. How much less can you force Communism on the U.S.A., no matter how much blood and treasure you sacrifice in the attempt. Why fight to the death in a hopeless and unjust cause?

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes revulsion at continued and hopeless struggle in an unjust cause. It is futile to try to force on others what is not good for yourselves.

478. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Chinese farmers must work hard but all grains and food will be delivered to the Soviet Union in return for arms and military supplies. The Soviets will never give China their best equipment so people therefore work for nothing and are cheated by Mao, while Mao gets cheated by the Soviets.

Key Symbols

Cheated.

Meaning of Symbols: "Cheated" to Chinese means buying something not up to standard or getting too little in return for what you give.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes revulsion against being taken advantage of by others; a fear among all Chinese.

Professionals

479. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Democratic dictatorship is only a dictatorship.

Key Symbols

Democratic dictatorship.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes doubt regarding the Communist claim that the democratic dictatorship is democratic at all. Many intellectuals find the idea of a dictatorship of any kind repulsive.

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480. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

The Russian-Chinese leaders profess to oppose imperialism, but Chinese Communist maps show parts of Southeast Asia as under Chinese Communist control.

Key Symbols

A statement contrary to fact.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reinforces suspicion of the deceit of the Communist government. This is an accentuation of a standard Chinese attitude toward those outside their immediate group even if there is no apparent reason for it.

481. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Democratic centralism is a fancy name for centralized control.

Key Symbols

Democratic centralism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates opposition to the rigid control of the Communist state under the centralism aspect of "democratic centralism." In fact, the Communist state controls all phases of life and this pervasive control runs counter to many Chinese traditions.

Relatives of the Executed

482. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chinese Communist cadres driving the reluctant masses to the battlefield at the point of the bayonet while Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev remain in their sheltered palaces drinking toasts to their future world conquests.

Caption: Why should millions of the good people of China be butchered in a senseless war to win world power for their Communist masters?

Key Symbols

Butchered in a senseless war.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese people have customarily thought of war as unnecessary and avoidable. The Chinese Communist attempt to revise this concept fails when the people recognize that the war is being used to gain world supremacy only for a select Marxist group.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses the passionate anger of the Chinese masses who may be willing to die for the defense of their families and their homes, but not for the advancement of an international conspiracy.

483. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Remember the purges your leaders inflicted the last time they won.	Purges.

Meaning of Symbols: A history of harsh measures—especially by the Communists—inflicted on those thought not to be fully in sympathy with the government.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Excites fear that if their government won, large-scale purges might again be in effect.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 39, rating of 2; Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 39, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 515 developed for Secret Society Members, task 40, rated 1 for Relatives of the Executed, task 39.

Religious Sectarians

484. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Giant Chinese frying pan in which a huge omelette (captioned commune) is being fried without success by a perspiring, bewildered, oafish, giant-sized Chinese cook with a Communist cap. The omelette is a mess of eggs, in which people, farms, chickens, pigs, houses, factories are struggling violently to escape the batter. Caption: Can the regime scramble your cherished civilization as though it were an egg? What crazy fools these Communists are!	1. Scramble as an egg. 2. Cherished civilization. 3. Crazy fools.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses ridicule of Communist planners for concocting a horrible mess, and hatred of Communist leaders for trying by force to push through their socio-economic experiment at the expense of the cherished cultural values of the past. The cultural values of an orderly, humanistic civilization, would

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not be something they would wish to be destroyed by crazy innovators who fly in the face of human nature and natural desires.

485. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How many times has the government changed its slogans.	Change.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses distrust of government since frequent change means unreliability.

Students

486. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Mao Tse-tung has said he is willing to sacrifice 300 million Chinese lives in a war. Is this his solution to China's problem?	Chinese lives.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment and fear. A large population traditionally has symbolized prosperity for the nation and for the family. Conversely to sacrific people willingly for ideological reasons is evil and incomprehensible to the individual Chinese.

487. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Communism justifies hypocrisy: to talk of peace and to practice war. Communism's peace can only be realized with its dictatorial enslavement of all mankind.	1. Hypocrisy. 2. Enslavement.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes revulsion against hypocrisy. Traditionally, the intellectual has prized sincerity above all virtues. Fighting is considered evil enough, but to fight for an evil cause is the height of shame for the superior intellectual.

488. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Everyone knows the government is a tyranny that ignores public opinion.	Public opinion.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students as a group are highly vocal, and as long as they shouted the praise of the Communist regime,

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the government was willing to encourage this characteristic to the limit. As more and more students have become dissatisfied with the Communist government, however, they have become more and more aware of the Communist abhorrence of free speech and the willingness of the government to use any and all means to suppress it.

TASK 40: To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top national leaders.

China as a Whole

489. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Blind leading the blind.

Illustration: A grossly fat, repulsive, blind Mao Tse-tung, leading other blind men—such as Chu Teh, in a ridiculous Soviet-style soldier suit; a ragged, rat-faced Liu Shao-chi clutching a big book labeled "Marxian Doctrine," as Liu is famed as a doctrinaire; and a well-dressed but cowering Chou En-lai—toward the edge of a cliff, at the bottom of which an angry sea is breaking on rocks labeled "Destruction."

Caption: The blind leading the blind to destruction.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against the leaders of a regime, which has imposed conditions of intolerable misery upon the people and is headed for defeat.

Comment: Is likely to be particularly strong among Cantonese who are not represented to any considerable extent among the leaders of Communist China, most of whom come from Hunan, Szechuan, Anhui, Kiangsu, Kiangsi, and other provinces not in the South. Traditionally the Cantonese have never been oversold on their national leaders, as is seen in the fact that several revolutions have started among them. They are a group not as steady and subservient to authority as northerners.

490. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Chinese nationality and Russian character.

Chinese Communists have Chinese nationality but a Russian character.

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Meaning of Symbols: A Chinese must act as a Chinese; otherwise he is considered stupid or evil. Reference here is to Chinese Communists taking orders from Russia.

491. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A double face, marked government leaders. Caption: Your leaders used to say, "Let the farmer own his land." Do you still believe them?	Double-face.

Meaning of Symbols: The symbol, double-face as used here, is synonymous with double talk.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Distrust of government leaders. The Chinese traditionally distrust easy promises, especially in this case where the government has made promises which have been broken.

Comment: The names of appropriate government leaders should be substituted for the phrase "your leaders" in the caption when the appeal idea is converted into a message.

492. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists say, "Let us settle your problems for you, just follow our bidding, for we are your friends." The result of their actions have been failure and pain for you.	1. Settlement of problems by friends. 2. Failure and pain.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Leads to the thoughts: Negotiators are friends and friends must trust each other. If failure is the result, betrayal may be implied. The Communists are the negotiators here and they have failed.

Cantonese

493. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In the eyes of your leaders, you are always suspect because you have relatives abroad.	Relatives.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses distrust and hatred of government officials. Family ties are traditionally considered the primary loyalty in China.
Situational Effect. Not all Cantonese have relatives abroad.

Forced Labor

494. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Mao Tse-tung points at a deer and calls it a horse with approving gesture from Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, and other top Communist leaders. Caption: Your Chinese Communist masters are accustomed to calling a deer a horse.	Calling a deer a horse (*chih-lu-wei-ma*).

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese moral concepts are based on honesty. To present a deer as a horse is a traditional expression of dishonesty of the first order. A very persistent and important value.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment toward Communist top leadership and refusal to cooperate with political authorities. Brings the feeling that any hope for justice from top leaders must be given up.

495. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your lives are controlled so that others may play at being officials.	Play at being officials (*tso-kaun*).

Meaning of Symbols: Tso-kaun is a well known term of disparagement for men who yearn to be officials and enjoy the prestige of authority, though they have neither the ability nor the ethics considered necessary to qualify for an official position.

496. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The top leaders do not share the hardships of the people. They enjoy life and do things to feather their own nest.	Feather one's own nest.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes repugnancy toward the top leaders who are exploiting their position to serve their own ends, a flagrant evil in Chinese eyes. Many of the forced laborers were former leaders.

497. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
The Chinese Communist chieftains who usurped power are wolves that control the road.	Wolves controlling the road (*Ch'ai-lang-tang-tao*).

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese regard wolves as most cruel animals, and use them to symbolize tyrants. As a classic expression, this key symbol is of persistent value and importance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Hatred toward the leadership of the regime, because oppression of the tyrants is equated with the cruelty.

Former Kuomintang Members

498. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Your leaders live in palaces like emperors.	Emperors.

Meaning of Symbols: An emperor now is a symbol of dictatorial and luxurious living.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment toward Communist leaders' claims of being for the people and for simple living while they arrogantly proclaim their superiority over the people.

Secondary Appeals: See appeal 501 developed for Managerial Elite, task 40, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

499. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Who will be next to be purged among Communist leaders?	Purged.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates expectation of weakening of top leadership, as liquidation after liquidation is used as a scapegoat for error, and as the result of personal feuding.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 504 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 40, rated 2 for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel.

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Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

500. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Contrast of a Chinese country at peace and prosperous, with one depicting the devastation of war. Illustration should be adapted from those most successfully used by the Chicoms in the past, thus exploiting the factor of familiarity. Caption: Observe what the Chinese Communists have destroyed! Destroy the destroyers!	Destruction.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese people have always in the past associated Chinese Communism with destruction and war. It was not until 1949 that this concept was reluctantly altered.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses anger of the Chinese people and provokes them to overt action against the Chicom regime. Violence, according to traditional Chinese social thought, is justified in overthrowing a political regime which has failed to provide for the people's welfare properly. It is doubly justified when a regime is evil and oppresses its people.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 505 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 40, rated 1 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors.

Managerial Elite

501. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Down with the running-dogs of the Russians!	Running dogs (*tsou-kon*).

Meaning of Symbols: Running dogs is a term of contempt stressed by the Communists ("running dogs of the imperialists").

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Turns Communists' epithet against them and suggests that Russians dominate Chinese policy.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 40, rating of 2.

502. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When Russians bark, your leaders do not dare to open their teeth.	Do not dare to open teeth.

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Meaning of Symbols: The symbol is a synonym for keeping silent under intimidation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Impugns the leaders' independence of foreign domination in the realm of ultimate policy.

Merchants and Industrialists

503. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Man in regulation Communist uniform watching workers stream into a factory. Caption: Who gets the profits?	Profits.

Meaning of Symbols: As long as there are merchants and industrialists in China, either of the old regime or a newer generation, the desire to make a profit can never be stamped out among them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment against the Communist leaders who have cheated them out of their share of profits of industry which they formerly enjoyed.

504. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are being driven like cows and horses.	Cows and horses.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese believe that cows and horses are lower animals, and consequently humans are way above them. To be treated as a beast, that is as being without human personality, violates one of the fundamental tenets of Chinese social and ethical philosophy.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 38, rating of 2.

505. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chicom leaders entertaining Soviet advisers at sumptuous banquet in Peiping while Chinese soldiers lie dead and wounded on the battlefield and civilians are starving and homeless. Caption: You sacrifice in vain for Chinese Communist leaders who only know how to kow-tow to the "big-nosed" (Russians) foreigners!	1. Sacrifices in vain. 2. Kow-tow. 3. Big-nosed foreigners. 4. Scenes of feasting amidst destruction.

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Meaning of Symbols: In Chinese psychology, sacrifices have been traditionally made for purposeful, never useless ends. Kow-tow has reference to the fact that the Chicom leaders have widely circulated their belief in the superiority of the Soviets and the Soviet methods. The "big-nosed" foreigners, the Russians, have been hated and feared by the Chinese people for many centuries because of their policy of aggrandizement against China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should arouse public detestation of the Chicom regime. Also, it would serve to reinforce the boomerang effect which the Chinese people will feel toward the Chicom-Soviet alliance as defeat looms.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 40, rating of 1.

506. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When the Korean Conflict broke out, the U.S. had only a handful of soldiers in that country. In the U.S., demobilization after World War II had proceeded to the point where there was not a single division ready for combat. Would the U.S. be so stupid as to attack under such circumstances? Certainly not!	You attacked first.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment against the needless sacrifices in blood and treasure made by China in the Communist wars. Merchants and industrialists are as a group better informed and educated than the mass of the people, and have more contacts with the outside world. Hence, they are the more likely to distrust a government which has consistently harassed them and carried on activities that hurt their interests.

507. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chicom leaders entertaining Soviet advisers at sumptuous banquet in Peiping while Chinese soldiers lie dead and wounded on the battlefield and civilians are starving and homeless. Caption: The Chinese Communist leaders feast with their Soviet comrades while they destroy the Chinese people!	1. Soviet comrades. 2. Scenes of feasting amidst destruction.

Meaning of Symbols: Feasting customarily followed a successful

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undertaking; it would not be appropriate to celebrate a destructive war or impending disaster. Soviet comrades are not generally admired by the Chinese people; and would be less so if the latter felt that the Soviet comrades were imposing upon the Chinese people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates deep hatred of Chicom leaders and Soviet advisers, since it appeals to historical Chinese dislike for Russians and Russian imperialism, and Chinese dislike of being imposed upon. The Chinese people have none of the need, or admiration, which the Chicom Party members entertain for the Soviet Union or its Communist Party.

Peasants

508. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When you listen to the sound of Marxism it sounds good, but when you try to use it, it is not the same.	Sound vs. use.

Meaning of Symbols: To the practical peasant, philosophy and ideology mean little unless they can be put to use. High sounding plans mean nothing especially when he sees it is force and not reason that is backing up Communist policy.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 45a, rating of 1.

509. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How can every person's brain be washed? In reality the brain is secret to the outsider and you cannot look into a man's mind. The only thing a Communist can do is to put fear into a person's heart, but they cannot change a person's own reasoning.	Brainwashed (*hsi-nao*).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Privacy of the individual from the intrusions of the government has been a fundamental tenet of the Chinese political structure, just as relief from public scorn has been a fundamental tenet of the Chinese social structure. Now the Communists have violated these. The group will have no respect for such a government.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 52, rating of 2.

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Relatives of the Executed

510. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Communist leaders do not believe that a person has a conscience that might bother him, so they practice brainwashing, and even kill without the slightest care, but you are not animals.	1. Conscience (*liang-hsing*). 2. Animals.

Meaning of Symbols: The conscience is one of the important tenets of the traditional Chinese ethical system. To deny its validity and utility is to bring suspicion on the doubters. In such an ethical system the demarcation between man and animal is sharp, and to treat a man as an animal would imply negation of all ethics and the substitution of total materialism.

Peasants

511. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What do they wear under their cotton clothes?	Cotton.

Meaning of Symbols: Cotton is a symbol of austerity (while silk is a symbol of luxury).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses suspicion that their leaders are only appearing to be common honest people—while secretly living in luxury.

Relatives of the Executed

512. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese masses jammed into cattle cars moving toward Sinkiang, while Chinese Communist cadres with tally books display broad grins of satisfaction. Caption: Why should millions of the Chinese people be shipped off like pigs to become slave laborers?	1. Pigs. 2. Slave laborers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates widespread resentment against the Chinese Communist leaders for their inhuman callousness,

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symbolized by the shipping of pigs to market, universally understood in China, and the use of slave labor to get results. The two ideas reinforce hatred of the Chinese Communist leadership.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Religious Sectarians, task 40, rating of 1; Secret Society Members, task 40, rating of 2.

Religious Sectarians

513. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Do you want as your leaders, people who dig their ancestors' graves?	Dig ancestors' graves.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against national leaders, since Chinese, especially religious sectarians, believe people who are unfilial are fundamentally evil.

514. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A great mass of ragged, starving men, women and children (with a few cripples among them) being driven over a cliff, below which breaks an angry sea, labeled national destruction, by fat, well-clad men (labeled Communist government) with whips in their hands. Caption: Your so-called leaders are not leaders at all, but drivers who are driving you along the path of war to national destruction. When good men are out of power, and the mean man is in the seat of authority, then indeed is the country in confusion.	Leaders.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese believe that good leaders lead to better things. Bad leaders are drivers to destruction and the cause of evil in the land.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 469 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 39, rated 1 for Religious Sectarians, task 40; Appeal 512 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 40, rated 1 for Religious Sectarians.

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Secret Society Members

515. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A half-stripped, forlorn and wretched Chinese farmer on his knees begging the cadre not to cut out his heart. In the distance his wife, children and possessions being led off by the Communist militia. Caption: Communists are not only cruel but suspicious! Even when all property, home, wife, and children are surrendered they demand the heart!	Demand the heart.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes feeling of implacable hatred and recalls to mind the increasingly harsh measures used by the Communists to "communize" the people. The totality of human sacrifice which the Communists have demanded (here symbolized as a heart) of the people would compel the latter to insist upon a retribution equally complete, the destruction of the Communists.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 512 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 40, rated 2 for Secret Society Members.

Students

516. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Leaders have too much power and too little wisdom.	Power without wisdom.

Meaning of Symbols: Those who chase power without being worthy to rule violate one of the fundamental tenets of the Chinese intelligentsia.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The misuse of power by stupid leaders has seldom, if ever, gone unnoticed among students in China.

517. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The leaders are running dogs of a living idol, how can they rule wisely?	Running dogs.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: No group is quicker than the students to apply the epithet "running dogs" to persons who serve groups

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from outside the country which they think are harming the Chinese people, especially those who arrogantly set themselves up as all-knowing deities.

518. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The leaders fight among themselves because they fear each other's power.	Fear of power.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are well informed and are not easily fooled. They have seen it is a case of "dog eat dog" in a deteriorating military situation, and that every official looks out for himself, and they can visualize the same situation occurring again. Such leadership cannot command respect in the eyes of intellectuals.

519. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your leaders meet in committees to talk away your problems instead of doing something about them.	Committees.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese have a fondness for forming committees.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are familiar with the Communist Chinese, hence, they are in a favorable position to realize how little can be accomplished by committees and how often they are used as a means of "sweeping under the rug" troubles which the government is unwilling or unable to face squarely.

520. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The leaders are selfish and are interested only in their own power.	Selfish.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Specious talk and claims of love for the people may fool many groups in China, but such talk on the part of the government is soon assessed for its true worth by the students.

521. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The leaders don't even trust members of their own family.	Family distrust.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, those who cannot gain the trust of their own family are trusted by none.

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Comment: Many students know the Communist leaders or members of their families. They know better than many others that these leaders live surrounded by guards, in an atmosphere of terror and suspicion, not knowing when their time to be liquidated may come, as it has come to countless other officials in the Soviet Union and in China.

522. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Do your leaders not work for their own profit rather than that of the nation?	Personal profit.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: No matter how blindly they may have supported Communism, students are likely sooner or later to ask themselves the question posed in the appeal idea, particularly in a deteriorating military situation. If they feel the leaders are out for personal profit, they may react violently at the first opportunity, for the abuse of public office for personal profit is considered a heinous crime by intellectuals.

523. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The leaders cannot improve the lot of the people, they only know how to exploit them.	Exploitation.

Meaning of Symbols: Exploitation of others is one of the most objectionable of practices to a Chinese; exploitation by government officials of fellow intellectuals is considered a class betrayal.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: No group has been more exploited by the Communists than the students. No group is able to see more quickly how little the people have benefited from their hard work.

524. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Leaders who refuse the advice of others are doomed to fall.	Failure.

Meaning of Symbols: In traditional Chinese intellectual thinking, those who ruled and did not accept advice from the supporting intelligentsia were considered to be evil and potentially failures.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are prone to believe they are capable of giving the soundest possible advice on how the government should be run. Hence they are receptive to any suggestion that leaders who do not accept their advice cannot remain long in power.

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TASK 41: To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top group leaders.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

525. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Group of dejected, semi-starved and overworked individuals strewn along a rocky uphill road, scattered with broken homes and separated families (marked Commune). The same group is upbraiding group leaders for failure to follow another path (captioned Plenty for All, and Land to the Tiller) along which can be seen happy farmer families farming their prosperous lands and happy workers toiling in the factories.

Failure.

Meaning of Symbols: Traditional Chinese thought has always set great store on material success and personal achievement but looked down upon failure, particularly failure brought about by foolish planning.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment toward their top group leaders who had promised that Communism would bring them the millenium.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 513 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 40, rated 2 for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 41.

Managerial Elite

526. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Individual, obviously a top man in his office.

Caption: Don't worry about ability. Just be a good Party man.

Ability (*neng*) vs. Party (*tang*).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses specialist's resentment against

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political tests for securing positions of responsibility. This poses a contrast of the individual and the collective; the collective may compensate for individual deficiencies and thus be unfair to individuals of superior ability.

527. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Their promises have been false.	False promises.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese tend to judge sincerity by past actions; false promises being taken as a sign of poor leadership and government.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates doubt as to the present war aims and promises of the government.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 498 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 40, rated 2 for Managerial Elite, task 41.

Peasants

528. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Chinese civilians obey old Mao and old Mao takes orders from Russian old hairy ones—so the farmers (people) really are walking dogs of the Soviet.	Walking dogs.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Contempt for those who are associated with evil, and for those who would sacrifice others for their own purposes.

Religious Sectarians

529. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
They are two-headed snakes, selling you out for their own benefit any time.	Two-headed snakes.

Meaning of Symbols: The snake suggests evil and poison.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases distrust of the many former leaders who have shifted sides and betrayed their followers.

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530. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Buddhist and Taoist priests, Mohammedan mullahs, Catholic bishops, and Protestant ministers being entertained at a cocktail party by government officials. Caption: Your so-called religious leaders are the tools and dupes of the government.	Betrayal.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment at being sold out by their own co-religionists. Resentment against those of the group who are enjoying a better life than the average members, especially because of the betrayal to the enemy camp. Distrust of others, even those close to you, is inherent in the Chinese people.

Differential Effect: Students, professionals, managerial elite *et al.*, with contempt for religious leadership, would probably nod approval at Communist sapping of the integrity of the religious sectarians.

Students

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 501 developed for Managerial Elite, task 40, rated 1 for Students, task 41.

TASK 42: To arouse among members of the group nostalgia (severe melancholia, morbid sentimentality) for the generally approved aspects of the past.

China as a Whole

531. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Formerly robbers took away things. Now the government takes away sons.	Sons.

Meaning of Symbols: The family has been the backbone of Chinese society. Sons represent pride and security.

Comment: To be effective, this appeal idea must be used with a statement demonstrating how it is possible to put a stop to this practice. Certainly, taking away sons for military service in any case, has been traditional in China.

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Forced Labor

532. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Chinese forced laborer deported to a frontier land, pausing at a hard assignment, has a feeling of nostalgia for his family and friends in his far-away native district. Caption: You are homesick because you are deported to strange places.	Strange places.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are sentimentally attached to their native districts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment and hostility toward Communist chiefs because they show brutal disregard for family ties and personal suffering.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

533. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Scenes of Chinese festivals in the old days, emphasizing the plenitude of good and carefree enjoyment, with many families and children in conspicuous attendance. Caption: You can be free, prosperous and happy again if you destroy Communism!	Traditional Chinese festivals.

Meaning of Symbols: One of the dearest of memories of most Chinese is the traditional Chinese festival with which he grew up. This joy is associated with the family and what is right in terms of his moral system.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Leads to the belief that the side which upheld the festivals (here the U.S.) was right and would triumph over the side which attempted to destroy the festivals (here the Communists).

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 39, rating of 1.

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534. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Scenes of happy Chinese festivals in old days, emphasizing the plenitude of good and carefree enjoyment, with many families and children in conspicuous attendance. Caption: China was once prosperous and happy but not under Communism!	Traditional Chinese festivals

Meaning of Symbols: Traditional festivals were a means of keeping the family together. Sharing the good things that went with such festivals tended to strengthen family unity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses nostalgic happy memories of the past when a non-Communist regime permitted the celebration of traditional festivals with feasting, theatrical displays, vacations and gambling; also permitting religious worship.

Managerial Elite

535. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A mass meeting with a Communist raving before a depressed and weary audience. Caption: You used to have time and mind of your own.	Time and mind of your own.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment of incessant meetings and public auto-analysis. While associations have long been common enough in China, rigorous public collective schedules have not.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 541 developed for Secret Society Members, task 42, rated 1 for Managerial Elite.

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Merchants and Industrialists

536. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A man in ragged clothes carrying a tray slung around his neck, gazing at a factory, with smoke issuing from the chimneys, in the distance. Caption: I was once part owner of that factory. Look at me now!	Yesterday an industrialist; today a peddler.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment at losing his property and with it a good life. In a country where loss of property often means starvation, desire to own property and engage in profitable enterprise can probably never be stamped out. Evidence of this is the fact that Communists have never been able to get rid of private dealers in grain, although they have used severe measures. No one has been hit harder by the Communists than merchants and industrialists.

Peasants

537. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Farmers and fellowmen: Remember you have had houses and land. Remember you have had freedom, home, family, and the right to govern your own affairs. Then came old Mao and old Chou, the running dogs of the Russian bandits, and their co-red bandits, and confiscated all, cheating you. What have you now?	1. House and land. 2. Running dogs of Communist bandits. 3. Cheated.

Meaning of Symbols: To the peasant, his house and land is the source of both psychological and material well-being. Now he has been cheated out of it by the willing tools of a foreign ideology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The contrast of good in the past with the evil of today is obvious.

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Relatives of the Executed

538. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: The brutally repressive features of the Chinese Communist system of the communes as they affect the masses; contrasted with the humanistic features of the traditional Chinese civilization, (a mother fondly holding her infant child, a father teaching his son how to farm a field, etc.).	1. Way of the communes. 2. Way of death.

Meaning of Symbols: The communes already have come to symbolize for Free Chinese a hated way of life. This is particularly true of the overseas Chinese who have received messages indirectly from Mainland China of the tremendous damage the communes have done to the traditional Chinese family life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a deep and gnawing memory of the happy features of living in the old days.

539. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Can you remember when your family was all together without fear?	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Nostalgia for the old days and old ways when the family was supreme and the center of life, offering security to all.

Religious Sectarians

540. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In the China of the past, all who desired to could seek the comfort of the religion, which he deemed the best. In the China of today religion is banned as an evil.	Religious comfort of the past.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes remembrance of the time when the religious were able to follow their convictions in relief of misery and doubt, and the realization that in the present misery of war they are even being deprived of this comfort.

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Secret Society Members

541. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Happy family scenes in traditional China, with torn Chinese Communist propaganda slogans praising the commune littering the floor or being burned. Caption: To destroy the Communists is to restore the traditional patterns of happy family life.	Traditional patterns of a happy family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses nostalgia for the past and encourages opposition to the Communist regime's stepped-up drive to fragmentize family life.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 42, rating of 1.

Students

542. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Where is the warmth and happiness of your family now?	Family warmth and happiness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Many students fanatically espoused, even to the point of denouncing their own parents for alleged offenses against the government, the Communist doctrine that the state is everything, the family and individual nothing; however, in a deteriorating war situation many of even the most rabidly indoctrinated students will recall with shame and regret the family ties which they have been taught to despise.

543. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are here among strangers who can misunderstand you and cause anguish.	Strangers.

Meaning of Symbols: Students are young and the ties of home, friends, and family mean much to them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: They would be quick to resent any real or fancied slights or mistreatment which they may receive while away from those to whom they feel closest and most secure.

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544. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are away from your relatives and your accustomed way of life.	1. Relatives. 2. Accustomed way of life.

Meaning of Symbols: The ties of family and associated customs are very strong among Chinese, especially young students in a strange environment.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Without the family to depend upon for support, they will feel insecure, especially in times of change.

545. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Can you now depend on the care of your family when you need it?	Family care.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The family has been the traditional basic unit of security for the individual. The student is well aware of this, in spite of his support for the Communist state which attempted to usurp these functions—a new master which could not be depended on because purge after purge is demonstrated.

TASK 43: To promote apathy among members of the group.

Cantonese

546. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Sacrifice, sacrifice—there is no end to it.	Sacrifice.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Tends to destroy faith in the future; the Chinese demand immediate results and here it is implied that they are working for nothing.

547. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Chinese sits in the attitude of Rodin's "The Thinker," while a Communist Party worker exhorts him. Caption: Only the end of the war can save you. Most effective way to accomplish this is to have nothing done.	Have nothing done; do nothing.

Meaning of Symbols: "Do nothing and there is nothing which will

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not (eventually) be done." This saying, a part of Buddhist and Taoist doctrine, is familiar to all Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The idea, current among Chinese since time immemorial, that in the midst of a sea of troubles the best thing to do is to attempt to reach a state where you are not affected by events.

Forced Labor

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 539 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 42, rated 2 for Forced Labor, task 43.

Professionals

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 548 developed for Students, task 43, rated 2 for Professionals.

Secret Society Members

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 539 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 42, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 43.

Students

548. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
To be promoted to responsibility is merely to become exposed to more severe reprimands and punishment for failure.	Responsibility.

Meaning of Symbols: Leaders are made responsible not only for their own mistakes but also for those of followers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A fear of failure and a desire to avoid positions of leadership are chronic to Chinese culture.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 43, rating of 2.

549. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Inaction avoids the spotlight of accountability. Don't invite danger.	1. Accountability. 2. Danger.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Fear of being held accountable and hence a desire to avoid forefront participation is an integral part of Chinese social character.

550. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
When the government controls everything, what faith can there be in the future?	Government control.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: For the group, hope for the future lies in a society in which individual merit and initiative count for more than the uncertain favors of a bureaucratic government.

551. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your strength is limited but your problems are many.	Strength.

Meaning of Symbols: Preservation of strength from undue strain is an obsession with certain Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Because they are more capable and enlightened than the mass of the people, much is expected of students in a Communist society, and Chinese students are readily receptive to the suggestion that "so much is demanded of them that they can never hope to accomplish their tasks and might just as well give up trying."

GOAL: DISCORD

TASK 44: To arouse or intensify among members of the group resentment against profiteers or favored groups.

China as a Whole

552. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Harvest being handed over from the working peasant to an idler.	Harvest.
Caption: You do the work, the favored groups reap the harvest.	

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates resentment against unfairness. The Chinese expect fair play, where money or privilege is in-

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volved. Hence, the harvest should be the result of work, not favor.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 44, rating of 1.

553. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

They talk "public"; act "private." | Public and private.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages cynicism, long ingrained in China, about the personal ambitions of those influential in the political apparatus.

Forced Labor

554. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

Illustration: Bureaucrat shown in favored circumstances. | Fish and meat.

Caption: They make the people their fish and meat.

Meaning of Symbols: These terms are used to express vividly the idea of merciless exploitation of the people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against favored superiors. Associates current bureaucracy with historical situations of social protest.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 44, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 555 developed for Managerial Elite, task 44, rated 1 for Forced Labor; Appeal 558 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 44, rated 1 for Forced Labor.

Managerial Elite

555. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

You are told to sacrifice personal interests to the public good. But others use you to sacrifice the public good to their personal interests. | 1. Sacrifice personal interests to public good (*ta-kung-wang-li*).
2. Sacrifice public good to personal interests (*ta-li-wang-kung*).

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Meaning of Symbols: "Their personal interests" has an implied connotation here of personal profit.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A group which is pressed to austerity, for no reason that seems justifiable to them, is naturally ready to suspect hypocrisy in others.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Forced Labor, task 44, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 558 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 44, rated 1 for Managerial Elite; Appeal 613 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 46, rated 2 for Managerial Elite, task 44.

Merchants and Industrialists

556. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A cormorant fisher in his boat. Two or three cormorants, with collars around their necks, are perched on the side of the boat. The fisher is holding one by the neck and pulling a fish from his mouth. Caption: The cormorants make the catch, but the owner sells the fish.	Cormorant fisher.

Meaning of Symbols: The cormorant is the symbol of exploitation, since it makes the catch, but the owner takes the fish.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against exploitation by a government which also holds the group in contempt as an evil and nonessential class in Chinese society.

557. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You are supplying the skill and experience, to say nothing of the blood, sweat, and tears which keep China from complete collapse. What do you get in return? Not even adequate food and clothing.	Slave labor.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against being exploited by supplying the base for material progress and receiving little in return. Chinese are very sentitive to being

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taken advantage of by others, especially by their own countrymen.

558. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
These Communists live off your fat and flesh.	To live off fat and flesh.

Meaning of Symbols: Living off others who are not family members, especially if one is the victim, is considered a calamity in China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hatred toward the regime and its personnel.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Forced Labor, task 44, rating of 1; Managerial Elite, task 44, rating of 1.

559. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
While you work like slaves, your ignorant Communist masters are living in luxury, feasting with Russian so-called advisers, riding in fine cars, and occupying big houses, many of which formerly belonged to you.	Slaves.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against working for others, especially for those who look down on the group; arrogating its privileges, social status, and material benefits.

560. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist cadres purchasing expensive clothing or choice food items while the populace starve, or shiver from lack of proper clothing. Caption: The Chinese Communists do not believe in the equality they proclaim. They enjoy all the luxuries while the Chinese people starve (or suffer)!	1. Equality. 2. Enjoy luxuries. 3. Starve.

Meaning of Symbols: Starvation is an ugly word in the average Chinese lexicon, while luxuries are sought by all the people.

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Equality of status and of economic opportunity has always been one of the driving forces of Chinese society.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses anger of Chinese people who have been deceived by Chicom doctrines of a classless society where all share equally. Because they have been fooled, the Chinese people would be doubly embittered.

The Chinese people would probably not hesitate to overthrow the present Chicom regime in order to attain their goals, if given the opportunity.

561. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist cadres purchasing expensive clothing or choice food items while the populace starve, or shiver from lack of proper clothing. Caption: Compare your life of bitterness with the luxurious life of the Communist cadres!	1. Life of bitterness. 2. Luxurious life.

Meaning of Symbols: Bitterness and luxury are two words which even the simplest minds in China understand. The former is to be avoided, while the latter is to be sought after with diligence.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages the group to compare their present lowly status with their former one, in a society which held them in high esteem. Arouses the group's anger against those responsible for their debasement, the Communists.

Peasants

562. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: a. A thin peasant loading a sack of grain on a cart bearing a Communist flag or other official symbol; b. the same cart delivering the sack to a plump townsman. Caption: Better labor helps the fat ones.	1. Communist flag or other official symbol. 2. Sack of grain.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses objections to imposed food shortages in the countryside for the benefit of others, here the city dwellers. Associates the shortage with the Communist regime.

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563. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your profiteers are drinking your blood.	Drinking blood.

Meaning of Symbols: Drinking blood is the traditional symbol of exploitation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Profiteering is always regarded as immoral. Leads to resentment against profiteers.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 552 developed for China as a Whole, task 44, rated 1 for Peasants; Appeal 554 developed for Forced Labor, task 44, rated 2 for Peasants.

Professionals

564. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Party leadership means the domination by the cadres.	1. Party leadership. 2. Cadres.

Meaning of Symbols: The cadres are the Communist agents asked to supervise the activities of the professionals.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hate for the uneducated cadres who act as lords and masters because they represent the Party leadership.

Secret Society Members

565. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Cadres imposing their will arrogantly upon the populace, contrasted with the masses rising against the cadres and recovering their despoiled families and properties. Caption: When Communist cadres act like tyrants it is time for their destruction!	Tyrants.

Meaning of Symbols: Tyrants regardless of their political doctrines have always been hated by the Chinese people. However, the harshness of the Communist cadres has not been matched in modern Chinese history.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Intensifies hatred of the cadres who in implementing the cruel orders of their Party leaders have brought unbelievable hunger and suffering to the group.

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Students

566. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: The son of a Chinese Communist cadre being accepted at a college or university out of turn, ahead of other candidates.	Acceptance at a university.

Meaning of Symbols: The prestige of the academic degree is high in China and acceptance at a university insures the student's future in a highly competitive intellectual sphere.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This situation, which seems to be fairly common, would tend to remind viewers of the resentment widely felt toward the "New Class" (bureaucrats and their families and protégés) which is arising in Communist China.

567. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There are those corrupt ones who are sucking your blood to make themselves fat and healthy while you live in misery and discontent.	Sucking your blood.

Meaning of Symbols: Sucking blood is a common saying for those who exact advantage out of the toil of others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students in China today do not lead a life of ease, even if their parents are, or were, at one time well off. The idea that in wartime China some people are making money and enjoying luxuries will arouse hostility toward the system which permits this situation.

568. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
While you shed your blood, other beasts in human form are doing well in this war.	Beasts in human form.

Comment: The Chinese are very sensitive about being taken advantage of, especially in a period of insecurity and obvious danger to themselves and their family. While young intellectuals are being asked to sacrifice as "the vanguards of the New China," other Party officials are enjoying the safety and privileges that exist.

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569. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Party favorites fatten their pockets and bellies while your ribs begin to show.	Fat bellies and lean ribs.

Meaning of Symbols: Fat bellies are traditionally associated with rich and successful persons who do little work with their hands, eat well, and have high social status.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases inclination to believe the worst of those in authority; increases inclination to riot at poor living conditions, since student living conditions often tend to be rather poor.

TASK 45a: To promote dissension and conflict between cliques of the group which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

Cantonese

570. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You have seen sons and daughters denounce their own parents in public trials. If you cannot trust your own children, how much less can you trust persons and groups with whom you have no blood connections or even ties of common interest.	Distrust.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are traditionally suspicious and distrustful of their neighbors and other persons who have interests different from their own. Since the Cantonese are not particularly favored by the Communist regime, they are likely to suspect and distrust one another, and are likely to be spied upon by their own people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes distrust, and consequently dissension and conflict between cliques of the group.

571. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Don't be a naive fool, look out for yourself, and don't trust others!	Distrust.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are traditionally suspicious and distrustful of their neighbors and other persons who have in-

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terests different from their own. Since the Cantonese are not particularly favored by the Communist regime, they are likely to suspect and distrust one another, and are likely to be spied upon by their own people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes distrust, and consequently dissension and conflict between cliques of the group.

572. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
In the present desperate situation you can trust no one but yourself.	Not possible to trust.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are traditionally suspicious and distrustful of their neighbors and other persons who have interests different from their own. Since the Cantonese are not particularly favored by the Communist regime, they are likely to suspect and distrust one another, and are likely to be spied upon by their own people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes distrust, and consequently dissension and conflict between cliques of the group.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 611 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 46, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 45a; Appeal 617 developed for Secret Society Members, task 46, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 45a.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

573. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Party cadres are not professional journalists.	Party cadres.

Meaning of Symbols: The cadres are the trusted eyes and ears of the Communist Party.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Enhances professional pride and at the same time engenders scorn for the ill-educated Party cadres in the journalistic field.

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Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

574. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Cadres confiscating produce from a land-owning farmer, but favoring other farmers over the poorer peasantry. On the wall of a farm building an earlier Chicom proclamation redividing the land. Caption: Does land belong to the tiller or to those who are favored by the Communist cadres?	1. Land to the tiller. 2. Favoritism.

Meaning of Symbols: Land ownership has a highly respected place in Chinese thought. According to an old Chinese saying, "Everything under Heaven has an owner." Favoritism has always been disliked; and for the most part is regarded as a wrong course by the Chinese people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes hostility to the regime for its patent unfairness in discriminating between groups, all of whom had been led under Chicom propaganda to believe that they would not only share the land but also its produce.

575. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You know you are surrounded by spies and informers, not employed by the enemy but by your own government. Among your neighbors are many who would cheat you, steal from you, or even falsely denounce you to the police if they thought it would benefit them in any way.	Distrust.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are traditionally suspicious and distrustful of their neighbors and other persons who have interests different from their own. Since the Cantonese are not particularly favored by the Communist regime, they are likely to suspect and distrust one another, and are likely to be spied upon by their own people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes distrust, and consequently dissension and conflict between cliques of the group.

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576. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Ownership is meaningless! Under Communism, you have lost your own property, now you are losing your own self and your family.	Ownership.

Meaning of Symbols: Ownership has always had a special significance for the Chinese people who were educated to appreciate the material benefits of life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses passive resistance against the Chicom regime. A sense of complete hopelessness is evoked when an average Chinese person is made aware of the fact that under Communism he has no freedom for himself, his family, land or property.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 590 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 45b, rated 1 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 45a.

Peasants

577. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Communism can only exist by using spies. Beware!	Spies.

Meaning of Symbols: Invasion of privacy and of the family has been resented by Chinese who have considered the primary family group inviolate.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The fact that a Chinese could be used by the Communists to betray his own people destroys the last shred of confidence existing between the individual and the Communists. It represents the ultimate intrusion into the individual's life by the Communists.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 51, rating of 2.

578. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If it does not kill a lot of people, Communism cannot be enforced.	Kill.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To rely on such elimination of opposition to enforce policy would seem ridiculous to the practical, rational peasant.

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579. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

An outside ideology like Marxism can only work by inspiring fear along with it.

Key Symbols

1. Outside ideology.
2. Fear.

Meaning of Symbols: Although peasants are not opposed to foreign material advantages, their Chinese cultural pride causes them to resent foreign thought or outside ideology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Because such ideology is forced on them, and is not allowed to compete with what they consider accepted Chinese ways, the appeal might enlighten them somewhat regarding the uselessness of Marxism.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 508 developed for Peasants, task 40, rated 1 for Peasants, task 45a.

Religious Sectarians

580. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Your atheist government seeks to destroy that which is most precious to you, your holy faith. God will not let this monstrous crime go unpunished. He who insults the will of Heaven has not one to whom he can pray.

Key Symbols

1. God.
2. Atheistic government.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment by Catholics against Protestants who have not helped the former in resisting government actions against their religious beliefs and activities. To resist the desecration of Heaven seems inevitable to Catholics on both Christian and Chinese standards.

581. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

This shocking truth has been carefully concealed from you by the government. The so-called native Catholic clergy have no more right to administer the sacraments of the church than an ordinary man in the street.

Key Symbols

Sacraments of the church.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment by Catholics against Protestants who have accepted government intervention into their religious activities. In contrast, almost all Catholics have resisted the government-sponsored clergy. As a result, they have been persecuted and their religious activity curtailed while the Protestants have not had to undergo these hardships.

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582. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A Chinese Catholic kneeling in a church to accept a Communion wafer from another Chinese in ordinary civilian dress.

Caption: The Holy Catholic Church and Communism cannot exist together. All foreign Catholic clergy in China have been murdered, imprisoned, or driven out of the country. All Chinese Catholic clergy, no matter of what rank, have been excommunicated by the Vatican because they have denied the authority of the Pope and accepted the control of a godless government.

Key Symbols

Godless government.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment by Catholics against Protestants who have accepted government intervention into their religious activities. In contrast, almost all Catholics have resisted the government-sponsored clergy. As a result, they have been persecuted and their religious activity curtailed while the Protestants have not had to undergo these hardships.

TASK 45b: To promote dissension and conflict between the group and other groups in the country which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

583. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: One group accusing another group of having misled them to support the Chinese Communist regime. On the one side the accused group promises the other group double portions of rice in their bowls, and on the other side the same group starves for the lack of food.

Caption: You and your kind have helped the Chinese and Russian Communists to delude and enslave the people!

Key Symbols

1. Delusion.
2. Enslavement.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses bitter anger of the deluded group against the other group as well as against their Communist masters. The feeling of being tricked into Communist slavery could easily arouse group antagonism and hatred to a fighting pitch.

Differential Effect: Obviously those charged with betrayal will have a negative reaction to the appeal idea. To overcome this difficulty, "betrayal" groups should not be specifically identified.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 565 developed for Secret Society Members, task 44, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 45b; Appeal 638 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 48, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 45b.

Former Kuomintang Members

584. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Hui (or Chuang or Uighir or Tibetans, etc.) are being treated better than you.	Hui (or other minority group).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment and jealousy of a now favored group formerly treated as inferiors. The ex-KMT are almost all Han Chinese and feel superior to these minorities.

585. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The former tenants think they can run a farm.	Former tenant.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Stirs resentment by the former landlords toward their ex-peasants and contempt for their ability, since the peasants and tenants were illiterate and considered below the more scholarly landlords.

Differential Effect: Strong negative effects on peasants who were tenants under the old regime.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

586. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols.
Illustration: Fat hogs (labeled profiteers, and pets of the government) with heads in a trough into which well-dressed farmers (labeled Communist govern-	Government favors the wicked.

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ment) are pouring food from pails (labeled earnings of the people, and national wealth). Outside the fence which encloses the trough, ragged, starving men, women, and children (labeled Chinese people) watch with envy.

Caption: The Government-fed hogs grow fat while decent people starve.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses envy and hatred of those who now enjoy the good life by those who formerly enjoyed the good life. Journalists are particularly likely to resent the fortunate situation of the Communist bureaucrats whom they blame for their present plight if they refuse to be Party stooges in distributing government "news."

Situational Effect: Use only in the context of known cases of profiteering; otherwise it may cause resentment.

537. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Man refusing to buy a newspaper displayed for sale on a stand (many papers piled up).

Caption: If you seek the truth, don't look for it in a Communist newspaper.

Key Symbols

Loss of good name.

Meaning of Symbols: Before the Communists took over China, the journalist occupied a respected and important place in society.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses shame and resentment at present status.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 46, rating of 2.

Managerial Elite

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 590 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 45b, rated 1 for Managerial Elite.

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Merchants and Industrialists

588. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Journalists and mass media personnel are but running dogs of the Communists.	Running dogs.

Meaning of Symbols: Running dogs are tools of forces considered evil.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Merchants and industrialists are literate people and should have the same privileges as the journalists. The appeal will emphasize the fact that they are discriminated against by the Communists who are aided by journalists (the running dogs).

589. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist cadre intimidating a helpless non-Communist. Caption: When the fox (Communist cadres) assumes the majesty of the tiger, it is time to destroy him!	1. Fox. 2. Tiger.

Meaning of Symbols: In Chinese thought, the fox is a detested, tricky animal, while the tiger commands respect as well as strength and fear.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses contempt for second-rate individuals who serve as the "running dogs" for Chinese Communism. The Chinese people respect all leaders who have risen to power by the strength of their character and their outstanding abilities; but they detest mediocre underlings who have no such qualities and who act as petty tyrants over helpless citizens.

590. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist cadre intimidating a helpless non-Communist. Caption: A Communist society which permits first-rate people to be tortured by ignorant Party cadres is not worth preserving!	1. First-rate people. 2. Ignorant Party cadres.

Meaning of Symbols: The ignorance and arrogance of Party cadres have become bywords in many parts of mainland China.

The educated merchants and industrialists still retain a degree of independence of thought, as witness the wave of criticism of the Chicom regime during the "All Flowers Blooming" period of 1957.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes deep resentment of the Chinese people who have always exalted the educated.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 45b, rating of 1.

Professionals

591. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The cadres let themselves be used as tools in bringing your present lot upon you, prospering by degrading you.	Degradation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes anger and hatred of the degradation of professional status, sparked particularly by the concrete things the cadres do and require of professionals. Resentment is strong because of the lower status of many cadres in comparison to the professionals.

592. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Accept no insult from the young upstarts of Communism.	Young upstarts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes reaction against the young and fresh products of Communist indoctrination whom the Communists consider "ideologically more reliable" and more intelligent than the professionals who have undergone years of extensive and difficult training and experience. The professionals resent what they consider discriminatory practices against them, in favor of the young.

Generality: Also judged persuasive for: Students, task 45b, rating of 2.

593. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The high-and-mighty Party members are insulting.	Party members.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against the haughty attitude of Party members who are the new privileged and powerful class.

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Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Students, task 45b, rating of 2.

Religious Sectarians

594. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The merchant thinks only of making money, the soldier knows only the orders of his superiors, the journalist is the mouthpiece of a lying government. These and many other groups work only for their own interests and will stoop to any means to further them.	Own (nonreligious) interests.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The religious man is beset by enemies within the country and is aware of the contempt with which many Chinese have long regarded him. He resents being attacked by those he considers less moral than himself and his present difficulties under an antireligious government with the apparent acquiescence and even support of other groups in the country.

Students

595. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The ignorant and uneducated proletariat is considered more deserving than the conscientious student?	Uneducated more deserving than the educated.

Meaning of Symbols: This reverses the traditional Chinese value system which places the scholar at the apex of the status pyramid.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment at the greater reward of physical labor over intellectual effort.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 592 developed for Professionals, task 45b, rated 2 for Students; Appeal 593 developed for Professionals, task 45b, rated 2 for students.

TASK 46: To encourage disaffection on the part of members of the group because of grievances (ethnic, religious, social, political, economic, etc.) against the government.

China as a Whole

596. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your leaders' "humanity" and "justice" are shams.	1. False humanity. 2. False justice.

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Meaning of Symbols: Humanity and justice are two of the cardinal tenets of Chinese Political philosophy.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings cynical recollection that just such protestations were made by the Communists against the Nationalists prior to the establishment of the Communist regime.
Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Students, task 46, rating of 2; Peasants, task 46, rating of 2.

597. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
You have gained the Communists and lost your country!	To lose one's country.

Meaning of Symbols: Denotes a loss of self-determination through the fault of the individual, for the individual has the responsibilty for the prosperity or the collapse of all.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that by opposing the policies of the government, the individual can regain his rights.

598. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
A man with *chih-ch'i* protests the wrongs against his family.	*Chih-ch'i.*

Meaning of Symbols: Chih-ch'i connotes determination for revenge against someone who has committed a wrong to the Chinese ideal, the family.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses feelings of resentment against the government for interference in family life.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

599. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Illustration: Peasants yoked to the plow and beaten by Communist cadres moving shakily toward a huge propaganda banner depicting the advantages of the new "agrarian and economic reforms."	Slavery.
Caption: The regime is reducing people to absolute slavery with its "agrarian and economic reforms."	

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Meaning of Symbols: Slavery has always possessed a hateful connotation for the Chinese people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the deep disillusionment, which has seized this group and has already provoked some of them to become disaffected against the regime. This hatred of slavery would be intensified by the knowledge that it has been imposed by Chinese Communists who had originally posed as "liberators."

600. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists betrayed you.	Betray.

Meaning of Symbols: Most Chinese although not too surprised at betrayal, possibly less odious than in the West, would still resent it.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Stirs resentment and disaffection because the Communists have not kept their promises.

601. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Communists (*kung-ch'an*) govern, but the "kung" is not fair and "*ch'an*" has not brought you any possessions.	*Kung* and *ch'an.*

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings refutation and ridicule of the Communists. The method is the traditional one of playing on words in the Chinese language by breaking down compounds with a unitary meaning to their components, each of which have singular meanings different from the whole. Intellectual groups would be flattered by such a knowledge of Chinese and Chinese ways.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 46, rating of 2.

Forced Labor

602. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communist authorities have caused you to be tormented by the heat of fire and plunged into deep waters.	Fire and deep water (*shui-shen-huo-je*).

Meaning of Symbols: This is a traditional and often-used idiomatic expression to convey a sense of an almost unendurable predicament.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a feeling of dissatisfaction with their condition and a feeling of hatred for the Communist leadership.

Former Kuomintang Members

603. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You have been humiliated by brainwashing.	Humiliated by brainwashing (*hsi-nao-chih-hsiu*).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hostility to political authority because brainwashing is a denial of human dignity and an abuse of human will, both very offensive to face-conscious Chinese.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 613 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 46, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

604. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols.
Thought reform is thought control.	1. Thought control. 2. Thought reform.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Awakens anger against the "ideological remolding" of journalists, also called brainwashing, aimed at turning public information into pure propaganda.

605. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
A modern press must accurately report world news. Can such a press exist in new China?	Modern press.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Dissatisfaction with the full reporting of government policies and activities of international Communism as compared with the neglect of other news, including news from capitalist countries.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 587 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 45b, rated 2 for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 46.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 601 developed for Disaffected and disgraced Communists, task 46, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors.

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Merchants and Industrialists

606. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You have many more friends among your American so-called enemies than you have in your own government. In the American society the merchant has an important and honored position. In Communist China he is considered a nuisance at best and an enemy at worst, to be allowed to live only as long as he can be squeezed for money or used for cannon fodder.	1. American friends. 2. Communist enemies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reinforces the idea that the Communist government is the enemy of the group for there is no place for the merchants and industrialists in Communist society. Its only friends are the Americans, who give material security and status to the group.

607. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your Communist government looks forward to the day when there will be no merchants or industrialists. What can you and your children hope for in such a society?	Your children.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses revulsion against a government that would interfere with preparations for continuity of the family line, in effect insuring the total destruction of the group.

Peasants

608. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A thin peasant bent over, carrying on his back a hugh load in which is discernible a factory, a plane, a warship, etc. These objects should bear the Communist symbol. Caption: A heavy load has no benefit.	1. Communist symbol. 2. Heavy load.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Emphasizes the fact that the peasant is bearing most of the burden of industrialization under Com-

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munism, far out of proportion to his capacities or rightful share.

609. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Very soon you will not be allowed to visit your ancestors' graves.	Ancestors' graves.

Meaning of Symbols: Suggests family continuity.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against government control and suppression of the family, which violates one of the most fundamental relations in Chinese society.
Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 596 developed for China as a Whole, task 46, rated 2 for Peasants.

Professionals

610. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Professional, wearing a uniform and spectacles, carrying a load of excrement (fertilizers) on the farm. Caption: Reform through labor!	Labor.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment against the Communist demand that all intellectuals must reform themselves by engaging in physical labor, anathema to the educated. Moreover, the labor is mostly compulsory (slave) labor aimed at degrading and controlling the professionals.

Relatives of the Executed

611. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Kinsmen of the executed side by side with Chinese Communist police and militia, who are forcibly separating parents from their children in communes. Caption: The Communists have not only shot loved ones, but now they strangle by destroying families and concentrating the people in communes!	Shot loved ones and destroyed families.

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Meaning of Symbols: In the mind of the Chinese masses an individual was meaningless unless he could also claim kinship with a family. Hence, to destroy the family meant also the individual's destruction.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses deep hatred of Communists for killing their loved ones and for striking at the heart of traditional Chinese culture centered in the family.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Religious Sectarians, task 46, rating of 2.

612. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Does Mao expect a satin robe with the names of his victims on it for those he has unjustly liquidated? How many robes that would be!	Satin robe.

Meaning of Symbols: In olden times the people used to give a good and virtuous magistrate a satin robe with 10,000 names to mark appreciation of good work and high regard of the people. Now one might offer Mao a similar symbol in white cotton listing all the names of those unjustly liquidated. It would need at least 2,500 robes, however, with 10,000 names on each robe to fill the order.

613. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The government claims to be your father. Your father would have taken better care of you than the government does now.	Father.

Meaning of Symbols: The father was the symbol of justice and the family provider.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Serves as a reminder that formerly the family took care of its own.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 46, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 565 developed for Secret Society Members, task 44, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed, task 46.

Religious Sectarians

614. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Religion teaches men how to live; Communism forces men to die.	Life vs. death.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Like all Chinese, this group treasures life and despairs at death, especially in a cause in which they feel they have no stake. On religious grounds, forcing men to die runs counter to the precepts of the group.

615. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A lamb (labeled religious sectarian) in a forest in which are many savage, slavering wolves (not human wolves). The wolves are labeled Communism. Caption: The government wants your labor and money to support the war and your body as cannon fodder, but otherwise it has no use for you and will destroy you at the first opportunity.	Destruction.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hatred of Communism and despair for the future. The group is fully aware how little influence religion had in China before the Communists took over, hence they know the Communists could stamp it out with little difficulty.

616. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Even the gods have to beg because the government has taken temple properties away.	Gods begging.

Meaning of Symbols: Begging, especially for a respected one (here the gods) is regarded as most humiliating.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes hatred of the government for taking away temple property which has been considered a most base kind of stealing.

Differential Effect: Many in China, however much they might deplore expropriation in other sectors, would applaud the obliteration of the temple buildings.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 611 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 46, rated 2 for Religious Sectarians.

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Secret Society Members

617. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Tigers clad in garments of the Chinese Communists fiendishly tearing up grave mounds, hacking open coffins and urns, and strewing the skeletal remains to the four winds, while the masses lie prostrate and weeping on the ground.

Caption: The Communists are human beasts. They tear up the graves of ancestors and disinter the bodies of loved ones!

Key Symbols

1. Human beasts.
2. Tear up graves of ancestors.
3. Disinter bodies of loved ones.

Meaning of Symbols: Religion in traditional China was founded on ancestor worship. Despite the Communists, the feeling still pervades mainland China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses the deep sorrow and intense anger among people who both traditionally and actually revere the memory and the mortal remains of their loved ones.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 638 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 48, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 46.

Students

618. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

The Communist regime believes independent thinking is dangerous to the state; therefore, most of you will not be selected for higher training even though you are intelligent enough and practicing obedience.

Key Symbols

Unequal opportunity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment at lack of further educational and intellectual vocational opportunities by the bulk of the middle school students who are sent out to jobs of a low order upon graduation. Chinese students believe they are entitled to intellectual work.

619. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

You study hard and become an expert; then you are given a menial job by the government at low wages.

Key Symbols

Menial.

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Meaning of Symbols: The student group traditionally regards itself as one being trained for leadership and higher government posts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses disgust and resentment and a disinclination to work to become proficient

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 596 developed for China as a Whole, task 46, rated 2 for Students.

TASK 47: To get top national leaders to fight among themselves.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 611 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 46, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 47.

TASK 48: To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward his country's allies.

China as a Whole

620. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)	*Key Symbols*
Your "elder brother" the Russians expect you to return their aid, even including your lives in a war.	Elder brother expecting return of aid.

Meaning of Symbols: Elder brothers are expected to share with younger brothers, but the younger brothers need not share with elders. If the elder brother abuses his position it is resented by the younger brothers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against Russia for the sacrifice of war.

621. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
Illustration: Mongolia, with the Russian foot stepping on it. Caption: Russia now dominates Mongolia; What is next?	Mongolia.

Meaning of Symbols: Mongolia has been a place of Russian-Chinese rivalry for a long time.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Excites hatred of Russian imperialism.

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622. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A woman in wedding dress labeled China standing with two bridegrooms, one labeled Chinese Communists, and the other labeled Russian Communists. Caption: Present-day marriage in China.	One woman married to two men.

Meaning of Symbols: A rule of proper conduct is that a woman should not be married to two men. Chinese should be loyal to China and not the so-called ally, Russia.

623. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Russia made the decision that you enter the war, yet she does not fight. Therefore, it is you, not she, that is blamed for the war.	X makes the decision, but Y is responsible.

Meaning of Symbols: The backstage manager has the power but prefers others to hold the public position. However, in this war it is the Chinese who are vulnerable to attack or criticism, particularly if there is aggrandizement.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against Russia in the Chinese people for being left "holding the bag."

Cantonese

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 617 developed for Secret Society Members, task 46, rated 2 for Cantonese, task 48.

Former Kuomintang Members

624. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Russia is using China just as the Communists are using you.	Using.

Meaning of Symbols: Fear of being exploited or used by others is great among Chinese.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates doubt as to the sincerity of Russia and the wisdom of war effort.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 631 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 48, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members.

Managerial Elite

625. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Russians are barbarians.	Barbarians.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have only contempt for the Russians and consider them uncouth, uncivilized people (barbarians).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates distaste for the Russian allies.

626. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You must imitate the Russians, and fight for the Russians.	Imitation of Russians.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates doubt about Russians who are political and cultural offenders against Chinese culture.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 629 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 48, rated 1 for Managerial Elite.

Merchants and Industrialists

627. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your "Big Brother" wants to conquer the world, using the Chinese people as his cannon fodder. If he wins, you lose, for there is no place for the merchant and industrialist in Communist society.	Cannon fodder.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Resentment at bearing the brunt of the national plans of others, losing even if victory comes to the Communist side; a totally illogical situation to the pragmatic Chinese.

628. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: In two parts; on the right, Chinese soldiers being slaughtered on	Equal sharing.

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the field of battle while charging forward in a human sea; on the left a bloated, repulsive Russian officer feasting and guzzling in a restaurant, from the window of which can be seen the towers of Moscow.

Caption: Is this equal sharing of the burden? Is this fighting shoulder to shoulder?

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases resentment at bearing an unequal share of the burdens of the war and apprehension over the idea that victory for Russia will spell ruin for group.

629. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Chicom cadres driving Soviet advisers in expensive automobiles, dining them at the best restaurants and offering them the most luxurious consumer goods, while the Chinese people walk, go hungry, and queue up daily for limited food supplies.

Caption: The Chinese Communists pamper the Soviets but ignore the sufferings of the Chinese people!

1. Pamper Soviets.
2. Ignore sufferings of Chinese people.

Meaning of Symbols: The high-handedness of Russian officials in Chinese history was an integral part of all pre-1949 textbooks. All educated Chinese of adult age have not forgotten this, nor the part played by the Soviets in helping the Chicoms to conquer Mainland China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates popular resentment of Chicom allies and profound disillusionment in Chinese Communist regime. Re-awakens traditional Chinese distrust of Russian imperialism and colonialism.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 48, rating of 1.

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630. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chicom cadres driving Soviet advisers in expensive automobiles, dining them at the best restaurants and offering them the most luxurious consumer goods, while the Chinese people walk, go hungry, and queue up daily for limited food supplies. Caption: Why should the cadres discriminate against the Chinese people in favor of their foreign Communist comrades?	Discrimination.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes deep dislike of Chicoms and their allies. Older Chinese remember vividly foreign discrimination against Chinese in the treaty ports; while younger Chinese in urban and industrial areas have seen the favored treatment given by the Chicoms to their Soviet and foreign Communist advisers.

The fact that Communism is a non-Chinese political doctrine imported from abroad through foreign agents, as well as through Chinese Marxists, is deeply engraved in the minds of the Chinese masses. This knowledge is intensified by incessant Chicom propaganda to "learn from the Soviet Union." It can boomerang against Peiping and Moscow when circumstances are no longer propitious for them.

Situational Effect: Effective where Russians have appeared on the scene.

631. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Russians are draining the country of its resources and they are moving in on you.	Draining resources.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggest apathy or antagonism toward Russians, who are foreigners. However, industrialists more than merchants would be sensitive to this appeal. The fear of exploitation by others, especially foreigners, is part of the Chinese national character.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 48, rating of 2.

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Peasants

632. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A thin peasant hands sacks of grain to a Chinese Communist official, who hands them to a Soviet official. The latter then hands planes, tanks, etc., to the former, who bows gratefully to the latter while at the same time kicking a peasant, standing nearby, in the teeth.

Key Symbols

1. Sack of grain.
2. Planes and tanks.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Emphasizes the fact that scarce (at least in countryside) foodstuffs are being shipped out of the country in exchange for industrial and military equipment which is of little, if any, immediate benefit to the Chinese people.

633. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

The Chinese people are polite by nature. Even if your own people die of starvation after the Soviets get all your food, it doesn't matter.

Key Symbols

Die of starvation.

Meaning of Symbols: To be taken advantage of, especially to be robbed of sustenance for others, is a chronic phobia of Chinese peasants.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If the peasants are expected to be fatalistic in the face of such abuse, it can only produce a feeling of contempt and hypocrisy.

634. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

The Soviet devils are afraid that the Chinese will get independent and separate from them, so good war equipment is never given China.

Key Symbols

Independent.

Meaning of Symbols: Independence has been a prime goal of Chinese, especially in this century.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: For leaders to bargain away that independence, especially for dubious material benefits, would make them unworthy in the eyes of the people.

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635. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Their country is also poor, they also do not have enough to eat, therefore the Chinese farmer must sacrifice his rice, letting the foreign masters of China eat the best and most.	Sacrificing (rice) for others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese have contempt for those who talk big but cannot produce, especially those who are not able to solve the problem of supplying adequate food after claiming to be able to do anything. Fear also may result from the chance that his own food must be used to cover up Soviet deficiencies or greed.

Professionals

636. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Big Noses of Russia are the new imperialists.	The Big Noses of Russia.

Meaning of Symbols: "Big nose" is a contemptuous term the Chinese people use against all foreigners; today it is used to describe the Russians in China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment again the domination and the privileges of the Soviet advisers.

637. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Soviet imperialism is no better than the Western imperialism of old.	Soviet imperialism.

Meaning of Symbols: Soviet imperialism is manifested in the dominant Soviet influence in all walks of Chinese life and Soviet policy in China, e.g., Soviet stripping of Manchurian factories in 1945.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Intensifies the "suspect USSR" psychology of the largely Western-trained professionals.

Relatives of the Executed

638. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Soviet and Chinese Communists driving the reluctant Chinese people over a precipice (labeled Communism).	Destruction of the Chinese people.

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Caption: There is no difference between the Chinese and Soviet Communists. Together they are destroying the Chinese people!

Meaning of Symbols: The love for the traditional culture of China is strong, but equally strong is their respect for their own identity as the "people" of China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against the Russian and Chinese Communists for destroying the nature of the Chinese people.

Students

639. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Russians want to conquer the world to enslave the people.	Enslave.

Comments: On no other group of persons in China do the restrictions of the government on personal liberty fall harder than on the students. Many students in China knew the truth about the ruthless slaughter of students in the brutal repression of the Hungarian revolt, but naturally they did not care to raise any protest against this savage act.

640. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Russia controls by terror, neglect, and denying individual interest.	Russian control.

Comments: The brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolt and the slaughter of students in carrying out of this savage act were a shock to students everywhere, even in Red China.

641. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Russians despise human nature and individuality.	1. Human nature. 2. Individuality.

Meaning of Symbols: Students by nature tend to be individualistic, also Chinese have strong concepts of "human nature."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are highly regimented by the Communists and constantly reminded that the individual counts

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for nothing, the state everything; however, they have traditionally demanded recognition as a special group, entitled to special rights and privileges. Moreover, they will be quick to blame the Russians for the harsh and repressive measures against Chinese concepts of "human nature" to which they have often been subjected by the government.

642. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your Chinese compatriots who disagree are sold as slaves to work in Russian Siberian mines. What imperialist nation does this benefit?	Slaves.

Comments: Foreign exploitation of the Chinese is an old story in China. That Chinese or China's friends would aid this exploitation is the height of iniquity to a Chinese.

643. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The evil man leads his friends into danger. How good is the Soviet Union?	Leads others into danger.

Meaning of Symbols: Those who lead others into danger, especially friends, are very despicable in terms of the traditional Chinese ethical system.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings doubts about the desirability of association with the Soviet Union.

644. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
How many times will Chinese fight the U.S. on behalf of Russia?	Fight for others.

Meaning of Symbols: Fear of being used is strong in Chinese culture.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment against being used, by a government which allegedly is serving Chinese interests, for personal interests to the detriment of the Chinese people.

GOAL: PRIVATIZATION

TASK 49: To make members of the group dissatisfied with living conditions (poor or insufficient food, inadequate clothing, excessive restrictions).

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China as a Whole

645. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Who is taking the food from your family?	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: The family has consistently been the rival of the state as the focal point of loyalty.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hostility toward political authority because the regime uses foodstuffs to trade for industrial materials.

646. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Communists are overworking and underfeeding you.	Overwork and underfeeding.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The love of food and rest is strong in Chinese life. Those who interfere with these fundamentals of life are resented.

647. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The Communists grow fat while you grow thin.	Fat vs. thin.

Meaning of Symbols: In Chinese lore, wealth is given to those who deserve it. The Communists are taking all the surplus, when they do not deserve it, leaving the people deliberately thin and unsatisfied.

648. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Fat men eating a good meal. Caption: The leaders are asking you to sacrifice but they do not.	Sacrifice.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should result in resentment over needless sacrifice. If the leaders do not sacrifice, the group should not be required to.

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649. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A government agent taking part of the cooked rice from the rice bowl held in the hand of a crying peasant. Caption: The government collects not only the regular rice but the cooked rice from your meals as well.	Cooked rice.

Meaning of Symbols: Existence itself.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates strong feeling against the cruelty of the government.

650. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your pigs go to Russia.	Pigs.

Meaning of Symbols: Pigs represent additional income, private property, savings to be sold at the end of the year, economic security.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Pigs are being taken away from the people who raise them, thus creating much hatred toward the government.

651. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A mother with newborn infant in her arms watching the cadre taking eggs away. Caption: Whose women do you think will get those eggs?	New mother and eggs.

Meaning of Symbols: Postnatal care in China demands that a countless number of eggs be eaten daily to revive the mother's strength.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Such deprivation is considered unreasonable and a legitimate source of dissatisfaction.

652. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists may call you "elder brother" but they are really your step-parent	Step-parent.

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Meaning of Symbols: Represents severity and source from which attention and presents are not expected, in contrast with the older brother.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The discrepancy between Communist promises and delivery is here highlighted to bring consequent dissatisfaction in existing conditions.

Cantonese

653. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Eat bitterness.

Illustration: A thin, wretched appearing man in ragged clothes, seated on a broken stool in a bare, squalid room (dirt floor, sagging door and window frames, tattered paper and broken wood and paper-framework in windows, broken water jar in corner). Ragged emaciated wife and children, one child holding out an empty rice bowl, are appealing to him for help as he sits with head in hands.

Caption: To eat endless bitterness is useless if there is not hope for a better day. Even a donkey will not endure continual beating!

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Incites revolt against regime and cooperation with enemy forces on the assumption that nothing could be worse than the present misery. As a group, the Cantonese have never been ardent supporters of the new regime. They are in general far less "steady" than northern Chinese, and hence more prone to resentment against the intolerable conditions imposed by an unpopular government. Stubborn, clannish, independent, and fond of good living, the Cantonese will be receptive to the suggestion that it might be better "to take up arms against the sea of troubles, and by opposition, end them!"

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

654. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Hardship.

Illustration: Hungry family berating a credulous kinsman, while the walls of their homes are placarded with Com-

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munist posters urging them to save on food to strengthen the economic resources of the regime so that they may have plenty of food and clothing in the future.

Caption: Do you still believe what the Communists say? Is this hardship temporary? You and your families have already endured this bitter hardship for many years.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses keen disappointment in the Communist cadres who have been responsible for their present predicament.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Relatives of the Executed, task 49, rating of 2.

Forced Labor

655. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

You are being forced to labor under a cross-fire of hunger and cold.

Key Symbols

Cross-fire of hunger and cold. (*Chi-han-chiao-pe*)

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are very sensitive to this idiomatic expression of human suffering which arouses sympathy, indignation, and action.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages sabotage and possible riots because hunger and cold have been among the basic factors leading to traditional Chinese uprisings.

656. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

You are supposed to have profited by the new society. Instead, what you have come to have is far less than what you had before.

Key Symbols

Profit.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes nostalgia for old order, especially since many people in this group were not laborers before.

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657. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How often have the police punished, not to control crime, but to show the importance of the people for whom they work.	The police.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Implants the idea that those in power should be resented as the enemy of the people, since they deliberately affront those beneath them in order to demonstrate a total disregard for the feelings of individuals.

Former Kuomintang Members

658. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Communists talk much of "equality," but they are personally corrupt and take all the best while the common people have only a few ounces of meat a month.	1. Equality. 2. Corruption.

Meaning of Symbols: Equality has a rather artificial meaning to Chinese—it is good but implausible—in contrast, there is high expectation of corruption.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates the feeling that they are being mistreated, are out of favor, and in danger. There is a general expectation of shortage of food, etc., so inequality is not too surprising, but there is a feeling of insecurity when they are left out of distribution.

659. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Does the commune give you the food and clothing your family did?	Commune vs. family.

Meaning of Symbols: The commune is the complete antithesis of the traditional center of life in China—the home and the family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment towards the communes for abolishing family life and individual pleasures of the home.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 49, rating of 2.

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660. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Trainloads of food watched by starving Chinese. Caption: Who is getting all the food that is being produced? Where is it going? Who is looking after whom? The grain and meat which have been produced by your toil are being sent elsewhere. There is no trust in the land because there is no sharing of food.	*Key Symbols* Sharing food.

Meaning of Symbols: Not to be a recipient of food implies being isolated by the elite, for taking food together indicated friendship, and not sharing food means lack of trust.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Causes concern with whether one is secure in relation to those who are powerful.

661. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A person en route to see his family is stopped by soldiers in a railway station. Caption: Before the Communists came you could travel the length and breadth of the land without hindrance. Now you cannot move a single step without a travel permit.	*Key Symbols* You cannot move a single step (*ts'un-pu-nan-i*).

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese used to liken restriction on movement to a "bird in the cage" or "a turtle in the jar."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases hostility toward the regime because the Chinese traditionally enjoy freedom of movement. Many former Kuomintang members even traveled abroad.

Situational Effect: Travel does not always require a permit in all parts of the country.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

662. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Scene showing emaciated over-worked individual, harassed by Communist cadres urging them to "increase production." Caption: You slave for nothing!	*Key Symbols* Slave for nothing.

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Meaning of Symbols: An old Chinese saying goes, "Whom are you slaving for, and whom are you busy for?" A slave is despised and can call nothing his own.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hostility toward Chicom regime since members of this group have already been discriminated against by confiscation of property, greater police surveillance, heavier work norms, and fewer rights, and privileges. Ownership of land, capital and property—the means of production and of sustaining life for the family—has in the past been considered a right of this group, which also believed itself justified to receive a profitable return on its land and investments.

663. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
No matter how hard you work, the Communist cadres reap the benefit!	1. Hard work. 2. Communist cadres. 3. Benefits.

Meaning of Symbols: Hard work in China was never resented so long as the product of such efforts went to the producer. Communist cadres have been bitterly resented because they have confiscated the "benefits"—the fruits of such labor. This confiscation of material goods and food is keenly felt in a traditionally deficit economy.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes disillusionment and hostility toward the Chicom regime. Echoes general popular discontent and reflects verbally the general knowledge that the economic situation in Mainland China is severely dislocated.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 49, rating 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 674 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 49, rated 1 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors.

Managerial Elite

664. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your commune is led by those who have a thirst for power.	1. Commune. 2. Thirst for power.

Meaning of Symbols: The commune is the symbol of the destruction of all the old ties and traditions. Those who have a thirst for power are those not really trained or fit to lead.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages a feeling that the commune lacks proper leadership and is unlikely to succeed, since it is a symbol of the destruction of all the old ties and traditions.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 663 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 49, rated 1 for Managerial Elite; Appeal 659 developed for Former Kuomintang, task 49, rated 2 for Managerial Elite.

Merchants and Industrialists

665. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Distraught manager of mercantile or industrial establishment sweating over endless blueprints and plans, while his family at home starves from hunger.

Caption: Why plan with the Communists and starve?

Key Symbols

1. Plan.
2. Starve.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese groups have always planned, but have never made a fetish of plans as the Chicoms have done. The fact that Chicom planning has only resulted in acute shortage of consumers goods and general starvation would serve to emphasize futility of these plans, and hopelessness of Chicom leadership.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hostility to Chicom regime in the form of passive resistance. In normal times, before Communist take-over, the merchant and industrialist classes were generally well-satisfied in their basic living requirements.

666. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Distraught manager of mercantile or industrial establishment sweating over endless blueprints and plans, while his family at home starves from hunger.

Caption: How much longer must you sacrifice in vain for a "glorious" Communist future?

Key Symbols

1. Sacrifice in vain.
2. "Glorious" Communist future.

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Meaning of Symbols: Sacrifices for one's group or family was common in traditional China. Sacrifices were made for tangible goals which brought benefits to the group or family, but not for unrealistic, ever-expanding national goals which could never be reached.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses intense dissatisfaction—and hatred—of Chicom regime which promised so much but delivered so little.

667. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You were prosperous before, but you are poor now, even though the Communists have promised to make you richer.	Poverty.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese dislike poverty because it is associated with evil.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Merchants and industrialists were often wealthy through their own efforts. Hostility toward those who deliberately made them poor is therefore to be expected.

Peasants

668. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Lean peasants watching Communists carting off their produce. Caption: The Communists starve you to deprive you of *fu*.	*Fu*.

Meaning of Symbols: Fu is happiness and health. Fat people are supposed to have it, so that hunger and undernourishment are associated with unhappiness, a bad nature, and other undesirable traits. No one wants to be deprived of either nutrition or *fu*.

669. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A peasant walking along a road toward a city (visible in background) being stopped by a policeman who points in the direction he came from and orders him back.	Cities.

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Meaning of Symbols: Many peasants are convinced (rightly) that living conditions are better in the cities, but CCP has tried hard to prevent a "blind influx" of peasants into the cities.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against restrictions on movement to the cities.

670. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A farmer, returning from buying groceries, with potatoes instead of rice. He rests and thinks how hard he has to work and then only to receive potatoes and no rice because all rice must be handed over to the government. Caption: From early morning to nightfall one must work hard. Yet the daily ration of food is never sufficient.	Potato instead of rice.

Meaning of Symbols: Potatoes in North China are regarded as poor man's food, while in South China they are thought more fit for pigs than human consumption. A wealthy man does not eat potatoes and certainly not as a staple.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes strong resentment. The laborer works hard and he should at least get enough to eat. Normally any landlord or employer will feed him well enough; the wage may be small but food must be plentiful. This, however, is not the way of the Communists, since they give food rations which never really suffice, in return for long working days.

Professionals

671. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There would be enough good food and clothing if crops had not been shipped to the USSR in exchange for weapons.	Food and clothing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses dissatisfaction with existing food and clothing, and resentment against the Chinese Communists for not placing the needs of their own people first.

672. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Planned supply and purchase under the Communists means planned scarcity.	Planned supply and purchase.

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Meaning of Symbols: The symbol is the Communist term for state purchase of all crops and products and their strict rationing.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes disgust with the economic policy of the state, especially with the queues for buying food and other necessities.

Relatives of the Executed

673. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Half-starved and poorly clothed, dispirited civilians working on a commune enterprise under the baleful eyes of the Chinese Communist militia and cadre.

Caption: To work for a Communist commune is worse than slavery!

Key Symbols

Slavery.

Meaning of Symbols: Slavery has always been detested but the communes are beginning to represent an even more deadly and hopeless way of life.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Secret Society Members, task 49, rating of 1.

674. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A happy prosperous family contrasted with a dismal poor life in a people's commune.

Caption: Remember how you used to live in the past?

Key Symbols

Remember the past.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have a feeling that "the good old days" were best and traditionally look back on the "golden ages."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls the normal and traditional life, which was a happier time than the present controlled and austere life.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 49, rating of 1; Secret Society Members, task 49, rating of 2.

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Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 654 developed for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 49, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed.

Religious Sectarians

675. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Your current plight has not been brought on you by Heaven, but by a group of mad, cruel, selfish leaders who recognize no power higher than themselves. They despise religion, have nothing but contempt for the ancient culture of China, and seek only to bring on the whole world the sufferings they have brought on you.

Key Symbols

1. Despise religion.
2. Contempt for Chinese culture.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes resentment against miseries which are not the will of Heaven. The group endures natural calamities with fortitude, but revolts against troubles inflicted by wicked men especially those who have no religion.

676. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A ragged starving man, labeled Chinese people, pulling his belt tighter around his middle; his waist being so small one can hardly see it. Belt much too long for him.

Caption: If I pull my belt any tighter, I'll cut myself in two!

Key Symbols

Destroy myself.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses desperation and despair. Evokes determination "to take arms against a sea of troubles and, by opposing, end them." Brings realization that patient suffering brings only further misery.

Secret Society Members

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 674 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 49, rated 1 for Secret Society Members; Appeal 673 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 49, rated 2 for Secret Society Members.

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Students

677. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Execution scene. Caption: The 100 flowers withered in WUHAN in 1957.	100 flowers.

Meaning of Symbols: After student demonstrations in the Wuhan cities in 1957, following Mao Tse-tung's invitation to freer discussion, three ringleaders were executed.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Emphasizes lack of intellectual freedom under the CCP—a continuing and increasing grievance among intellectuals and students.

678. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your leaders cannot trust you to lead free lives unconfined by restriction for then you might think and act out your thoughts.	You cannot be trusted.

Comments: Intellectuals have prided themselves on their independence of action and the trust of the society in their ability to think and act for the good of that society.

679. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your leaders eat pork and chicken, but think you should be content with intellectual rice and book millet.	1. Pork and chicken. 2. Intellectual rice. 3. Book millet.

Meaning of Symbols: Pork and chicken are the traditional foods of plenty. The intellectuals, because they have been at the apex of society, have had access to material wealth and comfort but, now under the Communists these privileges have gone to Party members.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes frustration and hatred at being inadequately fed.

680. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
No matter how hard you work, you don't even know if you will make enough money to live a secure life or be sure of good education for your future children.	Children will suffer.

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Meaning of Symbols: Responsibility is heavy on the Chinese, for those who can bring only ill to their children are causing the decline of the family, not just their own ruin.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students have only to take a look at their so-called institutions of higher learning to see how little they are getting out of life and what little hope there is for them, or for any children they may have, in a Communist society.

681. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Your leaders say to you: Do not sigh for warm clothes and good food; clothe yourself with Communist dogma; nourish yourself with Mao's Heavenly revelations.

Key Symbols

Dress in dogma and eat revelations.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes scorn for Communist doctrines when needs of the body are disregarded. In traditional China, intellect and economic security often went hand-in-hand.

GOAL: PANIC

TASK 51: To get members of the group to panic or behave in a disorganized manner.

China as a Whole

682. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Young man resisting cadre's conscription chains and young man's father refusing to buy bonds of the regime.

Caption: Why lose your sons or your savings? Ignore the Communist appeal to volunteer! Oppose Communism!

Key Symbols

1. Lose sons.
2. Lose savings.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese culture ranks male descendants and material possessions extremely high in its scale of social values. Incessant reindoctrination of the Chicoms has not succeeded in altering this basic psychology.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a fundamentally hostile response since all Chinese love their children and their possessions. To

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possess both confers status and prestige. To be deprived of either or both by a human agency, such as the political authorities, would call for resistance, bloodshed, and defiance of the regime.

683. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your leaders are forming "human seas." You are the human seas.	Human seas.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Causes hatred and fear. Recalls certain dark episodes in Chinese history when lives were sacrificed for big projects, especially the Korean conflict.

684. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Now there will be total conscription. You are next.	Conscript labor.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Recalls the kidnapping of laborers in the warlord days.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Relatives of the Executed, task 51, rating of 1.

Former Kuomintang Members

685. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communist big shots are hoarding foreign exchange preparatory to fleeing the country.	1. Hoarding. 2. Escape.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes the group hoard foreign exchange and prepare for the new regime. The prospect of inflation and the desertion by those in power when all was lost in the existing regime have been presented to this group more than once in China.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 691 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 51, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

686. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Inflation, with starving people rejecting greenbacks or a man drowning in a rising tide of paper currency.	Useless Communist (paper) money.

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Caption: Chinese Communist money is useless; reject its use!

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses public suspicion and fear of inflation with all the miseries it entails. Compels people to hoard foodstuffs and consumer goods and to flee their normal places of abode when they can no longer feed their families or themselves. In turn, this fear would arouse hatred of the Chicom regime.

687. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Inflation, with starving people rejecting greenbacks or a man drowning in a rising tide of paper currency.

1. Calamities.
2. Inflation.

Caption: Not all calamities are natural, they can be Communist made!

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese people are reconciled to natural calamities but would bitterly resent one which in their minds had been created by the Chinese Communists.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Excites fear and arouses distressing memories of Chinese people's previous experience with inflation. Impels people to become hoarders and black-marketeers, thereby further crippling the Chicom economy.

Comments: Since the Chicoms have used a number of very effective cartoons of this nature in their previous propaganda against Nationalist China, it would be very effective to readapt these very illustrations for an anti-Communist purpose.

688. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: A flood (labeled American military might) sweeping houses, factories, bridges, and people before it, while other people are fleeing in the direction of surrounding hills.

Self-destruction.

Caption: Americans do not make war on civilians, but if you stay where you are, you will have no one but yourself to blame if you are destroyed. Cannons and bombs have no eyes.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Strengthens the desire to avoid the fate suffered by Japanese people during World War II. Merchants and industrialists have many contacts with people in Japan, and with both Japanese and Chinese merchants doing business there. There are about 50,000 Chinese in Japan, many of whom were there all during World War II. Therefore, all know well American military power.

Peasants

689. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Many people are under suspicion. If you are wise you will try to get away from wherever you may be.	Suspicion.

Meaning of Symbols: Suspicion is the ugly word in Communist countries; the word that everyone fears.

690. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
When atom bombs or hydrogen bombs are used, no matter how fast you can run you will be helpless.	Hydrogen bomb.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Modern warfare is dreaded by the average peasant who has borne the brunt of destruction in the past. Escape from disaster becomes paramount.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 577 developed for Peasants, task 45a, rated 2 for Peasants, task 51.

Relatives of the Executed

691. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You will be purged if you stay.	Purge.

Meaning of Symbols: Purges are common in Chinese history wherein relatives of the executed frequently are also punished under the Chinese theory of collective family guilt.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses fear of a purge because one member of the family has already been executed. Creates a desire to run from this danger.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 51, rating of 2.

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692. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: a. Chinese Communist cadres and militia leading families off to the communes which are depicted as giant prisons in which families are separated. b. Chinese families resisting the Communist militia, setting fire to their own homes, and fleeing into the mountains.

Caption: Protect your family before Communism destroys it!

Key Symbols

Family.

Meaning of Symbols: The symbol of the family appeals to the deepest instincts of the Chinese people. To die for the family is to die with honor. To preserve the family is the highest duty of the individual.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses fear of destruction of the family, and intense hatred of the Communists for their ruthless anti-family schemes.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 684 developed for China as a Whole, task 51, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed.

GOAL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE

TASK 52: To get members of the group to slow down or create delays.

China as a Whole

693. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

The more you accomplish, the more you will have to work. For whom are you working so hard?

Key Symbols

Work.

Meaning of Symbols: Work in the sense of hard labor connotes hard life to the Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates sense of despondency over working for nothing.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 52, rating of 1.

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694. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If you work too hard, you will be a hero —maybe. But if you are a hero, you will be sent away from home as a "model" worker for others.	Home.

Meaning of Symbols: Home means security. The Chinese want to stay at home.

695. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
If you don't support the Communists, in time their power will disappear.	Time plus confidence equals power.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese passivity is justified on the basis that all will change in time, and faith should be maintained.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Relatives of the Executed, task 52, rating of 2.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

696. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Emaciated workers in factory tossing monkey wrenches, etc. into machinery when Communist cadres are not looking. Factory walls placarded with "leap forward movement" propaganda signs. Caption: Why be a helpless victim of Communism's crazy thoughts?	1. Helpless victim. 2. Crazy thoughts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Disaffection and resistance can easily be aroused among workers who are disillusioned with the empty promises of high-handed Communist cadres. The appeal should evoke ideas of sabotage among workers who have used this method of resistance against their superiors in the days before Communism.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 706 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 52, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

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Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

697. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

It is the duty of journalists to report true facts only.

Key Symbols

True facts.

Meaning of Symbols: Communists consider reporting of true facts as reactionary nonsense.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Produces reluctance to serve as agents of propaganda which is the "truth" of Communists.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

698. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: People, emaciated and thin, queuing up at foodshops for rations; also same identical people queuing up at their jobs for tools, supplies and materials. In each illustration depict the Chicom cadres fat and arrogant.

Caption: Why be a helpless victim of Chinese Communist greed (or bottlenecks)? Slow down your work as they slow down your rations!

Key Symbols

1. Helpless victim.
2. Chinese Communist greed.

Meaning of Symbols: Failure of the Chicoms to provide sufficient rations or fair working conditions for the workers while favoring the Party cadres strengthens the group's belief of the greediness of Chinese Communism and its ignoring of the welfare of the people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses passive resistance and covert sabotage. Already workers in Chicom factories have resorted to feigned illness and absenteeism as a means of registering their dissatisfactions.

699. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: People, emaciated and thin, queuing up at foodshops for rations; also same identical people queuing up at their jobs for tools, supplies and materials. In each illustration depict the Chicom cadres fat and arrogant.

Key Symbols

1. Plans of plenty.
2. Hungry people and weak workers.

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Caption: The Communists boast about their plans of plenty but produce only long lines of hungry people and weak workers!

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses sense of futility and justified traditional expression of group dissatisfaction in slow-down, delaying tactics, and/or strikes. Points out the irreconcilability of Chicom plans of plenty with the actual existence of hunger, starvation. Chaotic work plans would give rise to a deep sense of frustration and to public demand for immediate change.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 713 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 52; Appeal 714 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 52.

Managerial Elite

700. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Without your active cooperation the regime will collapse in the end.

Collapse in the end.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests a reason to slacken the work. Will not cause open sabotage because the group as a whole is not in a position to accomplish this. The Chinese believe that evil will be conquered eventually, and if they are associated with it they are evil and will be punished also.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 707 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 52, rated 2 for Managerial Elite; Appeal 716 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 53, rated 2 for Managerial Elite.

Merchants and Industrialists

701. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Emaciated workers lying exhausted before their machines while overhead and on the factory walls are signs plastered with Communist slogans calling on the workers to "leap forward."

Empty belly.

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Caption: An empty belly roars louder than empty Communist propaganda! Work slowly or feign sickness! Do not work yourself to death!

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chicom propaganda is generally recognized and is rendered lip service. It is ignored whenever possible. When this cannot be done, there are traditional ways of expressing disapproval, such as shamming sickness or conducting work slow-downs. An overworked, exhausted and half-starved group would respond positively to such an appeal, which has historical basis and has been used successfully in the past.

702. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Emaciated workers lying exhausted before their machines while overhead and on the factory walls are signs plastered with Communist slogans calling on the workers to "leap forward."

Cannot be fed on (useless Communist) propaganda.

Caption: The Chinese people cannot be fed on useless Communist propaganda!

Reaction to Appeal Idea: For a starving people, heavily propagandized to increase production, such an appeal would intensify their mood for covert sabotage and/or open resistance. Stepped-up work propaganda drives by the Chicoms, in the face of a collapsing economy with starving millions, would only convince the masses of the futility of the Chicom regime and increase their desire to overthrow it.

Peasants

703. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Four drawings in sequence: a. A peasant sits smoking beside some sacks (or baskets) of grain, while an official cart takes some other sacks away. b. A Chinese Communist cadre scolds him, pointing at the grain and obviously indicating it isn't enough. c. The

Sacks of grain.

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peasant sits smoking beside a much larger stack of sacks (or baskets) of grain. d. The cart hauls away a much larger load, leaving the peasant with the same size pile as in the first drawing

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Emphasizes basic fact that the regime, rather than the peasant, disposes of the agricultural surplus, if any. Therefore, why work hard?

Secondary Appeal: See Appeal 509 developed for Peasants, task 40, rated 2 for Peasants, task 52; Appeal 693 developed for China as a Whole, task 52, rated 1 for Peasants; Appeal 713 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 1 for Peasants.

Professionals

704. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Without your active cooperation the regime will collapse in the end.	Collapse in the end.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Tends to slacken the work. Will not cause open sabotage because the group as a whole is not in a position to accomplish this. The Chinese believe that evil will be conquered eventually and if they are associated with it they are evil and will be punished also.

Relatives of the Executed

705. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Those who actively aid the regime are a *yuan-chia* for their family and friends.	*Yuan-chia.*

Meaning of Symbols: Yuan-chia is someone who causes extra work and trouble, especially a child toward a parent, often without forethought or malice. Thus those who aid the Communist cause may not be aware that they are hurting their family, and no Chinese wants to do this.

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706. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist cadres haranguing workers to increase their efforts, contrasted with scenes of similar workers malingering. Caption: Laboring for the Communists is hopeless. When the cadres urge you to step up your work, oblige them by stepping down, going to bed and pleading illness!	Go to bed and plead illness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes widespread emulation. In the past in China malingering was not uncommon among those seeking to avoid an uncomfortable situation. Such an appeal would find, and has found, ready response among harassed and overworked people under the Communist system.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 52, rating of 1.

707. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
To be slow is still a good way to play safe and yet get results.	Slow and safe.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese like to play safe, and going slowly is also good as it allows cooler judgment and has less risks. The Chinese do not like rash actions—and do not consider martyrdom as a great virtue.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that without arousing suspicion of wanting to commit sabotage, the group by going slow may effect the same ends and remain safe.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 52, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 695 developed for China as a Whole, task 52, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed.

Secret Society Members

708. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Huge treadmill, about the size of a ferris wheel (labeled commune) manned by pygmies hanging to each step	Treadmill.

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by their hands, and with scoops catching a trickle of water to irrigate sun-scorched and dying crops.

Caption: The Communist system is like a huge treadmill with no beginning and no ending!

Meaning of Symbols: The treadmill symbolizes the utter futility and extreme cruelty of a Communist system which fails to work.
Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses anger at ruthlessness of the Chinese Communist cadres, ridicule for their planners, and hopelessness for the future of the masses.

Students

709. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1) | *Key Symbols*

The pay does not go up when you work hard but prices do. | Unrewarded work.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The students are aware that they are not paid for what they know or do, but according to their standing and favor with the government leaders. This should emphasize the fact that in a wartime economy of constantly rising prices, wages mean nothing, but allowances, which are dependent upon luck and influence, mean a great deal.

710. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1) | *Key Symbols*

Work more, more is wrong; work little and little is wrong; work not at all and nothing is wrong. | Do nothing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Most of the people in China, have no choice but to work as hard as they can, or their families will starve. Many students who enjoy a more favorable economic position, however, can do as little as they wish and still eat. The idea of doing nothing has a strong appeal when they are disaffected with the government.

711. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

Those who work hard receive no additional benefit. Those who do not work hard are not punished. | Unrewarded work.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should cause students to recall their own and other experiences of unfair rewards and punishments given out by the Communist government.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 727 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 55, rated 2 for Students, task 52.

TASK 53: To get members of the group to malinger or practice absenteeism.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 546 developed for Cantonese, task 43, rated 2 for China as a Whole; Appeal 698 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 52, rated 2 for China as a Whole, task 53; Appeal 701 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 52, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 53; Appeal 714 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for China as a Whole.

Cantonese

712. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Inside of a factory, with many machines, such as lathes, with no workers tending them. Caption: Idle machines slow down production. The war is already lost, but the harder you work the longer your senseless Communist masters can continue futile resistance.	Futile resistance.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are very practical when faced with the inevitable and will not press a futile course of action.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Awakens reluctance to continue work in a hopeless cause.

713. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are working like bees! Who will get the honey?	Work.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates feeling that working for the government is practically slavery.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Merchants and Industrialists, task 53, rating of 2; Professionals, task 53, rating of 2.

714. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The harder you work, the earlier you will be exhausted and pushed aside.	Pushed aside.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings to mind the general belief that rulers are ungrateful and creates suspicion of objectives of the work. Chinese stress self-preservation.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: China as a Whole, task 53, rating of 2; Merchants and Industrialists, task 53, rating of 2; Professionals, task 53, rating of 2.

Merchants and Industrialists

715. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Chinese cart with one wheel broken, falling over to one side and spilling out the soldier, farmer, and official who have been riding in it. The cart is labeled "Chinese war effort"; the broken wheel, "Chinese industrialists."	A cart with only one wheel.
Caption: Without merchants and industrialists the Chinese war effort will soon come to a stop.	

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings a realization that without the efforts of the group, the material base of war effort will be greatly slowed down, if not paralyzed.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 701 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 52, rated 1 for Merchants and Industrialists, task 53; Appeal 713 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for Merchants and Industrialists; Appeal 714 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for Merchants and Industrialists.

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Professionals

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 714 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for Professionals; Appeal 713 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for Professionals.

Relatives of the Executed

716. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

If you are sick, you are safe. | Sick is safe.

Meaning of Symbols: Pretending to be ill is an old Chinese custom to stay away from work or an obnoxious duty, and safety is a primary concern of all Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that by pretending to be sick, the worker will be safe from accusations at work, or from being injured.

717. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

Illustration: Malingering worker in bed, contrasted with cadres beating half-starved workers because they cannot fulfill their work norms. | No man can work without sufficient food.

Caption: It is wiser to rest than to work on an empty stomach. Without sufficient food no man can work, not even when flogged by Communist cadres!

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese people have never resented hard work so long as it allowed for full rice bowls and a friendly and reasonable master. In the past laboring conditions were never irrational. They could be hard and tough but reasonable. The relationships between master and workman, landlord and peasant, were clearly defined and fully respected. Theoretically, and generally in practice, it allowed for a well-fed worker.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Overworked laborers of Communist China would recognize the appeal as one based on common sense and the limits of human endurance.

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718. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Cheat.

Illustration: Malingering worker in bed, surrounded by a sad and half-starved family gazing bitterly at a Chicom propaganda poster promising him and his family food and plenty if he "leaps forward."

Caption: Why not cheat your Communist masters as they have cheated you?

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes sense of humiliation at being cheated by the regime, and arouses feeling in the malingerer that he is paying back the regime in its own counterfeit coin—deception.

Secret Society Members

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 701 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 52, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 53.

TASK 54: To get members of the group to strike.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 699 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 52, rated 1 for China as a Whole; 702 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 52, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 54; Appeal 713 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for China as a Whole, task 54.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

719. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Ancestors.

Illustration: Individuals sabotaging industrial plants, tearing up railroad tracks and burying them, etc., against a background of desecrated graves, cemeteries and coffins.

Caption: Strike a blow for your ancestors who have been defiled by the Communists!

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Meaning of Symbols: The ruthlessness with which the Chicom regime has moved against ancestor worship is symbolized in its deliberate desecration of family graves and cemeteries, one of the oldest focal points of Chinese family unity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Appeals to strong passion for the family and ancestors.

720. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese people tearing down Peiping orders to join the new communes, beating the cadres, and defying the Communist militia while shouting "down with reform!"	"Reforms" into slavery.
Caption: A Communist regime "reforms" its people into slavery.	

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes righteous indignation. The ghastliness of these reforms which result in bondage of the people to the commune would be considered as a condition worse than slavery and would call for the destruction of the oppressor.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 721 developed for Secret Society Members, task 54, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Secret Society Members

721. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Workers refusing to tend to their machines in a factory while cadres and Party supervisors shout and gesticulate helplessly. On the outside of factory freight cars (labeled, Destination Moscow), filled with consumer goods, are guarded by Soviet troops. Surrounding the freight cars are crowds of hungry and half-naked Chinese begging for assistance and food.	"Big-nose" barbarians.
Caption: What you produce does not go to the Chinese people but to the "big-nosed" Soviet barbarian! Why continue to work for them?	

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses overt opposition to the regime, strengthens the determination to resist the threats of Communist leaders, and directs hatred against Peiping's major ally, the USSR. Reinforces conviction that the fruits of their labor are being drained off for the benefit of the Russian Communists (the big-nose barbarians), a group of foreigners held in hatred and suspicion by most of the Chinese people before 1949.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 54, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 713 developed for Cantonese, task 53, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 54; Appeal 747 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 56, rated 1 for Secret Society Members, task 54.

Students

722. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Are you getting adequate pay or adequate treatment for your hard work?	Adequate treatment.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese are very sensitive over the possibility that they might be taken advantage of by others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are quick to resent and are often violent in opposing—by such means as the strike (a technique in which they excel)—any real or fancied injustices in pay or treatment.

723. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
How secure are your jobs even though you work so much?	Security.

Meaning of Symbols: Most Chinese are very sensitive about security and the possibility that others may be taking unfair advantage of them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students like to be patted on the back for any work they do. They will react quickly to any indication that their work is not appreciated and may be entrusted to others.

724. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your government does not uphold Marxist principles if it does not allow you to strike against evil and unbearable conditions.	Unbearable conditions.

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Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese have always recognized the right of intellectuals to revolt against bad government, harsh governmental measures, and administrators, even including the Emperor.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Suggests that to choke off opposition is to double curse an evil administration.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 745 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 56, rated 1 for Students, task 54.

TASK 55: To get members of the group to commit sabotage or participate in other forms of active resistance.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 736 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 55, rated 2 for China as a Whole.

Cantonese

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 719 developed for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 54, rated 1 for Cantonese, task 55; Appeal 747 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 56, rated 1 for Cantonese, task 55.

Former Kuomintang Members

725. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You may say, "Communist bad eggs quickly roll away." But they will not roll away, they must be pushed.	Bad eggs roll away.

Meaning of Symbols: This is a curse reflecting Chinese predilection for passivity; a passivity that cannot work with Communism.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 748 developed for: Relatives of the Executed, task 56, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members, task 55.

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Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

726. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: War-weary and starving Chinese masses standing outside of a Communist headquarters which is filled with bags of rice and provisions and guarded by arrogant Party cadres. Caption: If you do not destroy Communism, it will destroy you.	Destroy.

Meaning of Symbols: The destruction of Communism was a familiar slogan to the Chinese people from 1927–1949. It is still encouraged by Nationalist Chinese air-drops of anti-Communist literature.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages the people to form revolutionary bands, secret societies, and guerrilla units to oppose the Chicom regime.

727. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: War-weary and starving Chinese masses standing outside of a Communist headquarters which is filled with bags of rice and provisions and guarded by arrogant Party cadres. Caption: While the Chinese people starve, the Communist cadres hoard food!	1. Starve. 2. Hoard.

Meaning of Symbols: Starvation, while well-known to the Chinese people, is not tolerated. Where governmental remedial measures are not at hand, the people may seize the food stores, flee from their homes, or attempt to overthrow the regime.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses anger against the Chicom regime and forces every man to think of his family's welfare first of all. Anarchic economic system which denies food to the people is a justifiable reason in the Chinese mind for taking up arms against the government in power.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rating 2.

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Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 663 Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 49, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 55; Appeal 718 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 53, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 55.

Managerial Elite

728. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Help to end this tragedy and make civil institutions work again.	Civil institutions.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Intensify the feelings of anti-militarism and bureaucratic careerism.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 743 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 56, rated 2 for Managerial Elite.

Merchants and Industrialists

729. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese civilian being intimidated by ruthless and merciless Chinese Communist cadre. Caption: It is the Chinese Communists who kill your people shamelessly for fictitious crimes. It is they who are the real criminals. The Chinese Communists must be destroyed!	1. Kill shamelessly. 2. Fictitious crimes. 3. Real criminals. 4. Chinese Communists.

Meaning of Symbols: The above symbols are concentrated around the idea of vengeance, which is a soundly conceived traditional concept in the Chinese mind. Revenge can be executed not only for an individual but also for the group and larger family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Should arouse open resistance to the Chicom regime and impel immediate members of the family whose kinsfolk were murdered to seek revenge. In fact, there probably would be in Chinese thought a moral compulsion on the part of the descendants of the dead to obtain "a life for a life."

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730. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese civilian being beaten by ruthless and merciless Chinese Communist cadre. Caption: When Communism denies freedom, it is better to rise up and strike a blow for freedom than to die as slaves!	Freedom.

Meaning of Symbols: The denial of freedom and the wretched existence of slaves requires no lengthy delineation in the public mind. Revolt, armed resistance and overthrow of the regime are traditional actions called for in Chinese history under such circumstances.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses anger of Chinese since it recalls merciless attitude of Chicom cadres to its enemies, labeling helpless citizens as "counterrevolutionaries."

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 727 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 55, rated 2 for Merchants and Industrialists; Appeal 736 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 55, rated 2 for Merchants and Industrialists.

Peasants

731. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Since the Communists will be defeated, when they come to collect grain or taxes from you, why listen to them?	Defeat.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The practical Chinese will not continue to support a doomed enterprise especially when it demands part of their meager sustenance.

732. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What future is there working for the Communists? Is this not the time for *yu-hsia* to arise?	*Yu-hsia.*

Meaning of Symbols: Yu-hsia are itinerant righters of wrongs and popular folk heroes of China. They symbolize active resistance to evil.

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Relatives of the Executed

733. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

On behalf of father, revenge.

Key Symbols

1. Father.
2. Revenge.

Meaning of Symbols: There is a legend of a historical hero, whose father was put to death by an enemy. The hero, a general, told his men to salute him daily to remind him of his duty to take revenge.

734. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: People slaving and dying on a slave labor project.

Caption: Avenge for the railroads they built with your blood.

Key Symbols

Avenge.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Excites revenge for the "reform through labor" program performed to construct railroads. Evokes resentment toward the government for making them do forced labor, which caused the death of relatives and friends.

735. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Work together against the Communists.

Key Symbols

Together.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese traditionally prefer group, rather than individual, action because there is safety in group action. Resistance organizations are common in Chinese history.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Group co-operation in actions of resistance against the government.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 743 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 56, rated 1 for Relatives of the Executed, task 55.

Religious Sectarians

736. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A giant labeled Communists, prone and helpless, tied down with many strings labeled sabotage, delay, absenteeism, active resistance—handled by many tiny men swarming over the giant's body.

Caption: Enough small strings can tie down a giant.

Key Symbols

Weak can control the strong.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Inspires them to abandon a "there is nothing I can do about it" attitude, which so many Chinese, particularly little people without power, money, or influence are prone to assume. Chinese are fully aware of how many, once powerful, dynasties have perished as result of resistance movements which had small beginnings.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: China as a Whole, task 55, rating of 2; Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rating of 2.

737. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A munitions warehouse being blown skyhigh, with cannon, rifles, and other weapons going up in the air. Caption: Destruction of the means by which war is carried on will help bring the war to an end.	Peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The contemplative, religious man realizes clearly the miseries war has brought on his country. He knows his individual contribution must be limited but that he is capable and should be morally obligated to aid in some measure the defeat of the antireligious Communist regime.

738. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Religion either destroys Communism or is destroyed by it. Which will strike the first blow?	Strike the first blow.

Meaning of Symbols: An important and permanent attitude, especially among sectarians of the folk (chiefly Taoist) religion is that either you don't fight at all or you must seize the initiative to survive.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes the feeling that Communism is not only an ideological enemy but one which will strike again and again.

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739. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: David (Christian or Catholic) felling Goliath with a stone (labeled sabotage).	Bravery overcomes evil.
Caption: An inferior weapon in the hands of a brave man, even though his own strength be small, can fell a giant.	

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages them in doing what they can and in the belief that their contribution will matter. The Chinese know that some of the greatest changes in history had small beginnings and were won by men of bravery and principle standing firm, each contributing his share.

Situational Effect: Effective only among Christians who know about David and Goliath.

TASK 56: To get members of the group to organize to take part in resistance movements in enemy areas.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 729 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rated 2 for China as a Whole, task 56.

Cantonese

740. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Fight to preserve Chinese independence and avoid becoming a Communist satellite.	Independence.

Meaning of Symbols: Independence has been a rallying point for Chinese throughout this century.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates fear of Russian domination through the Communist government.

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Disgraced and Disaffected Communists

741. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

1. Preserve family.
2. Destroy Communists.

Illustration: Chinese "Bastille," (labeled Communist Commune) with each individual cell occupied. In front, Communist militia fighting an aroused populace who have smashed cell blocks and are leading their loved ones to safety and freedom.

Caption: To preserve your family, you must destroy the Communists!

Meaning of Symbols: Traditionally the family is the core of Chinese social life. Individual existence without due regard for the family is considered anarchical. Protection for the family called for the supreme sacrifice and for a revolt against the authorities if necessary.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses anger against the Chicom regime and stimulates the determination of the populace to revolt.

742. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Commune.

Illustration: Some Chinese farmers, their farms, pigs, hens, wives, and children enmeshed in individual nets (captioned commune) contrasted with other farmers, etc., being happily liberated by Free Chinese resistance groups.

Caption: In a commune, no man can call a spot of land, a pig, a hen, a wife, his children, or his soul his own.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses overt defiance of Chicom rule, which in the minds of the resistance groups has lost its "mandate from heaven" to govern. The liquidation by the Communist commune of everything material, familial, and spiritual cherished by the average Chinese leaves the latter with no alternative but to resist the regime to the limit.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 747 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 56, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

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Former Kuomintang Members

743. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Avenge the wrongs the government has done you.	Avenge.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese always remember the wrongs done to themselves or family members.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Having been wronged, there should be a desire to revenge the evils imposed by the regime.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Former Kuomintang Members, task 57, rating 1.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

744. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Bands of anti-Communist fighters killing Communist cadres, freeing prisoners and seizing foodstores which they distribute to the hungry and needy. Caption: Rise, people of China, and destroy your exploiters, the Communists!	Exploiters

Meaning of Symbols: Exploitation is a key-word in Communist jargon. It has been used so much that it is commonly understood, even by the illiterate masses. It acquires even greater value when it can be re-directed against the Chicoms themselves.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should arouse the people to take up arms against the Chicom regime. They would also recall how Chicom propaganda used the same slogan to overthrow the Nationalist Government.

745. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Bands of anti-Communist fighters killing Communist cadres, freeing prisoners and seizing foodstores which they distribute to the hungry and needy. Caption: Organize against the Communists, destroy their oppression and overthrow their starvation policy!	1. Organize. 2. Starvation policy.

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Meaning of Symbols: The term *organize* or *organization* symbolizes for the Chinese the need for collective action if they are to realize their aims of resistance. When fully aroused, the Chinese people have shown themselves past masters of mass action.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses people to overt action since the Chinese people have always been sensitive to oppression by any regime. Promotes the need for organization which is necessary in order to overthrow a tyrannical regime. Makes clear that the appeal will bring the masses food and freedom.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Merchants and Industrialists, task 56, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 729 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 56; Appeal 730 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rated 1 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 56.

Merchants and Industrialists

746. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A mob of people in ordinary clothes, with sticks in their hands and hurling stones and bricks, chasing a fleeing group (called Communist government). Caption: As merchants and industrialists you know how desperate the situation is. You must take the lead in informing less able people about those who are destroying you by continuing hopeless resistance.	Hopeless resistance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses in the group a sense of responsibility for organizing the Chinese people in a united effort to save the country from destruction.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 726 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 55, rated 2 for Merchants and Industrialists; Appeal 730 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 56, rated 1 for Merchants and Industrialists.

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Relatives of the Executed

747. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: People rising up in wrath when they observe the Communists forcibly separating families under the commune system and plowing up family cemeteries. Caption: When the Communists destroy families and the graves of ancestors, it is time to resist.	Destroy families and graves of ancestors.

Meaning of Symbols: Preservation of the family including the physical aspect of the graves of ancestors and all that this holds dear would invariably move the individual to its defense, even if this meant imperiling his own life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Appeals to the fundamental loyalties of the Chinese family and arouses their deepest passion for revenge against their enemies and oppressors, the Communists.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 56, rating of 1.

748. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Remember the men of Liang Shan P'o!	Liang Shan P'o.

Meaning of Symbols: Liang Shan P'o was the headquarters of the famed Robin Hood band of the Sung Dynasty.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a desire to emulate the brigands of the folk novel "Shui Hu Chuan" (translated as "Water Margin" or "All Men are Brothers") who are noted for fighting against oppression.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 750 developed for Secret Society Members, task 56, rated 1 for Relatives of the Executed.

Religious Sectarians

749. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A huge tiger (labeled Communism), about to spring on a man (labeled religious man) who is walking through a field. Caption: If Communism conquers the world, religion will be destroyed.	Religion will be destroyed.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes them understand that religious people must fight Communism or perish, for if Communism is the victor, religion will be further threatened in other lands as well as China.

Secret Society Members

750. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: An aroused Chinese people attacking a huge tiger (labeled Communism), devouring a man while he retreats into his lair (labeled commune) strewn with human bones. Caption: Only unity will destroy the Communist tiger who is devouring you and your loved ones.	Tiger.

Meaning of Symbols: The tiger has always been a predator feared and hated by the countryside. In order to protect themselves against his man-eating propensities, villagers were compelled to organize themselves into armed units to hunt him down and kill him.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hostility to the regime and heightens the feeling of the masses that they should unite in order to destroy their enemy.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Relatives of the Executed, task 56, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 735 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 55, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 56.

Students

751. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Why support a government which is ill-treating you and controls you ruthlessly?	An evil government.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese think to support evil makes you evil in return.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment at the tight rein which the government holds over them while at the same time exploiting them to the limit.

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TASK 57: To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 726 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 55, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 57; Appeal 730 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 57; Appeal 744 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 56, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 57; Appeal 745 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 56, rated 1 for China as a Whole, task 57.

Cantonese

752. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
All Communists are Russian running dogs.	Running dogs.

Meaning of Symbols: Running dogs are those Chinese, whether good or bad, who work for the benefit of outsiders and not their own people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment against outsiders and their agents.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Secret Society Members, task 57, rating of 2.

Forced Labor

753. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Party functionary inspecting a slave labor camp, orders death for saboteurs. Caption: The Party bureaucrats are indulging in their tyrannical abuses.	Tyrannical abuses.

Meaning of Symbols: Chinese philosophical training encourages resistance to tyranny.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes hostility toward the political tyrannical abuses; invokes irreconcilable hatreds and desires for revenge.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 729 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rated 2 for Forced Labor, task 57; Appeal 730 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 55, rated 2 for Forced Labor, task 57; Appeal 745 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 56, rated 2 for Forced Labor, task 57.

Former Kuomintang Members

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 702 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 52, rated 1 for Former Kuomintang Members, task 57; Appeal 726 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 55, rated 1 for Former Kuomintang Members, task 57; Appeal 743 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 56, rated 2 for Former Kuomintang Members, task 57.

Relatives of the Executed

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 708 developed for Secret Society Members, task 52, rated 1 for Relatives of the Executed, task 57; Appeal 741 developed for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 56, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed, task 57; Appeal 742 developed for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 56, rated 1 for Relatives of the Executed, task 57.

Religious Sectarians

754. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

The welfare of the country is the concern of the ordinary man. Evil can never be destroyed until good men unite to overthrow it.

Key Symbols

Evil destroyed by good men.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses Chinese ethical sanction against a regime which is evil in religious eyes, and reinforces belief in the ultimate triumph of good if those who are concerned with the welfare of society meet their responsibilities.

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755. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

A tiny spark can set off a huge fire and a rain drop can start an avalanche. Tasks are what men make them.

Key Symbols

Big things have small beginnings.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages them to respond to their moral sense of opposition to an antireligious regime. Brings belief that their contribution will be joined by those of others and that success is therefore possible, even against such great odds.

756. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Sun Yat-sen and fellow revolutionists meeting to plan the revolution against the Manchu Empire.

Caption: The revolution which overthrew the mighty Manchu Dynasty was started by a small group of unarmed men.

Key Symbols

Revolutions have small beginnings.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates a will to revolt against what may appear as hopeless odds. Majority of group believe in ultimate triumph of good over evil, and the fact that no matter how powerful a ruling group, its power cannot last forever.

Secret Society Members

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 743 developed for Former Kuomintang Members, task 56, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 57; Appeal 752 developed for Cantonese, task 57, rated 2 for Secret Society Members.

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C: Tasks for Countries or Areas Controlled by the United States Military Government or Civil Affairs (Consolidation)

GOAL: GOOD WILL

TASK 58: To identify and strengthen among members of the group ideals held in common by the liberated country and the United States.

China as a Whole

757. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Like the Chinese, the American people treat others as equals.	Equality.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese believe that people are born equal and that equality is the basis for friendliness and reasonableness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates confidence in U. S.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 58, rating of 2; Professionals, task 58, rating of 2.

758. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Like the Chinese, the Americans are peace loving and not warlike.	Peace loving.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese respect peace and hate war. Peace suggests happiness and prosperity. Creates respect for the U. S.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 58, rating of 1; Professionals, task 58, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 760 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 58, rated 1 for China as a Whole; Appeal 762 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 58, rated 1 for China as a Whole.

Cantonese

759. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Americans teaching school, doing surgery, aiding in rural reconstruction, building factories, and conducting complicated scientific research	Brotherhood.

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experiments—surrounded by eager, happy, Chinese boy and girl students.

Caption: Within the Four Seas All Men are Brothers.

Meaning of Symbols: The concept of brotherhood is one of the strongest in Chinese thought. Where common interests or ideals govern, brotherhood of kindred minds gives rise to the concept of sworn brotherhood, a relationship which in Chinese history has often demonstrated itself stronger than blood kinship.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The caption is a traditional maxim, known and appreciated by all Chinese, and would evoke the feeling of universality and brotherhood.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 757 developed for China as a Whole, task 58, rated 2 for Cantonese; Appeal 758 developed for China as a Whole, task 58, rated 1 for Cantonese; Appeal 762 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 58, rated 2 for Cantonese.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

760. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Sino-American friendship rests on historical bonds and common interests.	Sino-American friendship.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A reorientation of thought, after years of Communist propaganda, regarding the traditional friendship of the two nations before the Communist days.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: China as a Whole, task 58, rating of 1.

761. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Both Chinese and Americans believe that laws must be devised with proper concern for their humaneness and the benevolent effects on the populace.	Humaneness and benevolence.

Meaning of Symbols: Traditional to the Confucian teachings of the past, humaneness and benevolence recognized the need to temper justice with mercy, and the rigidity of forms and regulations with kindliness.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings agreement that such laws should be supported and states governed by such laws should be admired, for they will prosper.

762. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Chinese and Americans stand hand-in-hand with the peaceful and democratic nations of the world.	Peaceful and democratic nation.

Meaning of Symbols: Unity with the Free World.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Makes them become more aware of the common aspirations held by Chinese and Americans. China's dream of the century has been to play a role in peace and democracy.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: China as a Whole, task 58, rating of 1; Professionals, task 58, rating of 1; Cantonese, task 58, rating of 2.

Professionals

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 757 developed for China as a Whole, task 58, rated 2 for Professionals; Appeal 758 developed for China as a Whole, task 58, rated 1 for Professionals; Appeal 762 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 58, rated 1 for Professionals.

Religious Sectarians

763. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Priest and people cleaning a church preparing for services after liberation. Caption: Two words on each side: "*Fu-huo*" and "*Tsai-sheng*."	1. "*Fu-huo.*" 2. "*Tsai-sheng.*"

Meaning of Symbols: Symbols translate as "resurrection" and "live again" and imply sympathy with the group, its problems, and its desires for the future.

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GOAL: ENCOURAGEMENT

TASK 59: To help rebuild among members of the group a sense of national unity or group solidarity.

China as a Whole

764. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
China is one family.	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: The family symbolizes unity, mutual dependence, and responsibility.

765. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Internal division now will eventually lead to civil war.	Civil war.

Meaning of Symbols: Civil war recalls all the evil of the decades of warlordism.

766. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Chinese people have survived many crises in their long history because of their ability to weather storms.	Survival.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: To instill confidence in the future, and faith in the national destiny. China has seen many periods of decline and destruction preceding a period of strength and glory.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 768 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 59, rated 1 for China as a Whole.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

767. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are the eyes, ears, and voice of the nation. Popular unity or dissension are your responsibility.	The nation's eyes, ears, and voice.

Meaning of Symbols: The traditional symbols of the three monkeys, one with hands over eyes, one with hands over ears, and one with hands over mouth is associated with the expression: "See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil."

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings increased sense of responsibility.

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768. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
No more class struggle; the people of China must unite as one.	1. Class struggle. 2. Chinese unity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Urges them to forget artificially created class conflicts, and emphasize the unity of the Chinese people. Chinese have great racial pride and a sense of cultural if not always political unity.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: China as a Whole, task, 59, rating of 1.

Professionals

769. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
China is a big family.	Family.

Meaning of Symbols: To the Chinese, the family is indivisible.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: China, according to a basic Confucian concept, is considered a large family, formerly with the emperor as the father. This fact should reinforce the likelihood of creating loyalty to the country.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 772 developed for Students, task 59, rated 2 for Professionals; Appeal 774 developed for Students, task 59, rated 1 for Professionals.

Secret Society Members

770. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Americans bringing generous aid. Caption: Your brethren in the United States have never failed you in the past. You can count on their help now!	Brethren in the United States.

Meaning of Symbols: Many Chinese have relatives in the United States and have maintained contact with them through devious means kept hidden from the Communists.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In Chinese thinking, relatives are obligated to help those members of the family in trouble and would accept this appeal as proper and even expected behavior.

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Students

771. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
When there is unity all the effort can be devoted to the raising of living standards.	Unity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This group is well aware of the Communist government's success in using various groups, including their own, in united efforts to accomplish such tasks as dike construction, railroad building, vermin eradication and reforestation. They also know, that in spite of all these efforts on the part of the people, there is less food under the Communists than there was under the KMT, and the standard of living has not risen. Hence, the idea of united efforts to raise the standard of living, rather than to accomplish tasks which offer no hope of a better life in the foreseeable future will have a strong appeal.

772. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
It is easier to defend one's rights when there is unity.	Unity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should cause the group to recall its past inability to obtain rights from the government and to remember that in a large measure this was due to the fact that its members were unorganized.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 59, rating of 2.

773. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You are the future leaders of the Chinese people. The people depend upon your devotion to work for the nation's good.	Leadership.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Pride of leadership reasserts itself, since students have been in the forefront of national movements. The literati have also regarded themselves as best qualified to become the nation's statesmen.

774. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Prosperity and rapid development come only by cooperation.	Cooperation.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: In contrast to the Japanese, it has always been difficult for the Chinese to unite in pursuing a common objective for the good of the country. Being comparatively well educated and enlightened, this group is aware of the difficulties brought upon them because of this failing on the part of the Chinese people.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 59, rating of 1.

775. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols*
China has a heritage of 5,000 years. Do not work against that now.	Heritage.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese students are, as a group, fully aware and inordinately proud of the Chinese heritage of culture, in spite of the efforts of the Communist government to belittle certain aspects of this culture, such as the belief in the teachings of Confucius.

776. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)	*Key Symbols.*
Political strength is being returned to the Chinese people.	Political strength.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Far more politically conscious than many other groups in China, the students have traditionally advocated taking power from an oppressive government and turning it over to those who would enable the students to play the part in national affairs to which they have long aspired.

TASK 60: To help give the members of the group encouragement and hope for the future of their liberated country or area.

China as a Whole

777. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)	*Key Symbols*
Illustration: U.S. boys with Chinese clearing debris and handing out relief. Caption: You can rebuild and the C.A. & M.G. will help after the most urgent problems of clearing away debris and giving relief are met.	Rebuild.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Support for American policy. In Chinese thinking a favor must be repaid in kind; hence, if the group supports us, we are morally bound to support them at the appropriate time (as we have pledged herein).

778. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
The U.S. helped you before. She will help you again in the future.	Help.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Confidence in the friendliness of the U.S. Most Chinese still have clear memories of U.S. friendliness for, in spite of Communist propaganda, the impressions of U.S.-China relations in the last 100 years are still those of friendliness.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 60, rating of 2.

779. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Japan and Germany can stand up again, after a major war, why can't China?	Stand up again.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Gives hope and confidence in the traditional belief that a rise always follows a fall and, therefore, recovery and resurgence are inevitable.

780. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
As soon as law and order are restored, you will be given a greater measure of self-government so that you yourself can help see to it that improvements are made.	Self-government.

Meaning of Symbols: Autonomy over personal affairs is prized by the Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal will appear both logical and proper and should result in the support of the group in establishing peace.

Cantonese

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 764 developed for China as a Whole, task 59, rated 2 for Cantonese; Appeal 770 developed

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for Secret Society Members, task 59, rated 1 for Cantonese, task 60; Appeal 778 developed for China as a Whole, task 60, rated 2 for Cantonese.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 770 developed for Secret Society Members, task 59, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 60.

Forced Labor

781. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The clouds are driven off; you can see the sky.	1. Clouds. 2. Sky.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Conveys sense of liberation and movement from darkness to light, and from confinement to limitless distance.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 60, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 790 developed for Professionals, task 60, rated 2 for Forced Labor.

Former Kuomintang Members

782. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Japanese rebuilt better than before.	Japan rebuilt.

Meaning of Symbols: Japan has been a symbol of an advanced Asian nation since the defeat of Russia in 1905. Many have admired Japan's progress and recovery.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hope of a renewed national economy with possible U.S. assistance. Reminds the group that Japan came back after defeat by the U.S.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

783. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
History shows that China many times has recovered from evil times to become greater and more properous than ever.	To recover from evil times.

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Meaning of Symbols: Chinese intellectuals are history-conscious, and understand the vicissitudes of a nation's history.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings recognition that when the situation has reached the lowest ebb it is likely to change for the best. A knowledge of China's history bears this out.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 60, rating of 2.

784. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
China will continue to march forward toward industrialization, but now in freedom.	1. Industrialization. 2. Freedom.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Instills faith that change of government will not interfere with the progress of industrialization; and that industrialization and freedom are not incompatible.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

785. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Free World economic scene of plenty, contrasted with Chicom scene of high food prices, inflation, unemployment and inefficient agricultural and industrial production. Caption: A Free World can help a Free China solve its economic problems!	Solution of economic problems.

Meaning of Symbols: The hope of the Chinese people to conquer poverty and establish a strong, industrial nation has been a dynamic one since the turn of the century. On the other hand, the rosy picture presented by Chicom propagandists has not been realized.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses the age-old hope of a discontented people for a better lot under new political rulers, and leads toward overthrow of the Chicom regime.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 783 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 60, rated 2 for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors.

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Merchants and Industrialists

786. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Scenes of prosperous foreign countries where U.S. aid has brought about peace and prosperity, such as Marshall Plan countries, contrasted with shattered Chinese cities.

Caption: The hope of a Free World has been the United States; so the hope of a Free China now is also the United States!

Key Symbols

1. Hope.
2. United States.

Meaning of Symbols: The emphasis here is upon hope and the United States, two symbols which in the past have been realized in China through previous United States attempts to rehabilitate the country and its people. Most educated Chinese in the large urban cities are fully aware of this rehabilitation which took place through Red Cross relief, UNRRA, and CNRRA.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Would awaken in Chinese people fuller awareness of what the United States has done for them in the past and what she has done for the rest of the Free World.

787. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Scenes of prosperous foreign countries where United States aid has brought about peace and prosperity, such as Marshall Plan countries, contrasted with shattered Chinese cities.

Caption: The United States is the friend of true democracy, so she is also the true friend of the Chinese people!

Key Symbols

1. United States.
2. True friend.
3. Chinese people.
4. Friend of democracy.

Meaning of Symbols: The emphasis upon friendship, the United States, and Chinese people would be easy symbols to use to impress the Chinese. The friendliness of the American missionary, for instance, is well known in the rural areas, while economic friendship has been manifested in countless rehabilitation and relief projects.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses a warm feeling of friendship, which would have historical basis in fact, since it is plentifully illustrated by China's history since 1900.

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Peasants

788. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese leaving a hospital throwing crutches and braces away. American and Chinese flag flying above.	1. American and Chinese flags. 2. Crutches and braces.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reminds the group that regardless of the abuse suffered in the past they are free to reconstruct without impediments and with aid from the U. S.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 781 developed for Forced Labor, task 60, rated 1 for Peasants; Appeal 790 developed for Professionals, task 60, rated 1 for Peasants.

Professionals

789. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
China has 600 million people and will sureiy survive.	600 million.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Traditional hope and security rested with having a large population to support and to continue the Chinese heritage. Some of the group may be bad, but if a group has many people, some will be good and therefore their future is assured.

790. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Misfortune can now be transformed into well-being.	1. Misfortune. 2. Well-being.

Meaning of Symbols: Misfortune and well-being are two of the best-known antonyms in the Chinese language. There is a deeply ingrained habit of thinking that the competent person can produce the second from the first.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Releases from despair by placing the present plight in the context of perennial possibility of optimism. This appeals to this group's self-esteem, and its view of itself as precisely the body which has the capacity to redress a bad situation.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 61, rating of 2; Peasants, task 60, rating of 1; Forced Labor, task 60, rating of 2.

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Task 60

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 792 developed for Students, task 60, rated 2 for Professionals; Appeal 794 developed for Students, task 60, rated 1 for Professionals.

Students

791. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Troubled times do not last forever. Better times are coming for you, and for your children.	Better times.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The students, who were constantly tricked and exploited by the Communists, will be able to see the contrast between a regime genuinely dedicated to the freeing of the people and the cruelty and hypocrisy of a government which could condone the suppression of the Hungarian revolt. The students will be able to explain to the mass of the people the transitory nature of any troubles accompanying the advent of the new regime, and to emphasize the hope of better days to come.

792. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Now that right has triumphed and conquered wrong, the present troubles will not last.	Right.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: No group of people in China welcomed the Communist regime with more wild acclaim or had higher hopes for it than the students. The more sensible among them, however, were the first to become aware of the cruelty and selfishness of the Communist leaders behind their mask of devotion to the welfare of the people. Many students realize that the troubles besetting a new regime, which succeeds the Communists are of an evanescent nature. They will be in a position to encourage other people less enlightened than themselves to look for better days in the immediate future.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 60, rating of 2.

793. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You will be free to pursue your studies and research goals.	Study in freedom.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are not fools. They know the propaganda mills which pass for colleges and universities in Red China cannot stand comparison with the institutions of higher learning in most other countries.

794. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You will be free to read the books you want and to study what you like.	Freedom to study.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Only a small percentage of students in China are content to waste their time in inadequate colleges and universities, with limited and rigidly prescribed curricula. The majority would welcome an opportunity to study what they choose, not just what the Communist government wishes to pound into their heads.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 60, rating of 1.

795. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Reforms and constructive change are now possible.	Reform.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The coming of the Americans will offer students the same hopes for reform of government abuses and reconstruction of the country which impelled them to support the Communists against the Nationalist government.

796. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
To worry needlessly about the future is to interfere with your efficiency in enduring and winning out in the struggle for rehabilitation of your country.	Worry needlessly.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Communist regime in China has devoted more time to cultivating the students and making the maximum use of them than any other in the history of the country. In the hard service of Communist masters the students have traveled the length and breadth of the land, meeting new people, facing new conditions, and in many instances coping with difficulties and hardships such as they had never before encountered. Those who survived these experiences have learned the hard way to take things as they come, and worry as little as possible about the future.

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797. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You will now have a chance to develop your character so that you can better conquer personal difficulties.	Chance to develop.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese students do not lack self-confidence. They ask only a reasonable chance to better themselves, free of unreasonable government restrictions and the pressure of economic ills which are characteristic of present-day Chinese life.

798. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
For those who work hard there will be economic comfort and personal rewards.	Rewards.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: All the students have had to look forward to under the Communists has been more and more insecurity, more and more eating of bitterness. The Communist promises of "pie in the sky" have lost their appeal, and those who have destroyed the Communists offer hope for the future.

799. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
There will be freedom for all to develop their own personality and potential.	Self-development.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The students, as most Chinese, are much more interested in a chance to work for themselves now than to slave for some promised utopia which they know lies so far in a dim and distant future that they can never hope to see it. The American example of achievement interests them.

GOAL: COMPLIANCE

TASK 61: To prevent among the members of the group a desire for the return to power of the defeated regime.

China as a Whole

800. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
They have caused you enough suffering.	Suffering.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Implies additional suffering if the defeated regime returns to power and would evoke hatred of the

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defeated regime. The Chinese are generally pragmatic and judge by results.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 61, rating of 2.

801. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese Communist cadres and security forces jailing, beating, and intimidating helpless Chinese civilians. Caption: Oppose the policies of the Communist Party and Regime, the proven enemies of the Chinese people.	1. Oppose the Communist Party. 2. Proven enemies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Linking up public enmity between the Chinese people and the Chicom Party and regime would not be difficult, judging by the perennial signs of dissatisfaction shown in Mainland China, which have on occasions reached a stage of revolt in Sinkiang, Tibet, and Sikang.

802. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Their return to power will only prolong or even resume the war.	War.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since the Chinese by nature prefer peace, the appeal should evoke a fear of war.

Cantonese

803. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: The Chinese people uniting to throw a giant monster (captioned Communism) into a deep flaming pit, (marked Hell). In the background, atrocities brought about by the communes. Caption: A Communist regime which devours farms, home, and families should be consigned to Hell! It should never be permitted to return!	Hell.

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Meaning of Symbols: The popular concept of Hell in the Chinese mind is a flaming eternity from which there can never be any reincarnation or return to earth.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses a deep feeling of anger and humiliation over the fact that Communism has been permitted to achieve such success.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 800 developed for China as a Whole, task 61, rated 2 for Cantonese; Appeal 865 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Cantonese, task 61.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 807 developed for Managerial Elite, task 61, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Forced Labor

804. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists ate men; now men may eat.	Eat men (*shih-jen*).

Meaning of Symbols: "Eaters of men" is a phrase which has persisted through all Chinese history (still very much alive in the twentieth century) as a synonym for exploitative tyrants.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reaches this group most vividly by identifying previous regime with devouring exploitation. The antithetical parallel expression is familiar and a pithy means of projecting the idea of contrast in humanity between the old and new regimes.

Situational Effect: Massive U.S. aid must be available.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Forced Labor, task 64, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 809 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 61, rated 2 for Forced Labor; Appeal 811 developed for Peasants, task 61, rated 2 for Forced Labor.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

805. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
No more brainwashing.	Brainwashing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes disgust with conditions under the Communists where journalists were forced to submit to

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indoctrination, confessions, and political lessons by arrogant and relatively uneducated Communist Party members.

806. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Now is the opportunity to develop journalism as a free and independent profession.	Free and independent profession.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes disgust with the political control of the profession under the Communists and, in contrast, its determination to establish independent newspapers free from political control.

Managerial Elite

807. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist police, spies, or bureaucrats watching the managerial elite at work and at home. Caption: They never trusted you. Don't give them another chance.	Lack of trust.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes dislike for the lack of trust. A reminder that the elite is watched by loyal Communist Party members who are always around. In the past, in contrast, good workers and officials were trusted.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 61, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 809 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 61, rated 2 for Managerial Elite.

Merchants and Industrialists

808. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Chinese in ordinary dress pursuing with a club a rough looking character labeled Communist, running away from his door. At the side of the house, another rough looking character, also labeled Communist, is helping a second climb in the window. Caption: Don't give thieves a chance to rob you twice!	Rob you twice.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reinforces opposition to the return of a regime which has oppressed and exploited the group. Even at the height of economic distress, before the Communists took over, few merchants and industrialists favored Communism.

It is highly improbable that merchants and industrialists will ever fare well under a Communist regime.

809. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Another Communist regime would be the scorpion's tail!	Scorpion's tail.

Meaning of Symbols: The scorpion's poison is in the tail. This is metaphor for a son who is more oppressive than his father.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Induces reflection regarding the possibility of the vengeance and suspicion of a successor Communist regime outdoing the previous one.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Peasants, task 61, rating of 1; Forced Labor, task 61, rating of 2; Managerial Elite, task 61, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 811 developed for Peasants, task 61, rated 1 for Merchants and Industrialists.

Peasants

810. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. medical corpsman tending a sick Chinese. Caption: The Americans are alleviating your pain.	To alleviate pain.

Meaning of Symbols: The urge for self-preservation has become stronger than the urge for reproduction. Alleviation of pain—means hope for self-preservation still exists.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A feeling of cooperation.

811. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Never mount the tigar again.	Mount the tiger (*chi-hu*).

Meaning of Symbols: To mount the tiger suggests an impossible predicament with the inability to "get off" a dangerous course once it is initiated.

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*RELATIVES OF THE EXECUTED:
See II, Special Audiences, 26
See III, Opportunities, 36, 37, 39-45, 47, 49, 53, 55
See IV, Analyses of Selected Audiences, 66, 67
See VIII, Injunctions, 126

*RELIGIOUS SECTARIANS:
See II, Special Audiences, 26, 27
See III, Opportunities, 36, 37, 39-45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
See IV, Analyses of Selected Audiences, 66, 67
See V, Style and Format, 87
See VIII, Injunctions, 126

RIVER BOATMEN AND COASTAL FISHERMEN:
See II, Special Audiences, 27
See III, Opportunities, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45-47, 49, 51, 53, 55
See VIII, Injunctions, 126

*SECRET SOCIETY MEMBERS:
See II, Special Audiences, 27
See III, Opportunities, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
See IV, Analyses of Selected Audiences, 66, 67
See V, Style and Format, 86
See VIII, Injunctions, 126

*STUDENTS:
See II, Special Audiences, 27, 28
See III, Opportunities, 37, 39-41, 43-53, 55
See IV, Analyses of Selected Audiences, 69
See V, Style and Format, 82, 84, 87, 93, 93, 95, 104
See VIII, Injunctions, 127

TIBETANS:
See II, Special Audiences, 22, 28
See III, Opportunities, 35, 37-45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55
See VIII, Injunctions, 126

TURKIS:
See II, Special Audiences, 28, 29
See III, Opportunities, 36, 37, 39-41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53-55

WOMEN:
See II, Special Audiences, 25
See III, Opportunities, 37, 39-41, 43-45, 47, 49, 51, 53
See VIII, Injunctions, 126

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Identifies Communist program with perilous rush into inevitable fatal danger--at same time it presents the former Communist regime as a ruthless devourer and indicates a sense of relief at being finally detached from it.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Forced Labor, task 61, rating of 2; Merchants and Industrialists, task 61, rating of 1.

812. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: An American soldier in full battle dress helping a wounded Chinese soldier. Caption: American soldiers have only brought good to China and want nothing from China.	American helping a Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This evokes a desire to be helpful in return. American soldiers in World War II left the impression of a willingness to help. This impression can be rekindled.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 809 developed for Merchants and Industrialists, task 61, rated 1 for Peasants.

Professionals

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 790 developed for Professionals, task 60, rated 2 for Professionals, task 61; Appeal 834 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 63, rated 2 for Professionals, task 61.

Relatives of the Executed

813. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You will have important and trusted positions in a new government.	Important and trusted positions.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A feeling that they will be appreciated and allowed to develop their talents in a non-Communist regime.

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814. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You will be able to return to the old ways you desire.	Old ways.

Meaning of Symbols: To all Chinese, the old days are the golden days, and to revert to such days would be utopian.

815. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists never will trust you again.	Trust.

Meaning of Symbols: The feeling that they are trusted by the regime is essential in order for members of the group to work properly.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the feeling that they have no future with the old regime, and that only a new regime offers a chance for success. This is based on a knowledge that once a relative has been executed by the Communists, there is little hope for individuals in the same family.

Secret Society Members

816. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese Communist cadres and security forces jailing, beating, and intimidating helpless Chinese civilians. Caption: The Chinese Communists have been false prophets! Instead of bringing peace and prosperity they have brought starvation, destruction, and death to the Chinese people! Destroy Communism!	False prophets.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, in the past, promises were seldom made casually. A promise to do something created a moral obligation which had to be satisfied. Therefore, failure to keep promises is remembered well and creates mortal enemies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should evoke anger and hostility, leading to open resistance and eventual revolt.

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817. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Secret society members in jail or being executed. Caption: They tried to suppress you.	Suppression.

Meaning of Symbols: For centuries, according to tradition and history, there have been attempts at suppression by various regimes and revolt against such regimes by the Secret Societies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Incites hate of the Communist regime for attempts at abolishment.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 834 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 63, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 61.

Students

818. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Brainwashing is the reward for service to the Communist dictators.	Brainwashing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes fear of a return of the old regime, where thought control and the abuse of the intellectual and his status was a cornerstone of Communist policy.

819. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Could it be possible for an educated man freed of enslavement to want to reenslave his intelligence to the old master?	Enslave intelligence.

Meaning of Symbols: Intellectuals are conscious of intelligence and the protection of it from control by others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses repugnance toward the old masters who denied status and independent exercise of thought.

TASK 62: To counter rumors and false reports among members of the group.

China as a Whole

820. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Don't believe until you see the evidence.	Evidence.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese are generally realistic and will approach any new situation with circumspection.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

821. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You know that second-hand information can be erroneous. Get the truth from the original source before repeating a report.	Error vs. truth.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes professional pride in ferreting out the truth. The prostitution of journalism by the Communists is resented even by those who have been personally sympathetic to Communist policy.

822. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Don't let rumor-mongers make a fool and dupe out of you. This only discredits you.	Dupe.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Plays on the desire to avoid ridicule, because of the great importance of prestige or "face." To be made a fool causes the deepest emotional crisis.

823. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
False reports and rumors only create tensions and confusion in these critical times.	1. False reports and rumors. 2. Tensions and confusion.

Meaning of Symbols: Tension and confusion are anathemas to traditional Chinese concepts of society.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates an awareness of responsibility of the press in rectifying false reports and rumors, especially those likely to cause mass panic.

824. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Ascertain facts before publishing them especially now in a time of transition.	Facts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates an awareness of the tendency of rumors to spread quickly in a period of transition and enlists the aid of the journalists in countering falsehoods.

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Professionals

825. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Rumors are one of the sources of social confusion.	Social confusion.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Professionals in general are well educated and have knowledge of sociology and history. They are in a position to realize the harm which rumors can do in society, particularly in the initial stages of the establishment of any new regime and are, moreover, able to discern clearly the falsity of many rumors. They can be used in helping the people to resist the evil effects of such reports.

Students

826. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Only the naive and ignorant fool becomes an unwitting instrument of false reporting.	Naive and ignorant fool.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a desire to avoid loss of face by acting so that one is believed to be naive or an ignorant fool by others. Chinese are extremely sensitive to loss of face.

TASK 63: To create among members of the group negative attitudes and acts toward aggressive militarism.

China as a Whole

827. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Famine always follows heavy military operations.	Famine

Meaning of Symbols: Famine, one of the results of unrest, is a great tragedy to most Chinese.

828. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The sword of an aggressive militarist will eventually turn against him.	Sword.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese know many incidents in history showing that the aggressive militarist was eventually destroyed

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by his own militarism. The sword is the symbol of that destruction and death.

829. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Chinese have always been peace-loving. Chinese are one of the few peoples in the world who can enjoy the peace of nature.	1. Peace loving. 2. Peace of nature.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reemphasizes the negative attitude toward aggressive militarism traditional to Chinese culture. A peace in accord with the natural order is the ideal setting for the proper operation of the society.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

830. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Restore the peace loving nature of the Chinese people.	Peace loving.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reinforces objection to any revival of militarism. Chinese intellectuals have considered themselves basically peace loving and in opposition to Communist sabre rattling.

831. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese Communist cadres and security forces jailing, beating, and intimidating helpless Chinese civilians. Caption: The Chinese Communists have been false prophets! Instead of bringing peace and prosperity they have brought starvation, destruction and death to the Chinese people! Destroy Communism!	False prophets.

Meaning of Symbols: In China, in the past, promises were seldom made casually. A promise to do something created moral obligation which had to be satisfied. Therefore, failure to keep promises is remembered well and creates mortal enemies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should evoke anger and hostility, leading to open resistance and eventual revolt.

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832. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Peace is the necessary condition for national construction.	Peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Opposition to any policy that would stress war preparedness rather than peace which would foster positive constructive work.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 63, rating of 2.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

833. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist militaristic elements oppressing the Chinese people. Readapt Chicom propaganda illustration wherever possible. Caption: The Chinese Communist police, gendarmerie, military personnel and Party cadres and leaders were the real criminals of China!	Criminals.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages popular dissidence and magnifies current criticism of the Chicom regime in Mainland China into mass opposition and overt resistance.

The Chinese people have traditionally resented the oppressive military and police forces of a harsh and unpopular political regime. Where open rebellion is not possible, they have resorted to underground opposition and covert sabotage of the regime's administrative controls.

834. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist militaristic elements oppressing the Chinese people. Readapt Chicom propaganda illustration wherever possible. Caption: Do not cooperate with the old oppressors of the Chinese people—the Communist police, gendarmerie, military forces and Party cadres!	Noncooperation.

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Meaning of Symbols: Noncooperation of the people with an oppressive political regime has traditionally been expressed in passive resistance, empty lip-service to the regime's harsh decrees, and group apathy.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses hostile as well as negative attitudes since all segments of the population have borne the brunt of the Chicom regime's harsh political, economic, and social controls.

Managerial Elite

835. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: New Chinese factories being destroyed by war. Caption: The military destroy what you build.	The military destroy.

Meaning of Symbols: "The military" still has a bad connotation among the better educated. In this century, the managerial elite have often had to compete with the military for power and control of material production.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses resentment of the military for sapping the economy of the country and being responsible for its destruction.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 832 developed for Journalists and Mass Media Personnel, task 63, rated 2 for Managerial Elite.

Professionals

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 837 developed for Students, task 63, rated 1 for Professionals.

Students

836. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Aggressive militarism has suppressed enlightened thought.	Militarism vs. enlightened thought.

Meaning of Symbols: The opposition of the military versus the intellectual is ingrained in historical tradition in China.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases the desire to think independently which characterizes increased education and knowledge.

837. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You will now have a chance to enrich the life of yourself and others and to help make your country peaceful and happy.	Peace and happiness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is natural for Chinese, especially the young, intelligent, and enthusiastic to weary of endless sacrifice for a cause which offers hope only in a future that keeps getting farther away. The Americans represent an example of achievement in the here and now,—very appealing to the practical Chinese.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 63, rating of 1.

838. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Families can now be united and look toward a secure future.	Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reminds the group that a country engaged in a war of aggression can have no interest in promoting family welfare, so important in the Chinese way of life.

TASK 64: To create receptive attitudes among members of the group to changes approved by the occupation forces.

China as a Whole

839. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Americans are generally reasonable.	Reasonable.

Meaning of Symbols: Reasonableness has been considered a most important virtue, especially when facing critical situations, since it implies that the problem can be arbitrated.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates a willingness to talk things over.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 64, rating of 2.

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Cantonese

840. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Better to accept than to needlessly sacrifice further.	Needlessly sacrifice.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Prepares for realistic acceptance of change whether the change is considered good or not. Chinese are realistic, especially where an arbitrary position implies further and unnecessary fighting.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 839 developed for China as a Whole, task 64, rated 2 for Cantonese.

Forced Labor

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 804 developed for Forced Labor, task 61, rated 2 for Forced Labor, task 64; Appeal 847 developed for Peasants, task 64, rated 1 for Forced Labor; Appeal 862 developed for Professionals, task 65, rated 1 for Forced Labor, task 64.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

841. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Cooperation is necessary during this period of transition so that the termination of occupation will be early.	Cooperation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Serves as an inducement to the group to cooperate while keeping alive hope of early termination of occupation; and indirectly to welcome the Americans as liberators.

842. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Support changes in the direction of true democracy.	True democracy.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Acts as an inducement to the group to accept changes aimed at eliminating Communist influence and to prepare for a true democratic government in contrast to Communist dictatorship which is falsely labeled "democracy."

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Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

843. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chinese factories turning out peaceful articles under U.S. supervision; farms growing rich crops with American aid; and schools adopting American educational methods for universal knowledge.

Caption: Let us learn from the Americans how to be a free, peaceful, and prosperous people, as they have become.

Key Symbols

Free, peaceful and prosperous.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses a friendly feeling toward the United States and toward Americans in general from whom the Chinese people, as in the past, can learn.

To learn from the United States and Americans has been a household word in the homes of the better-educated, particularly the land owners and investors, many of whom in the past sent their children to study in this country.

Merchants and Industrialists

844. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: After the Chinese and Americans defeated Japan, the Americans made many changes in the Japanese political and economic systems. Look at Japan today! She is free politically and was never so prosperous in her whole history.

Key Symbols

Prosperous Japan after defeat.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes desire to receive the benefits of a wise and just American policy toward defeated China.

Merchants and industrialists are fully aware of the way the U.S. treated Japan and Germany after the surrender. Although most of them resented what they considered too soft a policy toward Japan, they would welcome such treatment for themselves. Moreover, merchants and industrialists would have the least to lose in the defeat of a Communist China. They know no one can ever make money under a Communist regime.

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845. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: America and her allies occupied Germany. Today the West Germany economy is flourishing as never before, while East Germany, the slave of the Soviet Union, is a poor and miserable country.

Key Symbols

Prosperous West Germany after defeat.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes desire to receive benefit of a wise and just American policy in contrast to the punitive policy of the Soviets toward its associates. Moreover, merchants and industrialists know they have the least to lose and perhaps all to gain by a defeat of Communist China by an anti-Communist power, especially the United States.

846. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: U.S. troops, marked with Chinese characters indicating their work, engaging in rehabilitation work among the Chinese people. Chinese civilians happy and relieved that they have found a warm and trusting friend.

Caption: Welcome - the authority (or presence) of the United States forces! They bring China food, peace, and prosperity!

Key Symbols

1. Welcome.
2. United States forces.
3. Food, peace, and prosperity.

Meaning of Symbols: Welcome is a friendly word. It has many favorable connotations. Combined with food, peace and prosperity, it should have a tremendous appeal to the Chinese people when borne out by the actual good which United States troops do.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses spirit of cooperation among the Chinese people, who are well aware of the many philanthropic activities of the United States and its citizens in China during the pre-Communist past.

Comments: The term, "occupation forces," should not be used under any circumstances. China has been occupied so many times that the Chinese people are extremely sensitive on this point. Other terms, such as "allied forces" or "United States forces" should be used.

Situational Effect: Care must be taken that this appeal be developed only with the materialization of the promise.

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Peasants

847. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
We condemn the extremes and will use the middle way.	Middle way.

Meaning of Symbols: The middle way is the way of harmony and moderation, the method approved by Chinese in general.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Kuomintang policy was considered an extreme and the Communists were given credit for destroying it. But they set up a new extreme position. U.S. has an opportunity to seem not so much an alien influence in the bad sense as a fresh guarantor against both Chinese extremes.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Forced Labor, task 64, rating of 1.

848. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Communist soldiers on one side, American and Chinese on the other side. Caption: As far apart as sky and sea.	As far apart as sky and sea.

Meaning of Symbols: This implies that the new, being so different from the old, offers hope since the future cannot possibly be as bad as the recent past.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Those who have suffered under Communism would welcome any change.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 804 developed for Forced Labor, task 61, rated 2 for Peasants, task 64.

Professionals

849. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
America is an advanced country which helped introduce the modern professions into China.	Advanced country.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeal should develop a feeling of admiration for American things. The modern professions in China have, in most cases, been introduced from the United States.

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850. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
A better life will come from the new policies.	Better life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is hard to cheat and deceive this group over an indefinite period of time. It is highly unlikely that they have lost the ability to discern the evils of a Communist system. Since they have high hopes of better times and a change of government, they will welcome the prospect of the sort of government which the Americans have promised to establish.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 866 developed for Students, task 65, rated 2 for Professionals, task 94.

Secret Society Members

851. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. troops engaging in rehabilitation work among the Chinese people. Chinese civilians happy and relieved that they have found a warm and trusting friend. Caption: Boundless benefits are reaped by the Chinese people when they cooperate with the United States forces!	1. Boundless benefits. 2. Cooperation.

Meaning of Symbols: Benefits has a universal appeal to all Chinese. As a word it always strikes a spark of friendly recognition. Similarly, the word "cooperation," has deep significance in all classes of Chinese society in the pre-Communist past. Without cooperation no family or group could be strong or maintain its position.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates a spirit of hopeful optimism among the Chinese people that the United States forces will continue to help the Chinese people economically, philanthropically, and educationally as they have done in the past, despite the fact that they come to Mainland China as soldiers.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 865 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 64.

Students

852. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The correct end is achieved by the corrected method.	Correctness.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appreciation of the logic of changing unsuitable provisions of the past laws or situations. The Chinese student recognizes the logical correlation of means to ends.

853. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What is being done will help to revitalize your culture and philosophy of life.	Chinese culture and philosophy of life.

Meaning of Symbols: Students have traditionally taken great pride in the Chinese cultural heritage, and have themselves played an important role in the formation of the Chinese philosophy of life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The group is fully aware of the indifference, and in some instances actual hostility, with which the Communists regard some aspects of Chinese culture. They know with what determination the government has sought to impose upon the people a philosophy totally different from anything they have known in the past. Accordingly, the students will welcome evidence of a sincere desire on the part of the Americans to revitalize their culture and reestablish the philosophy for which China has been so greatly respected for thousands of years.

TASK 65: To help prepare the members of the group for postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation.

China as a Whole

854. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your *mei kuo hao peng yu* is helping you reestablish the Chinese way of life.	*Mei kuo hao peng yu.*

Meaning of Symbols: Symbol translates as "American good friend." No matter how close a friend, the American is still a foreigner to the Chinese, and this cannot be ignored. However, it should not interfere with cooperation.

855. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
China must rebuild so as not to be left behind other nations.	Left behind.

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Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese always look upon their country as superior or feel that it should be superior. The Chinese have been very bitter over being behind in a number of respects, especially in material progress.

Generality: Appeal also persuasive for: Cantonese, task 65, rating of 1; Students, task 65, rating of 1.

856. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese factories turning out peaceful articles under U.S. supervision; farms growing rich crops with American educational methods for universal knowledge. Caption: The United States will bring to the Chinese people freedom, peace, and prosperity!	Freedom, peace and prosperity.

Meaning of Symbols: Freedom, peace, and prosperity, particularly prosperity, are words which have trenchant meaning to the Chinese people. Since these aims have not been realized for so many generations, they have become even more to be desired.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reawaken the hope of the Chinese people that their country can again be free and wealthy. For the past fifty years, except for the Chicom regime, the Chinese people have turned to the United States for help and inspiration.

Cantonese

857. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: New, modern China rising from the wreckage of the old, with the aid of the Chinese masses, nationalist soldiers and personnel of U.S. Civil Affairs working together happily. Caption: Cooperation with the United States in reconstruction is the secret of your new, peaceful, and abundant life!	1. Cooperation. 2. Abundant life.

Meaning of Symbols: Cooperation is a well-known term in China. It was used effectively in many areas to combat the Japanese

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invasion during World War II. For a time, it was also effectively used by the Chinese Communists, until the populace finally woke up to the fact that it was a trick word in Communist propaganda calling for abject submission to Peiping.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes warm feeling of support and a willingness to cooperate and participate in this new joint venture for the betterment of their common lot.

858. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

Surpass Japan in postwar rebuilding. | Japan.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases national pride and the incentive to reconstruct. Chinese always feel superior to the Japanese and hence will want to surpass Japan.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Students, task 65, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 855 developed for China as a Whole, task 65, rating of 1.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 863 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

859. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1) | *Key Symbols*

The new and free China will be based on popular will. | Free China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Serves to encourage participation in postwar plans by promising that the journalists will have the chance to express themselves freely in the journalists' tradition.

860. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1) | *Key Symbols*

Free citizens must be broadly enlightened. | Broad enlightenment.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages the idea of free circulation of information as a postwar aspiration and prospect, as contrasted with the narrow and doctrinaire censorship of news under the Communists.

861. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Winning the war must be followed by winning the peace. Your appeals can produce a popular response.	1. Popular response. 2. Winning the peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Helps to build an appreciation of the journalist's influence for good and for the nation's welfare.

Professionals

862. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The war is over. Now is the time for revival of culture.	War vs. culture.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The simple, deadly contrast of war and culture will speak directly to professionals, whose training presupposes primacy of civil pursuits. Readiness to see postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation as the natural beckoning goal, not merely a program urged by foreigners should be encouraged by this appeal.

Secondary Appeals: See appeal 867 developed for Students, task 65, rated 1 for Professionals; Appeal 869 developed for China as a Whole, task 66, rated 1 for Professionals, task 65.

Religious Sectarians

863. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. Civil Affairs rehabilitating the shattered rural and industrial economy with willing and helpful Chinese civilian and military personnel. Caption: To improve China's social and economic situation the Chinese people must cooperate with the U.S. Civil Affairs program of reconstruction and rehabilitation.	1. Improvement. 2. Cooperation.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: This group would recognize immediately the truth that without generous American assistance the economic recovery of China would be impossible and that Chinese cooperation would be requisite to such assistance. The group is aware of the miracles American effort and aid can accomplish, especially since they have worked closely with American private and governmental groups in the past.

864. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chinese citizens willingly helping U.S. Civil Affairs question displaced persons, and place convalescent Chinese soldiers on trains and buses. Depict satisfaction and pleasure of all concerned.

Caption: You can help bring peace and order to your country when you help the United States Civil Affairs.

Key Symbols

Peace and order.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes sense of social responsibility and the desire for an early return to the old Chinese normalcy where homes and families had social significance.

865. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Happy members of group returning to their confiscated homes, tearing down the Communist propaganda slogan; old people making extensive repairs on these houses while young men labor over planning board for new and better homes.

Caption: The sound planning that will be needed by the Chinese people in reconstruction will not be built on the Communists' systematic destruction of the family life!

Key Symbols

Family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes hopes for a better future for the entire family. The inclusion of the family into future reconstruction plans, satisfying the deepest social needs of the Chinese people, would lay the basic foundation for its probable success.

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Students

866. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You will be able to learn new and democratic ways so that you will be better able to handle the affairs of your country when you assume the responsibilities of authority.	You will assume responsibility.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reminds the group that one of the principal reasons they welcomed the advent of the Communist regime with such enthusiasm was because they had been told that for the first time they were to play an important part in running the government—a task for which students have traditionally considered themselves particularly well fitted.

867. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
To have foresight for future needs and to lead the way to reconstruction is the role of the educated.	To lead the way.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a desire to qualify for the scholar's role in leading the people, especially in a period of reconstruction; a reminder of the esprit de corps of the intellectual in traditional China.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 65, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 855 developed for China as a Whole, task 65, rated 1 for Students; Appeal 858 developed for Cantonese, task 65, rated 2 for Students.

TASK 66: To get members of the group to assist civil affairs and/or military government in restoring law and order in occupied or liberated territories.

China as a Whole

868. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Return to normal so you can resume your normal family life.	Normal family.

Meaning of Symbols: To the Chinese, order means peace, prosperity, and good life. Normality and the family connote peace and happiness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Strengthens impatience with disorder.

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Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 66, rating of 2.

869. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Give yourself a chance to get back to making a livelihood as you used to before the Communists took over, and to profit by any help the C.A. & M.G. may be able to give you to get started.	1. Livelihood. 2. Profit by (our) help.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese are accustomed to devastation by flood and drought, and to the necessity of picking up the pieces and beginning over again. There are no public Chinese charities such as the West is familiar with. Consequently, cooperation with the Americans can be expected.

870. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Serve your own people.	Own.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since Chinese in-group feelings are already strong, this should emphasize the sense of loyalty to their own group.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 66, rating of 1.

871. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists have been destroyed. You are free to return to your old roles. Your new leaders are already fulfilling their roles.	Roles.

Meaning of Symbols: One of the Chinese principles of action is to assert one's role to call others back into their roles.

872. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A gang doing certain things and being stopped by Military Government officers while others are getting away from them and escaping. Caption: Help prevent vengeful, cruel, and irresponsible bands from committing rape, murder, and plunder of yourself and your relatives, and burning your homes.	1. Rape. 2. Murder. 3. Robbery. 4. Arson.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should increase universal fear of violence and crime. The Chinese are like others in such matters, except that they do not usually rely on local charity and help. The family stands alone and each member is obligated to help all other members when in need or danger.

Cantonese

873. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Give a hand to get your homes, shops and guilds back again as they were before the Communists took over—without the interference, the terrific taxation, and other heavy penalties of the Mao regime.	Reconstruct.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeals to the sense of loyalty and the ability and desire of the Cantonese to work together rather than with outsiders. It should also increase the traditional opposition to taxation and levies, interference in clan and business, control of guilds, and chambers of commerce, etc., imposed by the Communists. It should be noted that the Cantonese bond is one of the strongest area bonds in China.

874. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. Civil Affairs in action rehabilitating the Chinese economy with the help of the enthusiastic citizenry. Caption: United States Civil Affairs have come to render their services to you! They are your allies!	1. U.S. Civil Affairs. 2. Services. 3. Allies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses feeling of hope and gratitude and revives strong memories of previous American philanthropic assistance which are both strong and powerful among the people of China, even though repressed in the recent past by fear of Chicom punishment. Their memories would be immediately revived and strengthened by each new effort made by the U.S. Civil Affairs to ameliorate the suffering and hardships of the populace.

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Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 868 developed for China as a Whole, task 66, rated 2 for Cantonese; Appeal 870 developed for China as a Whole, task 66, rated 1 for Cantonese.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 864 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

875. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The public depends on the press for reassurance.	Reassurance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings about awareness of the responsibility of Journalists in restoring law and order, and setting the public's mind at ease.

876. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are the guides and molders of public morality. Public order and public welfare depend upon your guidance.	Guides and molders of public morality.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A conscious pride of professional leadership because of traditional position of "intellectuals" as keepers of the public morality and as the directors of public opinion, welfare, and morality.

877. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are professionally responsible for promoting law and order.	Responsibility.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes a desire to avoid accountability for public disorder, if it occurs as a result of the lack of support for military government, because group responsibility has been traditionally recognized in Chinese administrative practice.

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878. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The transitional period which will lead to a stable government and the withdrawal of foreign troops requires law and order.	1. Transitional period. 2. Law and order.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Serves to encourage hope of shortening the period of occupation by emphasizing the early establishment of a stable government without foreign troops.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

879. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: American Civil Affairs and/or Military Government groups working with Chinese civil leaders and workers to rebuild homes, public buildings and installations, reopen schools and feed the hungry population. Caption: When you assist the United States Civil Affairs and/or Military Government, you assist the Chinese people!	Assistance.

Meaning of Symbols: Assistance in this sense will connote self-help, thereby restoring the pride and the traditional work habits of the Chinese people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes memories of pleasant cooperative efforts with American organizations and individuals in the past. American Red Cross, American relief during World War II, UNRRA and CNRRA, as well as the efforts of private and religious philanthropies of the United States in China will be recalled.

880. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: American Civil Affairs and/or Military Government groups working with Chinese civil leaders and workers to rebuild homes, public buildings and installations, reopen schools and feed the hungry population.	Old friend.

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850. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
A better life will come from the new policies.	Better life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It is hard to cheat and deceive this group over an indefinite period of time. It is highly unlikely that they have lost the ability to discern the evils of a Communist system. Since they have high hopes of better times and a change of government, they will welcome the prospect of the sort of government which the Americans have promised to establish.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 866 developed for Students, task 65, rated 2 for Professionals, task 94.

Secret Society Members

851. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. troops engaging in rehabilitation work among the Chinese people. Chinese civilians happy and relieved that they have found a warm and trusting friend. Caption: Boundless benefits are reaped by the Chinese people when they cooperate with the United States forces!	1. Boundless benefits. 2. Cooperation.

Meaning of Symbols: Benefits has a universal appeal to all Chinese. As a word it always strikes a spark of friendly recognition. Similarly, the word "cooperation," has deep significance in all classes of Chinese society in the pre-Communist past. Without cooperation no family or group could be strong or maintain its position.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Creates a spirit of hopeful optimism among the Chinese people that the United States forces will continue to help the Chinese people economically, philanthropically, and educationally as they have done in the past, despite the fact that they come to Mainland China as soldiers.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 865 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 64.

Students

852. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The correct end is achieved by the corrected method.	Correctness.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: An appreciation of the logic of changing unsuitable provisions of the past laws or situations. The Chinese student recognizes the logical correlation of means to ends.

853. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
What is being done will help to revitalize your culture and philosophy of life.	Chinese culture and philosophy of life.

Meaning of Symbols: Students have traditionally taken great pride in the Chinese cultural heritage, and have themselves played an important role in the formation of the Chinese philosophy of life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The group is fully aware of the indifference, and in some instances actual hostility, with which the Communists regard some aspects of Chinese culture. They know with what determination the government has sought to impose upon the people a philosophy totally different from anything they have known in the past. Accordingly, the students will welcome evidence of a sincere desire on the part of the Americans to revitalize their culture and reestablish the philosophy for which China has been so greatly respected for thousands of years.

TASK 65: To help prepare the members of the group for postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation.

China as a Whole

854. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Your *mei kuo hao peng yu* is helping you reestablish the Chinese way of life.	*Mei kuo hao peng yu.*

Meaning of Symbols: Symbol translates as "American good friend." No matter how close a friend, the American is still a foreigner to the Chinese, and this cannot be ignored. However, it should not interfere with cooperation.

855. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
China must rebuild so as not to be left behind other nations.	Left behind.

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Task 65

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese always look upon their country as superior or feel that it should be superior. The Chinese have been very bitter over being behind in a number of respects, especially in material progress.

Generality: Appeal also persuasive for: Cantonese, task 65, rating of 1; Students, task 65, rating of 1.

856. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Chinese factories turning out peaceful articles under U.S. supervision; farms growing rich crops with American educational methods for universal knowledge. Caption: The United States will bring to the Chinese people freedom, peace, and prosperity!	Freedom, peace and prosperity.

Meaning of Symbols: Freedom, peace, and prosperity, particularly prosperity, are words which have trenchant meaning to the Chinese people. Since these aims have not been realized for so many generations, they have become even more to be desired.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reawaken the hope of the Chinese people that their country can again be free and wealthy. For the past fifty years, except for the Chicom regime, the Chinese people have turned to the United States for help and inspiration.

Cantonese

857. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: New, modern China rising from the wreckage of the old, with the aid of the Chinese masses, nationalist soldiers and personnel of U.S. Civil Affairs working together happily. Caption: Cooperation with the United States in reconstruction is the secret of your new, peaceful, and abundant life!	1. Cooperation. 2. Abundant life.

Meaning of Symbols: Cooperation is a well-known term in China. It was used effectively in many areas to combat the Japanese

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invasion during World War II. For a time, it was also effectively used by the Chinese Communists, until the populace finally woke up to the fact that it was a trick word in Communist propaganda calling for abject submission to Peiping.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes warm feeling of support and a willingness to cooperate and participate in this new joint venture for the betterment of their common lot.

858. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2) | *Key Symbols*

Surpass Japan in postwar rebuilding. | Japan.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Increases national pride and the incentive to reconstruct. Chinese always feel superior to the Japanese and hence will want to surpass Japan.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Students, task 65, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 855 developed for China as a Whole, task 65, rating of 1.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 863 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

859. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1) | *Key Symbols*

The new and free China will be based on popular will. | Free China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Serves to encourage participation in postwar plans by promising that the journalists will have the chance to express themselves freely in the journalists' tradition.

860. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1) | *Key Symbols*

Free citizens must be broadly enlightened. | Broad enlightenment.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Encourages the idea of free circulation of information as a postwar aspiration and prospect, as contrasted with the narrow and doctrinaire censorship of news under the Communists.

861. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Winning the war must be followed by winning the peace. Your appeals can produce a popular response.	1. Popular response. 2. Winning the peace.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Helps to build an appreciation of the journalist's influence for good and for the nation's welfare.

Professionals

862. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The war is over. Now is the time for revival of culture.	War vs. culture.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The simple, deadly contrast of war and culture will speak directly to professionals, whose training presupposes primacy of civil pursuits. Readiness to see postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation as the natural beckoning goal, not merely a program urged by foreigners should be encouraged by this appeal.

Secondary Appeals: See appeal 867 developed for Students, task 65, rated 1 for Professionals; Appeal 869 developed for China as a Whole, task 66, rated 1 for Professionals, task 65.

Religious Sectarians

863. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: U.S. Civil Affairs rehabilitating the shattered rural and industrial economy with willing and helpful Chinese civilian and military personnel. Caption: To improve China's social and ecomonic situation the Chinese people must cooperate with the U.S. Civil Affairs program of reconstruction and rehabilitation.	1. Improvement. 2. Cooperation.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: This group would recognize immediately the truth that without generous American assistance the economic recovery of China would be impossible and that Chinese cooperation would be requisite to such assistance. The group is aware of the miracles American effort and aid can accomplish, especially since they have worked closely with American private and governmental groups in the past.

864. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Peace and order.

Illustration: Chinese citizens willingly helping U.S. Civil Affairs question displaced persons, and place convalescent Chinese soldiers on trains and buses. Depict satisfaction and pleasure of all concerned.

Caption: You can help bring peace and order to your country when you help the United States Civil Affairs.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes sense of social responsibility and the desire for an early return to the old Chinese normalcy where homes and families had social significance.

865. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Family.

Illustration: Happy members of group returning to their confiscated homes, tearing down the Communist propaganda slogan; old people making extensive repairs on these houses while young men labor over planning board for new and better homes.

Caption: The sound planning that will be needed by the Chinese people in reconstruction will not be built on the Communists' systematic destruction of the family life!

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes hopes for a better future for the entire family. The inclusion of the family into future reconstruction plans, satisfying the deepest social needs of the Chinese people, would lay the basic foundation for its probable success.

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Students

866. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You will be able to learn new and democratic ways so that you will be better able to handle the affairs of your country when you assume the responsibilities of authority.	You will assume responsibility.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Reminds the group that one of the principal reasons they welcomed the advent of the Communist regime with such enthusiasm was because they had been told that for the first time they were to play an important part in running the government—a task for which students have traditionally considered themselves particularly well fitted.

867. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
To have foresight for future needs and to lead the way to reconstruction is the role of the educated.	To lead the way.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes a desire to qualify for the scholar's role in leading the people, especially in a period of reconstruction; a reminder of the esprit de corps of the intellectual in traditional China.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 65, rating of 1.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 855 developed for China as a Whole, task 65, rated 1 for Students; Appeal 858 developed for Cantonese, task 65, rated 2 for Students.

TASK 66: To get members of the group to assist civil affairs and/or military government in restoring law and order in occupied or liberated territories.

China as a Whole

868. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Return to normal so you can resume your normal family life.	Normal family.

Meaning of Symbols: To the Chinese, order means peace, prosperity, and good life. Normality and the family connote peace and happiness.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Strengthens impatience with disorder.

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Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 66, rating of 2.

869. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Give yourself a chance to get back to making a livelihood as you used to before the Communists took over, and to profit by any help the C.A. & M.G. may be able to give you to get started.	1. Livelihood. 2. Profit by (our) help.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Chinese are accustomed to devastation by flood and drought, and to the necessity of picking up the pieces and beginning over again. There are no public Chinese charities such as the West is familiar with. Consequently, cooperation with the Americans can be expected.

870. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Serve your own people.	Own.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since Chinese in-group feelings are already strong, this should emphasize the sense of loyalty to their own group.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Cantonese, task 66, rating of 1.

871. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The Communists have been destroyed. You are free to return to your old roles. Your new leaders are already fulfilling their roles.	Roles.

Meaning of Symbols: One of the Chinese principles of action is to assert one's role to call others back into their roles.

872. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A gang doing certain things and being stopped by Military Government officers while others are getting away from them and escaping. Caption: Help prevent vengeful, cruel, and irresponsible bands from committing rape, murder, and plunder of yourself and your relatives, and burning your homes.	1. Rape. 2. Murder. 3. Robbery. 4. Arson.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: The appeal should increase universal fear of violence and crime. The Chinese are like others in such matters, except that they do not usually rely on local charity and help. The family stands alone and each member is obligated to help all other members when in need or danger.

Cantonese

873. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Give a hand to get your homes, shops and guilds back again as they were before the Communists took over—without the interference, the terrific taxation, and other heavy penalties of the Mao regime.

Key Symbols

Reconstruct.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeals to the sense of loyalty and the ability and desire of the Cantonese to work together rather than with outsiders. It should also increase the traditional opposition to taxation and levies, interference in clan and business, control of guilds, and chambers of commerce, etc., imposed by the Communists. It should be noted that the Cantonese bond is one of the strongest area bonds in China.

874. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: U.S. Civil Affairs in action rehabilitating the Chinese economy with the help of the enthusiastic citizenry.

Caption: United States Civil Affairs have come to render their services to you! They are your allies!

Key Symbols

1. U.S. Civil Affairs.
2. Services.
3. Allies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Arouses feeling of hope and gratitude and revives strong memories of previous American philanthropic assistance which are both strong and powerful among the people of China, even though repressed in the recent past by fear of Chicom punishment. Their memories would be immediately revived and strengthened by each new effort made by the U.S. Civil Affairs to ameliorate the suffering and hardships of the populace.

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Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 868 developed for China as a Whole, task 66, rated 2 for Cantonese; Appeal 870 developed for China as a Whole, task 66, rated 1 for Cantonese.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 864 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 1 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

875. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The public depends on the press for reassurance.	Reassurance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Brings about awareness of the responsibility of Journalists in restoring law and order, and setting the public's mind at ease.

876. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are the guides and molders of public morality. Public order and public welfare depend upon your guidance.	Guides and molders of public morality.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A conscious pride of professional leadership because of traditional position of "intellectuals" as keepers of the public morality and as the directors of public opinion, welfare, and morality.

877. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
You are professionally responsible for promoting law and order.	Responsibility.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Promotes a desire to avoid accountability for public disorder, if it occurs as a result of the lack of support for military government, because group responsibility has been traditionally recognized in Chinese administrative practice.

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878. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

The transitional period which will lead to a stable government and the withdrawal of foreign troops requires law and order.

Key Symbols

1. Transitional period.
2. Law and order.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Serves to encourage hope of shortening the period of occupation by emphasizing the early establishment of a stable government without foreign troops.

Landed Property Owners and Land Investors

879. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: American Civil Affairs and/or Military Government groups working with Chinese civil leaders and workers to rebuild homes, public buildings and installations, reopen schools and feed the hungry population.

Caption: When you assist the United States Civil Affairs and/or Military Government, you assist the Chinese people!

Key Symbols

Assistance.

Meaning of Symbols: Assistance in this sense will connote self-help, thereby restoring the pride and the traditional work habits of the Chinese people.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Evokes memories of pleasant cooperative efforts with American organizations and individuals in the past. American Red Cross, American relief during World War II, UNRRA and CNRRA, as well as the efforts of private and religious philanthropies of the United States in China will be recalled.

880. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

Illustration: American Civil Affairs and/or Military Government groups working with Chinese civil leaders and workers to rebuild homes, public buildings and installations, reopen schools and feed the hungry population.

Key Symbols

Old friend.

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Caption: The United States Civil Affairs and/or Military Government comes to China as an old friend!	

Meaning of Symbols: The accent here would be on the United States as an old friend. The very strong attachment of Chinese toward the United States is persistent despite severe attempts of the Chicoms to reindoctrinate them. It would not be difficult to restore and implement this friendship in Mainland China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Forcibly reminds Chinese people of the traditional friendship of the United States and its people, a friendship which runs back more than a century. The large number of Chinese trained in the United States or educated in American-type schools in China would also be visibly affected by this appeal.

881. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The United States will help to restore the land to those who have had theirs confiscated by the Communists. (Supposition: That this will be official policy.)	Restore (your) land.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since the desire for land is paramount with this group, the opportunity to regain their property as well as their social position would identify us with their cause. The group should also understand that in return for this favor, we expect their cooperation and assistance with other policies.

Differential Effects: Unfavorable reaction of poorer peasants who were given land by the Communists.

Managerial Elite

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 882 developed for Professionals, task 66, rated 2 for Managerial Elite; Appeal 892 developed for Secret Society Members, task 67, rated 2 for Managerial Elite, task 66.

Professionals

882. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Good government depends on capable men and you have a role to play.	Capable men.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: This appeals to the value placed by the group upon professional competence in administration. Patriotic resentment of foreign control of the government is thus counteracted. The suggestion, that the problem is merely one of relation of talent to the task, appeals to Chinese predilection for playing at being an official and blurs reality of foreign control.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Managerial Elite, task 66, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 885 developed for Students, task 66 rated 1 for Professionals.

Relatives of the Executed

883. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Your family members were executed! NOW the Americans want to help you. Help them to *help* you and others!	Help the Americans to help you.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This should revitalize some of the old emotion, and rechannel it into assistance of the CA or MG, to help themselves and others. This is important because of the lack of public charity sentiment in China.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 892 developed for Secret Society Members, task 67, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed, task 66.

Secret Society Members

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 864 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 66; Appeal 891 developed for Relatives of the Executed, task 67, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 66.

Students

884. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
You can help your people and your kin by promoting obedience to the laws designed to restore peace and rehabilitation.	1. Obedience. 2. Restore peace. 3. Rehabilitation.

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Meaning of Symbols: Obedience to authority is validated when the end result is for the public good.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The desire to promote lawfulness because of the wish to promote the welfare of relatives and of the Chinese people.

885. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Only laws and regulations can keep the peace in society.	Laws and regulations.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Although students often protest and even rebel against laws which they consider unjust, as members of the future ruling group they generally recognize the primal importance of laws and regulations in a civilized society.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Professionals, task 66, rating of 1.

886. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Few support those who are trying to attack the new laws. Why take a chance of being on the losing side?	Losing side.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are easily swayed and tend to join in with popular trends. This is particularly so when it appears it will be to their advantage to do so, as it would here, since as educated individuals they would be among the new leaders.

887. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why cause trouble needlessly since the laws are not insufferable, even though some do not agree with them?	Needless trouble.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Students are quick to climb on the bandwagon, particularly if they think it will give them a chance to appear important. They will be among the first to see the advantages of cooperating with the Americans, particularly as it becomes evident the latter are trying to help the Chinese people, even if they may disagree on certain procedures.

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TASK 67: To get members of the group to support the control of civilians, displaced persons and prisoners-of-war.

China as a Whole

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 879 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 66, rated 2 for China as a Whole, task 67; Appeal 880 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 66, rated 2 for China as a Whole, task 67.

Cantonese

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 863 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Cantonese, task 67; Appeal 864 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Cantonese, task 67.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 892 developed for Secret Society Members, task 67, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists; Appeal 893 developed for Secret Society Members, task 67, rated 2 for Disaffected and Disgraced Communists.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel

888. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Maintaining order is a necessary prelude to peace.	Maintaining order.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Helps induce cooperation in maintaining order behind the front. The Chinese are used to facing this problem as a result of frequent civil strife and breakdown of government.

889. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Help the people avoid harm to themselves and hasten economic recovery.	1. Avoid harm. 2. Hasten economic recovery.

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Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since refusal to cooperate would have adverse affects upon the people, the pragmatic reaction would be to do what is expected. Anything that would achieve material improvement, and personal as well as social security is sensible. Hence, to support this policy is desirable.

Professionals

No appeal ideas developed primarily for this problem situation.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 872 developed for China as a Whole, task 66, rated 2 for Professionals, task 67.

Relatives of the Executed

890. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Go and tell the C.A. or M.G. about your family being murdered! Maybe they can help you. Maybe you can help them help you.	Gamble on help.

Meaning of Symbols: The Chinese are great gamblers. This enters into their burning of candles for the gods and spirits, as well as their handling of many important social situations.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In desperation, they would probably be inclined to gamble in hope that some luck will turn their way.

891. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Help us to help you restore peace.	Peace.

Meaning of Symbols: Peace is one of the cardinal desires for all Chinese. They believe it is essential in order to carry on their work.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The Chinese will help whoever will bring about this goal, for though some profit by war, they generally profit more by peace.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 865 developed for Religious Sectarians, task 65, rated 2 for Relatives of the Executed, task 67.

Secret Society Members

892. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Work together to restore peace.	1. Work together. 2. Peace.

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Meaning of Symbols: A history of cooperation and mutual help is strongest in such benevolent societies as the secret societies. This help might be extended to help others.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A desire to hasten a return to peace so that the societies can again resume their old positions.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 67, rating of 2.

893. *Appeal Idea:* (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Help them get back to their old home.	Old home.

Meaning of Symbols: In time of trouble, the old home is the best place of strength and refuge. It is the center of the family and source of help in need.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Wanting to return to their own old home, they may help others to do the same.

Generality: Appeal also judged persuasive for: Disaffected and Disgraced Communists, task 67, rating of 2.

Secondary Appeals: See Appeal 879 developed for Landed Property Owners and Land Investors, task 66, rated 2 for Secret Society Members, task 67.

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SECTION VIII

INJUNCTIONS

This section consists of injunctions, or "do's" and "don'ts," which are important for the psychological operator to bear in mind in preparing messages for Mainland China.

These injunctions deal primarily with the *content* of psychological operations appeals and messages. They cover issues and topics that should be emphasized; issues or topics that should be avoided; the manner in which certain subjects, such as sex, religion, and nationalism should be approached or handled; and special circumstances in which a particular type of appeal should or should not be used. Although the injunctions emphasize the content of communications, injunctions concerning matters of style and format are included, if of especial importance.

The injunctions are based on generalizations about the cultural ways of the Chinese people. At one point or another, they may appear to conflict with specific appeal ideas which have been developed (see Section VII, *APPEAL IDEAS*). These apparent contradictions reflect the nature of appeal ideas. As has been said, an appeal idea is a possible basis for constructing a message to accomplish a particular task with a particular group. The operator may retain the central idea of the appeal in presenting it in a message, appropriately expressed. The injunctions are to be used as guides in the framing of messages. They are general statements of what seem to be culturally appropriate forms of communication in most circumstances.

Positive

1. Be polite to the Chinese people as a whole.
2. Make attacks on particular Communists rather than on communism in general.
3. Base appeals on traditional customs and accepted standards of morality.
4. Use traditional modes of expression and style. Example: the juxtaposition or contrast of two ideas in an argument.
5. Make full use of Chinese proverbs, or express ideas in proverbial form.
6. Use an indirect rather than direct approach, wherever possible.
7. Make frequent allusion to outstanding or famous figures in Chinese history, literature, and folklore.
8. Employ caricatures of the Communists.

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9. Make use of language idioms suited to the particular group for which the appeal is intended.

10. Reveal the falsity of allegations made in Communist interpretation of American history. (Emphasize such United States actions as the granting of independence to the Philippines and our refusal to occupy a concession in China.)

11. Express ideas simply in dealing with the mass of the people and in rural areas.

12. Use standard Chinese for the intelligentsia.

13. Assume the Chinese are probably the smartest people, as a whole, in the world.

14. Support conclusions with specific facts.

15. Try to make personal interest appear consonant with national welfare.

16. Be sure of your ground in the use of humor, lest you give offense or fail to convey your meaning.

17. Demonstrate patience in understanding the Chinese point of view and in appreciating the qualities of an individual or a group that may be inclined to be reticent, shy, or undemonstrative.

18. Remember that living and working in China for a while does not automatically make you an expert or authority on China.

19. Be sure that American intentions in China are made scrupulously clear and above reproach.

20. Show respect for the older generation of Chinese, and for intellectuals.

Negative

1. Do not offend Chinese national pride.

2. Do not use sex or romance in appeals. Do not use any matter tending in the least to obscenity.

3. Do not be afraid of long appeals.

4. Do not play down to the Chinese people.

5. Do not brag about America.

6. Do not deny anything of which the Chinese have common knowledge.

7. Do not use sarcasm.

8. Do not use off-color jokes.

9. Do not belittle Chinese economic progress or military victories under the Communists.

10. Do not use any material which might tend to cause a loss of face of those Chinese whose cooperation you are seeking now, or may wish to seek at the cessation of hostilities.

11. Do not belittle the Chinese people for working with the Communists.

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12. Do not forget that some people have benefited to some extent by Communist policy.

13. Do not make promises which you are not sure can be carried out.

14. Do not make promises which involve policy decisions not yet determined.

15. Do not threaten such actions as punishment of war criminals or mass reprisals on groups which have conspicuously collaborated with the Communists.

16. Do not employ money wastefully. Avoid extravagance in the midst of want.

17. Do not make use of preconceptions, misconceptions and half-truths about China.

INJUNCTIONS FOR SPECIAL AUDIENCES

Cantonese: Use the terms and idioms of South China. Remember that Cantonese are considered emotional and are easy to arouse to violent action.

Communist Army Veterans: Do not deride the past performances of veterans; they are proud of their past service.

Communist Field Cadre: Do not make the cadres "lose face" or feel that they will not be forgiven.

Disaffected and Disgraced Communists: Promise full forgiveness for past acts.

Former Kuomintang Members: Remind them of all the things they have lost.

Hakkas: Make no references to the discriminations formerly practiced against this group.

Journalists and Mass Media Personnel: Remember that this is an intellectual group, many of whom have had past contacts with the West. Most of this group, having had wide experience with propaganda, will be suspicious of American claims and promises. Many Journalists would see nothing wrong with switching sides and would resent being stigmatized for their Communist associations. They would also be affected by promises of intellectual freedom.

Managerial Elite: Do not blame them for working for the Communists. Do not ridicule China's technical accomplishments. Make comparisons with the West which might be appreciated.

Militia: Keep in mind that they resent regimentation and added responsibilities.

Moslems: Promise greater religious freedom.

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Nomads: Promise freedom from interference by the government and freedom from laws against settling on their grazing grounds. Do not make mention of Nationalist Chinese as allies

Non-Communist Political Party Members: Do not criticize this group for collaborating with the Communists.

Non-Party Laborers: Promise greater leisure time. Promise lower work norms.

Non-Party Officials: Do not criticize them for working with the Communists.

Old People: Do not attack programs which provide care for this group. Appeal to the old traditions.

Peasants: Do not promise to return all land to former owners, but promise some private ownership of land.

Professionals: Do not attack this group for collaboration with Communists. Promise them greater intellectual freedom.

Relatives of the Executed: Promise redress. Remind them of their obligations to their dead relatives.

Religious Sectarians: Promise restoration of temples and properties expropriated by the Communists. Remind them of the atheism of the Communists.

River Boatmen and Coastal Fishermen: Do not remind them of attacks made by the Chinese Nationalists on their boats.

Secret Society Members: Remind them of their past accomplishments in overthrowing governments.

Students: Do not attack the new prestige of Communist China. Do not remind them of former Nationalist acts against them. Promise freedom to study and to seek occupations of their choice. Appeal to their desire to take part in a new renaissance of China.

Tibetans: Do not attack the Dalai Lama for any seeming acts of collaboration with the Communists. Promise autonomy from China.

Women: Do not attack those new freedoms truly welcomed by the members of this group.

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ANNEX 1

THE RESEARCH PLAN
PROCEDURES AND TECHNICAL SUMMARY

I. Over-View of Research Plan

A. *The Operational Requirement*

The title of PROSYMS as given in the Task Statement submitted by SORO on 25 February 1957 and accepted by the Office of the Chief of Special Warfare (OCSPWAR) on 24 July 1957 is as follows:

"A study of the comparative persuasiveness of various oral and visual symbols for the purpose of developing phonic and graphic forms to be used in propaganda operations against particular categories of individuals in potential target areas."

The potential military pay-off is described as follows:

"The OCSPWAR will have at hand a catalogue of symbol forms, for use in psychological warfare operations against selected target audiences, which:—

(1) Would already have been field-tested for effectiveness;
(2) Would be of value in training psychological warfare personnel;
(3) And would be ready for immediate use against possible and probable targets, in the more probable areas of military operations."

Consideration of Project PROSYMS by the staff of the Research Division of SORO led to the decision that the operational requirement as given in the original Task Statement needed some revisions. Both research considerations (see discussion of The Research Objectives below) and considerations of operational utility dictated a reexamination of the operational requirement.

Discussion of the problem with OCSPWAR led to the following restatement of the title of the task:

"The development of appeals and symbols of tested persuasiveness for communicating propaganda messages to specific target groups in selected countries and the formulation of principles of style and format for the effective presentation of propaganda messages."

The operative word in the revised title is *appeals*.[1] Propaganda appeals are the primary research product. Propaganda symbols are means for communicating propaganda appeals and can only be collected

[1] For the definition of "appeal" and all other terms of psychological operations as used in this annex, see Research Definitions on pages 7-9.

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as they appear in the appeals developed for accomplishing specific tasks of psychological operations with specific audiences. Note also that the objective of the project has been broadened to include the collection and formulation of principles of style and format for the effective presentation of messages.

The potential military pay-off now is as follows:

The OCSPWAR will have at hand a battery of appeal ideas with their key symbols, for use in psychological operations against selected audiences and a style and format guide for the effective presentation of messages to the selected audiences.

B. *The Research Objectives*

The research objectives of Project PROSYMS and the operational requirements of the project became one and the same as a result of the above revisions in the task title and in the potential military pay-off.

The primary research objective is the development of tested appeal ideas for use in preparing messages to accomplish specific tasks of psychological operations with specific audiences. The secondary research objective is the compilation of style and format information to assist in the presentation or design of effective messages.

The decision to abandon the research for persuasive symbols as the primary objective of the project was based on the following considerations:

1. Symbol for what? The world is full of symbols, verbal and nonverbal. On what basis could the research staff proceed to search for "propaganda symbols"? Clearly propaganda symbols are those symbols which are employed to communicate appeals in propaganda messages. Hence, the first objective must be to develop appeal ideas. Only as these are developed, can propaganda symbols be identified.

2. The meaning of a symbol is determined by the context in which it is used. To place isolated propaganda symbols (assuming that such symbols could be developed) in the hands of an operator who is unsophisticated with respect to the language and culture of his audience would be of little or no value and might, in fact, be dangerous. For use in the field, the operator requires larger communication units than isolated symbols: he requires appeal ideas which are sentences or paragraphs containing symbols, correctly used. In the writing of messages for use in psychological operations, these appeal ideas can be modified or adapted as required by the situation to accomplish specific tasks with specific audiences.

C. *The Research Plan and Procedures*

The accomplishment of the two research objectives of PROSYMS required that a systematic research plan be developed. The plan finally evolved is diagramatically represented in Table 1.

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Table 1

Diagram of Prosyms Research Plan and Procedures

REQUIREMENT: Psychological Operations Appeals with Key Symbols and Accompanying Cultural Information and Explanations.

I. *THE APPEAL DEVELOPMENT PHASE*

A. The Area Consultant Approach

THE RESEARCH TASKS		*THE PROCEDURES*
Subject Country	→	(Assigned)
↓		
Selection of Audiences	→	Audience Appraisal Form
↓		
Selection of Tasks	→	Task Appraisal Form
↓		
Development of Appeal Ideas	→	Appeal Idea Development Form
↓		
Identification of Key Symbols	→	Appeal Idea Development Form

Research Product: Untested Appeals

B. The Indigenous Respondent Approach

Development of Appeal Ideas	→	Cross-Cultural Survey Form

Research Product: Untested Appeals

II. *THE APPEAL EVALUATION PHASE*

Evaluation of Appeal Ideas	→	Appeal Idea Rating Form

Research Product: Evaluated Appeals

III. *THE STYLE AND FORMAT OF COMMUNICATIONS PHASE*

Compilation of Style and Format Information	→	Communication Style Form

Research Product: Guide for Effective Communication

IV. *AREA BACKGROUND MATERIAL PHASE*

Collection of Background Area Material	→	Panel of Area Specialists

Research Product: Background Area Material

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In the first major phase of the research, the *Appeal Development* phase, two major sources of appeal ideas were utilized: the knowledge of area specialists and the responses of indigenous persons to the Cross-Cultural Survey Form. In the area consultant approach, specialists were used to accomplish each of the research TASKS listed in the left hand column of Table 1. The series of TASKS proceeds step-by-step to the end result, the development of appeal ideas and the identification of key symbols. The procedures which were developed to tap the knowledge of area specialists at each step in the development process are listed in the right hand column of the figure. (Examples of the research forms developed and used in these procedural steps may be found in the PROSYMS Burma Report—*Psychological Operations: Burma (Project PROSYMS)*, pp. 393–479.)

The use of the Cross Cultural Survey Form in the development of appeal ideas will be taken up below in the section entitled "The Development of Appeal Ideas."

The second major phase of the research is the *Appeal Evaluation* phase. In this phase, the appeal ideas developed in the first phase were evaluated for persuasiveness.

The third major phase of the work is *The Style and Format of Communication* phase. In this phase, style and format information was secured from communication specialists knowledgeable about the subject country. The material thus collected was edited by the PROSYMS staff and submitted to independent specialists for review and evaluation.

The fourth major phase of the project is the *Area Background Material* phase. A panel of area specialists was convened to prepare the necessary background material. The work of the panel was guided by instructions prepared by the PROSYMS staff.

D. *The Guiding Assumptions*

Work upon PROSYMS required the projection of a set of assumptions regarding the nature of the possible, future military situations for which the PROSYMS material was to be developed. Clearly the nature of the tasks of psychological operations will differ with the nature of projected military situations, as will the reactions of special audiences and the nature and content of persuasive appeal ideas. The problem that the PROSYMS staff faced was the selection of the most probable military situations in which U.S. forces might become involved and the formulation of guiding assumptions on a useful level of generality. The guiding assumptions selected for this study are given on page 7 of the report.

II. The Selection of Special Audiences

A. *The Problem*

At the outset of the research planning process, the PROSYMS staff faced the question of the nature of the audience of psychological opera-

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tions. Should appeal ideas be developed for the communication of messages to the mass population or should crucial groups and categories of persons within the total population be selected as target audiences? The importance of defining special audiences is recognized by Daniel Lerner and Hans Speier. Lerner, in his book *Sykewar*, writes:

> The idea that "all Germans are alike" may have had some value as a morale weapon at home. As a guide for Sykewar, it was useless. For purposes of persuading the enemy, it was obvious that among Germans there were differences important enough to make repulsive to one group the very appeals that were attractive to another group. Allied propagandists to Germany, like propagandists everywhere, had to cope with the existence of "multiple publics" within the given "target." Stated another way, Allied propaganda was directed against all Germany as "the enemy." This common characteristic was sufficient to distinguish Germans from, say, Belgians. It was not sufficient, however, to distinguish groups *among* Germans whose differences from one another, for Sykewar purposes, often were decisive.[2]

In his essay, "Psychological Warfare Reconsidered," Hans Speier writes:

> Since in modern societies the mass of the population cannot overthrow, or actively influence the policies of despotic regimes . . the population at large is no rewarding target of conversion propaganda from abroad. Any notion to the contrary may be called the democratic fallacy . . . .[3]

Lerner also recognizes, however, that the mass population may be an appropriate target for certain kinds of propaganda messages. Thus he writes:

> . . strategic propaganda concerns itself with the longer-term causes, conduct, and consequences of the war. With such an approach the interests of larger and more varied publics could be reached, and the lines of political differences among Germans could be crossed by Sykewar.[4]

In view of the importance of dealing with special audiences in psychological operations and the appropriateness of the mass population for certain kinds of propaganda messages, the decision was made to select the mass population as one audience and to identify especially significant special audiences with the total population as additional targets of psychological operations. The military groups were given first priority and are included in all PROSYMS country studies.

B. *The Process of Selecting Special Audiences*

The selection of the special audiences involved the following steps:

1. *The development of a tentative list of special audiences.* The PROSYMS staff assembled a tentative list of special audiences from various documentary sources. Each group was briefly described in terms of those observable characteristics typical of the group which differentiate it from other groups in the population. To assure the selection of the most crucial groups in the population, this first tentative list included all groups judged to play any significant role in the society.

2. *Revision of the tentative list.* The tentative list was submitted

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[2] Daniel Lerner, *Sykewar*, New York: George W. Stewart, Inc., 1949. pp. 135-136.
[3] Published in Daniel Lerner & Harold Lasswell, eds. *The Policy Sciences*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951. p. 259.
[4] Lerner, *Sykewar*, p. 148.

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to 16 consultants who were asked to review and, if necessary, to correct the descriptions of the groups and to nominate additional groups if they felt there were significant omissions.

The comments of the consultants were reviewed by the PROSYMS staff and a briefly described final list of the special audiences, which incorporated the revisions suggested by the consultants, was developed.

3. *Assessment of the effectiveness and susceptibility of the special audiences.* The final list of special audiences was sent to 18 area specialists who were instructed to rank order the groups in terms of their effectiveness in helping to accomplish the objectives of U.S. psychological

Table 2

Rank Order of Special Audiences by Potential Based on Composite of Average Linear Scores for Effectiveness and Susceptibility

	Effectiveness average linear scores	Susceptibility average linear scores	Composite linear score for E + S
1. Students	75.5	61.4	136.9
2. Professionals	69.4	64.6	134.0
3. Merchants and Industrialists	61.4	63.9	125.3
4. Relatives of the Executed	49.4	72.4	121.8
5. Peasants	67.0	52.8	119.8
6. Former Kuomintang Members	49.3	64.7	114.0
7. Former Land Owners	48.5	64.6	113.1
8. Forced Labor	46.9	65.6	112.5
9. Cantonese	52.8	55.3	108.1
10. Journalists	60.3	47.3	107.6
11. Religious Sectarians	51.1	56.5	107.6
12. Managerial Elite	60.8	46.2	107.0
13. Disaffected Communists	46.7	59.2	105.9
14. Secret Society Members	55.1	50.3	105.4
15. Non-Communist Political Parties	47.2	53.7	100.9
16. Tibetans	41.9	55.8	97.7
17. Communist Army Veterans	60.2	37.2	97.4
18. Moslems	46.7	49.8	96.5
19. Non-Party Officials	50.1	43.5	93.6
20. Non-Party Laborers	48.9	44.3	93.2
21. Militia	51.8	37.4	89.2
22. Clan Members	45.6	41.9	87.5
23. Communist Field Cadre	64.3	22.1	86.4
24. Women	44.8	40.9	85.7
25. Old People	39.2	45.2	84.4
26. Inner Mongolian Mongols	38.4	44.2	82.6
27. Hakkas	37.3	40.5	77.8
28. Turkis	34.0	43.8	77.8
29. River Boatmen and Coastal F	35.4	40.5	75.9
30. Nomads	21.9	36.2	58.1

The 14 special audiences with the highest potential were selected for more intensive study. For other considerations, China as a Whole was also selected. These groups, together with Officers, NCO's, other Enlisted Men and Militia (number 21 in the above list), compose the list of selected special audiences.

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operations, and to rank their susceptibility to U.S. psychological operations messages.

The rank scores of the groups on effectiveness and susceptibility were converted into their equivalent linear scores by means of a conversion table developed by Larson.[5] The scores of the groups on the two dimensions of effectiveness and susceptibility were then composited to yield a measure of the potential of the groups for assisting in the accomplishment of the objectives of U.S. psychological operations.

In compositing effectiveness and susceptibility to yield a composite measure of potential, the two measures were given equal weight.

The rank scores, and the equivalent linear scores of each group on effectiveness and susceptibility and the composite scores of each group on potential are shown in Table 2.

Analysis of the reliability of the rankings of the groups on effectiveness and susceptibility shows that the rankings are highly reliable as measured by inter-judge agreement. The average intercorrelation between the effectiveness rankings of the 18 judges was +.38.[6] The estimated correlation between the summated scores of the 18 additional consultants is +.92. The corresponding correlations for the susceptibility scores are +.30 and +.89, respectively.

4. *Selection of final list of special audiences.* The complete list of the criteria that were used to select the final list of special audiences is given in Table 3. The Potential of the special audiences was the primary criterion. The additional criteria were used as required to satisfy the operational requirements of the project.

Table 3

Factors in the Selection of Special Audiences

The following criteria will be considered by consultants in evaluating the significance of special audiences for psychological operations.

Potential: Equally weighted composite of Effectiveness and Susceptibility. A measure of the degree to which a group can assist in the accomplishment of a goal of psychological operations.

In addition, the following factors will be taken into account by the PROSYMS staff in selecting the set of special audiences for each subject country which will be studied in Project PROSYMS:

1. Special audiences will be so selected as to cover as many segments of the population as possible, i.e., to provide heterogeneity.
2. Special audiences will be so selected as to include one mass audience group in the set, when feasible.
3. Special audiences will be selected on the basis of the adequacy of available sources of information.
4. Whenever possible, special audiences will be so selected as to include representation of strategically important geographical areas of the country.
5. In selecting special audiences, the probable military role of the country in the event of war will be considered.
6. The accessibility of the special audience will be considered.

[5] In Clark L. Hull, *Aptitude Testing*, New York: World Book Co., 1928, p. 491.

[6] Statistical analyses based on formulae and tables in C. C. Peters and W. R. Van Voorhis, *Statistical Procedures and their Mathematical Bases*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940.

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III. The Selection of Tasks

The second step in the appeal development phase was to select those tasks of psychological operations which it would be feasible and useful to try to accomplish with each of the selected special audiences.

Three criteria were used in the selection of tasks for each special audience:

(1) the degree to which the group would be susceptible to propaganda designed to accomplish the tasks;

(2) the degree of importance of the various tasks in the support of objectives of military operations;

(3) representative task coverage of the ten goal categories.

The judged susceptibility of each group to appeals designed to accomplish tasks of psychological operations was determined by securing ratings of susceptibility on a three point scale: "generally susceptible," "somewhat susceptible," and "not susceptible." Ratings were secured from 12 consultants.

The degree of importance of the various tasks of psychological operations in the support of the objectives of military operations was determined by asking military and knowledgeable civilian judges to rank order the goals of psychological operations, in terms of their "criticality." Criticality is defined as the relative military importance of getting members of the special audience to respond in the desired way to appeals in support of a goal of psychological operations. The rank order of a goal on criticality defined the rank order of all tasks falling within the goal.

The selection of the tasks for each special audience was done in the following manner. The judged susceptibility of the special audience for each of the tasks was composited with the score of the task on criticality, the two factors being assigned equal weight in determining the composite score. A score equal to or greater than the mean of the distribution of composite scores was fixed as the minimum cutoff score. For any given group, all tasks which equaled or exceeded the cutoff score were selected. In order to get adequate task coverage of the ten goal categories, those tasks with the highest scores below the cutoff point were selected as required. The tasks selected for each of the selected special audiences are shown in Table 4.

IV. The Development of Appeal Ideas

In planning the procedure for the development of appeal ideas, the PROSYMS staff was guided by the injunction of Lerner to work within the predispositions of the audience.

> What we wish to emphasize here is that . . . predispositions define the limits within which audiences can be effectively persuaded to modify their experiences. . . .[1]

[1] Daniel Lerner, *Propaganda, in War and Crisis*, New York: George W. Stewart, 1951, p. 347.

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Table 4

Tasks Selected as Appropriate For Military Audiences

Task No.	Short Title of Task Military Situation A:	Officers 1	NCO's 2	Other EM 3	Militia 4
	Goal: Good Will				
1.	Desirability of U.S. victory		x		
	Goal: Discouragement				
2.	Doubt re: own ideology, war aims				
3.	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory	x	x	x	x
4.	Loss of confidence in own forces	x			
5.	Disrespect for civilian leaders				
6.	Desire for peace	x	x	x	x
7.	Anxiety about home conditions	x	x	x	
8.	Nostalgia	x	x	x	
9.	Apathy			x	x
	Goal: Discord				
10.	Resentment of officers by enlisted men		x	x	x
11.	Resentment of enlisted men by officers	x			
12.	Conflict among officers same grade	x			
13.	Conflict between officer factions	x			
14.	Distrust of political officers				
15.	Discord between service branches				
16.	Conflicts involving ethnic groups	x	x	x	x
17.	Resentment of profiteers and favorites	x	x	x	x
18.	Resentment toward country's allies	x	x	x	x

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Table 4

***Tasks Selected as Appropriate For Military Audiences*—(Continued)**

Task No.	Short Title of Task Military Situation A: (Continued)	Officers 1	NCO's 2	Other EM 3	Militia 4
	Goal: Privatization				
19.	Dissatisfaction with military life	x	x	x	x
20.	Resentment of inadequate care	x	x	x	
21.	Disloyalty to primary unit				
	Goal: Panic				
22.	Disorganized behavior	x	x	x	x
	Goal: Subversion				
23.	Malingering			x	x
24.	Passive resistance		x	x	x
25.	Insubordination				
26.	Sabotage				
	Goal: Surrender				
27.	Good Treatment of POW's				
28.	Desire to live	x	x	x	x
29.	Passive surrender	x	x	x	x
30.	Desertion			x	x
31.	Individual surrender	x	x	x	x
32.	Group surrender	x	x	x	x

Task No.	Short Title of Task Military Situation B:	1 China as a Whole	2 Cautionee	3 Disaffected Communists	4 Forced Lab.	5 Former K. Kleinbesitz	6 Journalists	7 Land Owners (Former)	8 Managerial Elite	9 Mittelstand & Induet.	10 Peasants	11 Professionals	12 Relatives of the Executed	13 Religious Secretariats	14 Soviet Sp. Members	15 Students
	Goal: Good Will															
33.	Desirability of U.S. victory							X				X				
34.	U.S. troops liberators		X			X	X	X		X			X	X		
	Goal: Compliance/Cooperation															
35.	Avoidance of military targets	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
36.	Evacuation of cities				X		X					X		X	X	X
	Goal: Discouragement															
37.	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory			X		X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X
38.	Desire for peace	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
39.	Doubt re: own ideology, war aims	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
40.	Disrespect for national leaders	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
41.	Disrespect for group leaders			X					X	X	X	X		X		X
42.	Nostalgia	X			X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
43.	Apathy	X	X	X	X						X			X	X	X
	Goal: Discord															
44.	Resentment of profiteers	X			X				X	X	X	X		X	X	X
45a.	Dissension between cliques		X	X			X	X	X		X			X		
45b.	Dissention between groups		X	X		X	X	X	X		X		X	X		X

Table 4

Tasks Selected as Appropriate For Special Audiences—(Continued)

Task No.	Short Title of Task Military Situation B:	China as a Whole 1	Cantonese 2	Disaffected Communists 3	Forced Lab. 4	Former K. Members 5	Journalists 6	Land Owners (Former) 7	Managerial Elite 8	Merchants & Indust. 9	Peasants 10	Professionals 11	Relatives of the Executed 12	Religious Sectarians 13	Secret So. Members 14	Students 15
46.	Ethnic or social disaffection	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
47.	Conflicts among leaders			x												
48.	Resentment toward country's allies	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x
	Goal: Privatization															
49.	Dissatisfaction with conditions	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
50.	Disloyalty to primary group				x		x									
	Goal: Panic															
51.	Disorganized or panicky behavior	x	x		x	x		x		x		x	x			
	Goal: Subversion															
52.	Slowdowns and delays	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x		x	
53.	Malingering and absenteeism		x				x					x	x		x	
54.	Strikes			x	x										x	x
55.	Sabotage		x		x	x		x	x	x	x			x	x	
56.	Organized resistance		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
57.	Revolt or secession		x		x	x					x		x	x	x	

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The form used to guide the consultants in the task of developing appeal ideas emphasized that the objective was to develop appeal ideas that would arouse predispositions in the members of the audience which would lead to the desired changes in behavior. The consultants were first enjoined to think of the motives, values and attitudes shared by the members of the special audience that might render them susceptible to appeals from a U.S. source.

What vulnerabilities does this group possess, i.e., what predispositions do the members of the group share that a U.S. operator can use as a means of achieving a specified task? This was the question the PROSYMS staff asked of the consultants. The consultants were then instructed to develop appeal ideas phrased in the conceptual and emotional language of the special audience. The attempt in developing appeal ideas was to use native symbols in speaking to the audience in order to evoke the desired response. Culturally specific symbols and not American symbols were sought in order to evoke culturally specific predispositions.

For each appeal idea developed, the consultant was asked to provide supporting information to assist the planner and operator to make effective use of the appeal idea in the writing of messages. He was asked to describe the reactions the appeal would probably evoke in the members of the audience and the cultural basis for these reactions. In addition, he was asked to identify the key symbols in the appeal idea and to describe their meaning for members of the special audience. Finally, he was asked to indicate whether the effectiveness of the appeal idea was dependent upon any particular military situation or assumption.

The appeal development phase resulted in the development of 936 appeal ideas by 17 consultants.

After developing appeal ideas for accomplishing given tasks with a given group (hereinafter called *primary* appeal ideas), consultants were asked to indicate the generality of these appeal ideas over other tasks and over other groups. Primary appeal ideas judged appropriate for other tasks and for other groups are for those other tasks and/or other groups, hereinafter termed *secondary* appeal ideas.

The use of consultants to develop appeal ideas was supplemented by an approach which utilized the responses of members of the special audiences to items in a test called the Cross-Cultural Survey. These items consisted of incomplete sentences and cartoon items, each of which was keyed to a specific task of psychological operations. They were constructed to yield responses from which appeal ideas could be developed by a PROSYMS staff member.

The method proved to be a fruitful source of appeal ideas. A total

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of 150 appeal ideas were developed for the student group from four Cross-Cultural Survey forms, and a total of 466 appeal ideas were developed for military groups from 61 Cross-Cultural Survey forms.

V. The Evaluation of Appeal Ideas

The appeal ideas developed by consultants were processed by the PROSYMS staff before they were presented to consultants for evaluation.

In processing the appeal idea material, the PROSYMS staff was guided by a common set of instructions. A sample of the analyses of one consultant's contribution is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5

201 Quality Control and 203 Data Processing Form

Country: *China* Audience: *Professionals* Consultant: *A*

Assigned Problem Situations *36*
Completed Problem Situations *32* Consultant Hours *10*

Item	*Sum*	*Percent*
1. Nonconformity to SORO Appeal Concept		
A. Desired behavior *only*, given	none	-----
B. Desired behavior and supporting reasons given in appeal	none	-----
2. Completeness of Material on Data Sheet		
A. Appeals conforming to SORO concept	32	100%
B. Failures to identify key symbols	none	-----
C. Failures to answer 2b or 3b	none	-----
3. Relevancy of Material		
A. Appeals judged irrelevant to task	none	-----
4. Cultural Specificity of Material		
A. Appeals employing only Western or American symbols	none	-----
5. Situational Specificity of Material		
A. Instances of increased specificity of assumptions or contingencies	32	100%
6. Generality of Material		
A. Appeals judged relevant to additional audiences	32	100%
B. Appeals judged relevant to additional tasks	28	87%
7. Specific Deficiences		
A. Source of possible appeal in culture given but appeal itself not supplied	none	-----
B. Documentary reference to appeal cited but appeal itself not given	none	-----
C. Appeal idea suggested but appeal itself not phrased in communicative form	none	-----

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Practical considerations made it impossible to evaluate all of the secondary appeal ideas secured in the appeal development phase. All primary appeal ideas were evaluated, however. Secondary appeal ideas were selected in the number required to secure a sufficient number of appeal ideas per problem situation for the evaluation process. The rules for selecting secondary appeal ideas for evaluation are given in Table 6.

Table 6

Selection of Appeal Ideas for Evaluation

Combinations of Primary and Secondary Appeal Ideas for Submission to Judges for Evaluation:

1. Select all primary appeal ideas for evaluation.
2. If there are four or more primary appeal ideas for a given problem situation, do not include secondary appeal ideas for evaluation in that problem situation.
3. If there are three or fewer primary appeal ideas for a given problem situation which includes a *selected* task, select enough secondary appeal ideas to reach a total of four.
4. If there are no primary appeal ideas in a problem situation which includes a *selected* task, select four secondary appeal ideas for evaluation.
5. Do not ordinarily select any appeal ideas for a problem situation for which there are no primary appeal ideas and which does *not* include a selected task (an exception can be made if appeals for the problem situation are needed for breadth of coverage and if there is a significant number of secondary appeal ideas from which to make a selection—in which case select only four or less).

Criteria for Selection of Secondary Appeal Ideas Needed for Points 3 and 4 Above:

a. Select the most *dissimilar* appeal ideas (thus avoiding repetition and giving greater range).
b. Select, when a choice exists, those secondary appeals primarily written for the task which have *special audience generality.*
c. Select the appeal ideas most *relevant* to the problem situation.
d. Select appeal ideas which need the *least* SORO *editing.*
e. Select appeal ideas which are *richest in symbol content.*
f. Select appeal ideas with *most complete (and relevant) supporting data.*

Appeal Ideas, selected for a given group, were submitted to three consultants for evaluation. The consultant judges independently evaluated each appeal idea on a scale that ranged from +5 (high in persuasiveness) through 0 (no persuasiveness whatever) to −5 (high in unfavorableness).

In addition, the consultant judges were asked to specify and describe differential and situational effects which might affect the operational use of appeal ideas judged to have some degree of persuasiveness.

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In selecting the appeal ideas for presentation in this report the following rules were followed:

(1) All appeal ideas which received a zero or negative rating from one or more judges were rejected.

(2) The ratings assigned the appeal ideas that survived step 1 above, were totaled and the distribution of total ratings plotted.

(3) In selecting appeal ideas for presentation in the final technical report, the highest percentage of appeal ideas was selected for each group. This percentage varied from group to group to correct for differences among the consultants in standards of judgment and to secure, insofar as possible, representative coverage of problem situations.

Out of a total of 893 surviving appeal ideas, all but 28 received a persuasiveness score of 9 and above.

Table 7 gives the distribution of total persuasiveness scores of the appeal ideas developed for each group and the cutoff points used for each group.

The distribution of appeal ideas selected for evaluation and the percentage of appeal ideas surviving the evaluation process are given in Table 8 for each of the special audiences and for the total.

The appeal ideas that survived the evaluation process described above are given in Section VII. The upper 33 percent, approximately,[9] of the surviving appeal ideas have arbitrarily been assigned a score of "1," indicating that they are "Relatively Persuasive" as compared with the remainder of the surviving appeal ideas which have been assigned a score of "2" or "Moderately Persuasive."

VI. The Compilation of Style and Format Information

To frame messages that will effectively communicate appeal ideas, it is necessary to know a good deal about the communication habits of the audience. As has been said so often, the "how" of communication in no less important than the "what."

Appeal ideas assist in coping with the problem of "what" to say to an audience. Information about acceptable stylistic and format characteristics is useful in dealing with "how" to address the audience.

To provide the planner and operator with a body of information on questions of style and format that should be considered in preparing messages, the PROSYMS staff prepared an exhaustive form for securing information from communication specialists with knowledge of the subject country.

The material collected through this form was processed and edited by the PROSYMS staff. It was then submitted to an independent authority for review and criticism.

[9] Because there were many tied scores, the percentage of appeal ideas assigned a score of "1" varies from group to group.

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Table 7

CHINA: Distribution of Total Persuasiveness Scores by Special Audiences

Special Audiences	Number of appeal ideas for each special audience having positive persuasive ratings from three judges on a −5 to +5 scale, with a summed score of:													No. of appeals with all + scores	No. of appeals above cutoff point
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
Officers	.....	2	8	9	13	14	26	16	18	11	10	4	.....	131	83
NCO's	.....	2	3	5	15	22	25	24	20	24	7	2	.....	149	102
Enlisted Men	.....	2	3	11	12	21	12	18	26	25	16	6	1	167	104
Militia	1	6	1	12	21	22	18	34	27	15	14	3	.....	174	93
China as a Whole	2	4	5	8	14	14	20	20	24	9	8	1	.....	138	91
Cantonese	.....	2	8	10	15	10	16	11	1	2	.....	.....	.....	83	40
Disaffected & Dis. Com	.....	.....	1	1	4	5	4	5	9	5	18	5	4	61	32
Forced Labor	.....	.....	1	3	.....	5	5	4	7	6	1	.....	.....	86	28
Former Kuomintang Mem	.....	.....	6	2	6	3	9	7	8	5	5	.....	.....	51	34
Journalists & Mass Media	1	2	4	7	11	16	21	16	7	3	.....	.....	.....	87	46
Land Owners (Former)	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	2	.....	7	1	13	15	16	57	44
Managerial Elite	.....	3	3	4	4	5	9	9	7	5	5	1	1	56	37
Merchants and Indus	.....	3	1	4	5	6	9	18	16	16	10	.....	1	89	70
Peasants	.....	1	.....	3	.....	1	9	5	10	8	4	8	5	54	49
Professionals	.....	.....	7	10	20	13	22	5	6	3	.....	.....	.....	86	49
Relatives of the Ex	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	10	6	11	9	11	6	1	70	54
Religious Sectarians	.....	.....	2	3	2	6	5	5	11	13	10	5	2	64	41
Secret Society Members	.....	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	5	8	12	15	4	57	31
Students	.....	.....	7	7	9	12	27	33	34	16	3	.....	.....	148	113

The cutoff point is indicated by the line drawn through the table. Appeal ideas with scores on the high side of the line are included in Section VII of the Report.

Table 3

Distribution of Appeal Ideas Evaluated for Each Special Audience

Special audience	Number of appeal ideas evaluated	Number of appeal ideas surviving	Percentage of those evaluated which survived
Officers	143	85	59%
NCO's	155	102	66%
Enlisted Men	170	104	61%
Militia	182	93	51%
China as a Whole	215	91	42%
Cantonese	92	40	43%
Disaffected Communists	80	32	40%
Forced Labor	44	28	64%
Former Kuomintang	60	34	57%
Journalists, etc	102	44	45%
Land Owners (Former)	68	46	65%
Managerial Elite	72	37	51%
Merchants and Ind	115	70	61%
Peasants	70	49	70%
Professionals	108	49	45%
Relatives of the Ex	80	54	68%
Religious Sectarians	84	41	49%
Secret Society Members	76	31	41%
Students	162	113	70%
Totals	2,078	1,143	55%

VII. The Collection of Area Background Material

The appeal ideas given in this report are intended to be used as ideas for the preparation of messages. Local circumstances will often require that they be revised or adapted. To assist the operator to use the appeal ideas effectively in the context of a fluid and changing strategic

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and tactical situation, background area material is given in Sections II, III, IV, and VIII of this report. Opportunities for psychological operations in the country are treated in Section III. The major predisposition of the selected audiences which may be appealed to by the operator in propaganda messages are analyzed in Section IV.

The area background material was supplied by a panel of 4 consultants, convened for 6 days. The work of the panel was guided by a detailed set of instructions prepared by the PROSYMS staff. Throughout its deliberations, the work of the panel was directed by a PROSYMS staff member who served as panel coordinator.

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ANNEX 2

INDEX OF COMMUNICATIONS FACTORS

From: SPECIAL WARFARE AREA HANDBOOK FOR CHINA

The Communications Index has been designed to furnish the operator with communications information (in the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for China* (Feb. 58)) which will have direct bearing on his operations in the field.

This index has been divided into three sections: *Background Factors Relevant to Communications; Communications Factors; Channels of Interpersonal Communications.*

Much of this information is a duplication of information found in the references to the *Special Warfare Area Handbook for China* given in footnotes in Section II. In the Communications Index, however, this information is somewhat differently structured to assist the operator in finding information on factors within the society bearing on the conduct of psychological operations.

I. BACKGROUND FACTORS RELEVANT TO COMMUNICATION

ECONOMIC FACTORS: Level of technological development, 599–600, 692–693, 828, 1192–1193, 1239–1240, 1261–1269, 1271–1284, 1440–1444, 1448–1449, 1459; Telecommunications system, 584, 587; Transportation system, 85–86, 94–95, 104, 111–115, 134, 187–188, 656, 953, 1370-1371, 1377

GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS: Climatological and seasonal factors, 104, 107, 125, 140, 160; Hampering or facilitating natural features, 3–4, 83–86, 89–103

LINGUISTIC FACTORS: 190–191, 195–228, 470, 931

SOCIAL FACTORS:

Educational System: Extent and character, 365, 447–492, 1039; Literacy, 220–221; Political orientation of teachers and students, 457–458, 463, 466–469, 475, 482–483, 486, 831; Role of mass media, 191, 366

Family Structure: General, 305–320; Economic aspects, 157, 161; Importance of in molding opinions, 320, 341; Political aspects, 20–21, 315–316, 537; Social aspects, 141–143, 155, 158, 165–166, 168, 170–171, 802

Opinion Leaders: Communist field cadre, 183–184, 254, 462–463, 484, 578–579, 928–936, 1151; Ethnic group leaders, 146, 162, 169, 175; Religious leaders, 156, 159, 163, 172, 175, 541, 545

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Organized Groups: General, 878-879, 986-992; Cultural, 390-391, 403-405; Peasant cooperatives, 1214-1222, 1241-1242, 1349-1355, 1331; Political, Communist Party, 253, 259, 710-711, 840-841, 928-930, 939-944, 965-982, 1032-1033; Other political parties, 982-986; Religious, 540-541, 544-558; "Self-criticism" meetings and study groups, 331, 364-367, 423, 538; Trade unions, 255, 603, 699-726, 731; Village, tribal and clan organizations, 21, 161-162, 165, 168-170, 498-499, 538, 825-826

Population Characteristics: General, 107, 116-125, 130-134, 137-139, 625; Composition of: according to ethnic groups—147-151; foreign residents—1459, occupation—4, 160, 251, 256, 602-604, 627, 1406, Party affiliation—253, 259, 710-711, 1221, religious affiliation—163, 550; Relationship between demographic factors and pertinent aspects of the national life, economic—136-141, 655-657, 663-664, 681-682, 684-685, 803, 1215-1220, 1227-1228, 1349-1350, 1381, political—135-136, 472-473, 663-664, 928, 995-996, 1041-1045, social—141-143, 220-221, 474-475, 478-480, 486-488, 491, 746-751, 990

Recreation and Entertainment: For factory workers, trade unionists, etc., 648-649, 714, 799; Holidays, festivals and traditional ceremonies, 346-350, 386, 506-507, 509, 1373; In the cities, 360-362, 367-368, 1382; In the minorities, 156, 159-160, 166-168, 171-172, 193; In the villages, 356-359, 365-366; Mass media, 389-390, 406, 570, 574, 578-587, 592-593, 596

II. COMMUNICATIONS FACTORS

MASS MEDIA: General, 340-341, 384-388, 404-405, 426, 565-594; Content usually conveyed by various media, 593-595, 1128, 1133-1134, 1136, 1145, 1147-1148, 1438; Credibility of, 595-596; Mass media personnel, 363-367, 383, 391-392, 403-405, 426, 485, 713

ORGANIZED GROUPS: Communist Party, 331, 364-367, 424, 538, 887, 1121-1151; Ethnic groups, 162, 169-171; Workers and trade unionists, 366, 712-714, 722-723, 729; Young Communist League, 1033

III. CHANNELS OF INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

CORRESPONDENCE: General, 878, 1425, 1457, 1458

PERSONAL CONTACT:

Focal Points of Personal Contacts: General, 155-156, 164, 540, 1372, 1374, 1382

Persons as Sources of Information: Information monopolists, 135-136, 424, 594, 1440; People in specific occupations, 614, 1373

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ANNEX 3

INDEX TO APPEAL IDEAS BY SPECIAL AUDIENCE

Each special audience is listed in the same order as it appears in Section VII. The numbers given after each short task title refer to the appeal idea number. References to *primary appeal ideas* appear first; all *secondary appeal idea* references are indicated by parentheses.

OFFICERS

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

2. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 6, 7
3. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 14–16
4. Loss of confidence in own forces, 25, 26
6. Desire for peace, 36–40
7. Anxiety about home conditions, 58–61
8. Nostalgia, 77–80
9. Apathy, 85–90

Goal: Discord

11. Resentment of E.M. by officers, 127–130
12. Conflict among officers same grade, 138
13. Conflict between officer factions, 143–145
14. Distrust of political officers, 150–154
15. Discord between service branches, 173–175
16. Conflicts involving ethnic groups, 186–190
17. Resentment of profiteers and favorities, 202–205
18. Resentment toward country's allies, 213–216

Goal: Privatization

19. Dissatisfaction with military life, 222, 223
20. Resentment of inadequate care, 235–238
21. Disloyalty of primary unit, 240–242

Goal: Panic

22. Disorganized behavior, 254–256

Goal: Subversion and Resistance

24. Passive resistance, 275–277

Goal: Surrender

27. Good treatment of POW's, 298–300
28. Desire to live, 311–313
31. Individual surrender, 335–339
32. Group surrender, 351–355

NCO's

Goal: Good Will

1. Desirability of U.S. victory, 1–3

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Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

2. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 8–10
3. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 17, 18
4. Loss of confidence in own forces, 27, 28
6. Desire for peace, 41–45
7. Anxiety about home conditions, 62–65
8. Nostalgia, 81, 82

Goal: Discord

10. Resentment of officers by E.M., 99–109
11. Resentment of E.M. by officers, 131–136
12. Conflict among officers same grade, 139–142
13. Conflict between officer factions, 146, 147
14. Distrust of political officers, 155–160
15. Discord between service branches, 176–178
16. Conflicts involving ethnic groups, 191–193
17. Resentment of profiteers and favorites, 206, 207
18. Resentment toward country's allies, 217, 218, (213, 214)

Goal: Privatization

19. Dissatisfaction with military life, 224–229
20. Resentment of inadequate care, 239, (235–237)
21. Disloyalty to primary unit, 243–247

Goal: Panic

22. Disorganized behavior, 257–260

Goal: Subversion and Resistance

24. Passive resistance, 278–282

Goal: Surrender

27. Good treatment of POW's, 301–303
28. Desire to live, 314, 315, (312)
29. Passive surrender, 320–322
31. Individual surrender, 340, 341
32. Group surrender 356, 357

ENLISTED MEN

Goal: Good Will

1. Desirability of U.S. victory, 4, 5, (3)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

2. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 11–13
3. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 19, 20
4. Loss of confidence in own forces, 29–32
6. Desire for peace, 46–50
7. Anxiety about home conditions, 66–71
8. Nostalgia, 83
9. Apathy, 91–95

Goal: Discord

10. Resentment of officers by E.M., 110–115
14. Distrust of political officers, 161–166
15. Discord between service branches, 179–182
16. Conflicts involving ethnic groups, 194–198
17. Resentment of profiteers and favorites, 208–210
18. Resentment toward country's allies, 219, 220, (217)

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Goal: Privatization
19. Dissatisfaction with military life, 230, 231
20. Resentment of inadequate care, (235–238)
21. Disloyalty to primary unit, 248–250

Goal: Panic
22. Disorganized behavior, 261–266

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
23. Malingering, 269–272
24. Passive resistance, 283–286
25. Insubordination, 289–293

Goal: Surrender
27. Good treatment of POW's, 304–307
28. Desire to live, 316–318, (315)
29. Passive surrender, 323–325
30. Desertion, 330–332
31. Individual surrender, 342–344
32. Group surrender, 358–360

MILITIA

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
3. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 21–24
4. Loss of confidence in own forces, 33–35
6. Desire for peace, 51–57
7. Anxiety about home conditions, 72–76
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16. Conflicts involving ethnic groups, 199–201
17. Resentment of profiteers and favorites, 211, 212
18. Resentment toward country's allies, 221, (215, 216)

Goal: Privatization
19. Dissatisfaction with military life, 232–234
21. Disloyalty to primary unit, 251–253

Goal: Panic
22. Disorganized behavior, 267, 268

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23. Malingering, 273, 274, (269)
24. Passive resistance, 287, 288
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Goal: Surrender

27. Good treatment of POW's, 308–310
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29. Passive surrender, 326–329
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31. Individual surrender, 345–350
32. Group surrender, 361, 362

CHINA AS A WHOLE

Goal: Good Will

33. Desirability of U.S. victory, 363
34. U.S. troops liberators, 373

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

35. Avoidance of military targets, (405)
36. Evacuation of cities, 423, (403, 418)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

37. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, (435, 532)
38. Desire for peace, 438–442
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 464–467
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 489–492
42. Nostalgia, 531

Goal: Discord

44. Resentment of profiteers, 552, 553
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 596–598
48. Resentment toward country's allies, 620–623

Goal: Privatization

49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 645–652

Goal: Panic

51. Disorganized or panicky behavior, 632–684

Goal: Subversion and Resistance

52. Slowdowns and delays, 693–695
53. Malingering and absenteeism, (546, 698, 701, 714)
54. Strikes, (699, 702, 713)
55. Sabotage, (736)
56. Organized resistance, (729)
57. Revolt or secession, (726, 730, 744, 745)

Goal: Good Will

58. Strengthening of common ideals, 757, 758, (760, 762)

Goal: Encouragement

59. Rebuilding national unity, 764–766, (768)
60. Hope for the future, 777–780

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 800–802
62. Countering of rumors/false reports, 820
63. Eradication of militarism, 827–829
64. Receptive attitudes to change, 839
65. Preparation for postwar world, 854–856
66. Assistance in restoration of order, 868–872
67. Assistance in handling DP's and POW's, (879, 880)

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CANTONESE

Goal: Good Will

34. U.S. troops liberators, 374, 375

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

35. Avoidance of military targets, (411, 416)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

40. Disrespect for national leaders, 493
43. Apathy, 546, 547

Goal: Discord

45a. Dissension between cliques, 570–572
48. Resentment toward country's allies, (617)

Goal: Privatization

49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 653

Goal: Subversion and Resistance

53. Malingering and absenteeism, 712–714
55. Sabotage, (719, 747)
56. Organized resistance, 740
57. Revolt or secession, 752

Goal: Good Will

58. Strengthening of common ideals, 759, (757, 758, 762)

Goal: Encouragement

60. Hope for the future, (764, 770, 778)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 803, (800, 865)
64. Receptive attitudes to change, 840, (839)
65. Preparation for postwar world, 857, 858, (855)
66. Assistance in restoration of order, 873, 874, (868, 870)
67. Assistance in handling DP's and POW's, (853, 864)

DISAFFECTED AND DISGRACED COMMUNISTS

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

35. Avoidance of military targets, (397, 412, 416)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

37. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, (431)
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, (482)
41. Disrespect for group leaders, 525

Goal: Discord

45a. Dissension between cliques, (611, 617)
45b. Dissension between groups, 583, (565, 638)
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 599–601
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Goal: Privatization

49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 654

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Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 696, (706)
54. Strikes, 719, 720, (721)
56. Organized resistance, 741, 742, (748)

Goal: Encouragement
60. Hope for the future, (770)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
61. Discrediting of defeated regime, (807)
65. Preparation for postwar world, (863)
66. Assistance in restoration of order, (864)
67. Assistance in handling DP's and POW's, (892, 893)

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Goal: Good Will
34. U.S. troops liberators, 376, 377

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 494–497
42. Nostalgia, 532
43. Apathy, (539)

Goal: Discord
44. Resentment of profiteers, 554, (555, 558)
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 602

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 655–657

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
57. Revolt or secession, 753, (729, 730, 745)

Goal: Encouragement
60. Hope for the future, 781, (790)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 804, (809, 811)
64. Receptive attitudes to change, (804, 847, 862)

FORMER KUOMINTANG MEMBERS

Goal: Good Will
34. U.S. troops liberators, 378, (377, 389)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
35. Avoidance of military targets, 397, 398, (412, 416)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
37. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 431, 432, (450)
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 468, (482, 537)
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 498, (501)

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Goal: Discord
45b. Dissension between groups, 584, 585
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 603, (613)
48. Resentment toward country's allies, 624, (631)

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 658–661

Goal: Panic
51. Disorganized or panicky behavior, 685, (691)

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
55. Sabotage, 725, (748)
56. Organized resistance, 743
57. Revolt or secession, (702, 726, 743)

Goal: Encouragement
60. Hope for the future, 782

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Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
35. Avoidance of military targets, 399, 400, (414)
36. Evacuation of cities, 424, (400, 414)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 469–471
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 499, (504)
41. Disrespect for group leaders, (513)

Goal: Discord
45a. Dissension between cliques, 573
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46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 604, 605, (587)

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 697

Goal: Good Will
58. Strengthening of common ideals, 760–762

Goal: Encouragement
59. Rebuilding national unity, 767, 768
60. Hope for the future, 783, 784

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 805, 806
62. Countering of rumors/false reports, 821–824
63. Eradication of militarism, 830–832
64. Receptive attitudes to change, 841, 842
65. Preparation for postwar world, 859–861
66. Assistance in restoration of order, 875–878
67. Assistance in handling of DP's and POW's, 888, 889

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LANDED PROPERTY OWNERS AND LAND INVESTORS (FORMER)

Goal: Good Will

33. Desirability of U.S. victory, (383)
34. U.S. troops liberators, 379, 380, (384)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

35. Avoidance of military targets, 401, 402, (403)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 472, 473, (533)
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 500, (505)
42. Nostalgia, 533, 534

Goal: Discord

45a. Dissension among groups, 574–576, (590)
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, (601)

Goal: Privatization

49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 662, 663, (674)

Goal: Panic

51. Disorganized or panicky behavior. 686–688

Goal: Subversion and Resistance

52. Slowdowns and delays, 698, 699, (713, 714)
55. Sabotage, 726, 727, (663, 718)
56. Organized resistance, 744, 745, (729, 730)

Goal: Encouragement

60. Hope for the future, 785, (783)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

63. Eradication of militarism, 835, (832)
64. Receptive attitudes to change, 843
66. Assistance in restoration of order, 879–881

MANAGERIAL ELITE

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation

35. Avoidance of military targets, 403, 404, (418, 419)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

37. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 433, (474)
38. Desire for peace, 443, (450)
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 501, 502
41. Disrespect for group leaders, 526, 527, (498)
42. Nostalgia, 535, (541)

Goal: Discord

44. Resentment of profiteers, 555, (558, 613)
45b. Dissension between groups, (590)
48. Resentment toward country's allies, 625, 626, (629)

Goal: Privatization

49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 664, (659, 663)

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Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 709, (707, 716)
55. Sabotage, 728, (743)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 807, (809)
63. Eradication of militarism, 835, (832)
66. Assistance in restoration of order, (882, 892)

MERCHANTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS

Goal: Good Will
33. Desirability of U.S. victory, 364–368
34. U.S. troops liberators, 381–384

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
35. Avoidance of military targets, 405–408
36. Evacuation of cities, 425, 426

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
38. Desire for peace, 444–447
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 474, 475
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 503–507
42. Nostalgia, 536

Goal: Discord
44. Resentment of profiteers, 556–561
45b. Dissension between groups, 588–590
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 606, 607
48. Resentment toward country's allies, 627–631

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 665–667

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 701, 702
53. Malingering and absenteeism, 715, (701, 713, 714)
55. Sabotage, 729, 730, (727, 736)
56. Organized resistance, 746, (726, 745)

Goal: Encouragement
60. Hope for the future, 786, 787

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 808, 809, (811)
64. Receptive attitudes to change, 844–846

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Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
37. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 434
38. Desire for peace, 448
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 476–478
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 503, 509
41. Disrespect for group leaders, 528
42. Nostalgia, 537

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Goal: Discord
44. Resentment of profiteers, 562, 563, (552, 554)
45a. Dissension between cliques, 577–579, (503)
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 603, 609, (596)
48. Resentment toward country's allies, 632–635

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 668–670

Goal: Panic
51. Disorganized or panicky behavior, 689, 690

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 703, (709, 693, 713)
55. Sabotage, 731, 732

Goal: Encouragement
60. Hope for the future, 788, (781, 790)

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61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 810–812, (809)
64. Receptive attitudes to change, 847, 848, (804)

PROFESSIONALS

Goal: Good Will
34. U.S. troops liberators, 385–387

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
35. Avoidance of military targets, 409, 410, (415, 418)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
38. Desire for peace, 449
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 479–481
43. Apathy, (548)

Goal: Discord
44. Resentment of profiteers, 564
45b. Dissension between groups, 591–593
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 610
48. Resentment toward country's allies, 636, 637

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 671, 672

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 704
53. Malingering and absenteeism, (713, 714)

Goal: Good Will
58. Strengthening of common ideals, (757, 758, 762)

Goal: Encouragement
59. Rebuilding national unity, 769, (772, 774)
60. Hope for the future, 789, 790, (792, 794)

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Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
61. Discrediting of defeated regime, (790, 834)
62. Countering of rumors/false reports, 825
63. Eradication of militarism, (837)
64. Receptive attitudes to change, 849, 850, (866)
65. Preparation for postwar world, 862, (867, 869)
66. Assistance in restoration of order, 882, (885)
67. Assistance in handling DP's and POW's, (872)

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Goal: Good Will
34. U.S. troops liberators, 388–390

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
35. Avoidance of military targets, 411, 412, (397, 398)

Goal: Encouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
37. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 435
38. Desire for peace, 450
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 482, 483, (515)
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 510–512
42. Nostalgia, 538, 539

Goal: Discord
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 611–613, (565)
48. Resentment toward country's allies, 638

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 673, 674, (654)

Goal: Panic
51. Disorganized or panicky behavior, 691, 692, (683)

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 705–707, (695)
53. Malingering and absenteeism, 716–718
55. Sabotage, 733–735, (743)
56. Organized resistance, 747, 748, (750)
57. Revolt or secession, (708, 742, 743)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 813–815
66. Assistance in restoration of order, 883, (892)
67. Assistance in handling DP's and POW's, 890, 891, (865)

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Goal: Good Will
34. U.S. troops liberators, 391–393, (388)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
35. Avoidance of military targets, 413–415, (416)

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Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
38. Desire for peace, 451, 452, (483)
39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 484, 485
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 513, 514, (469, 512)
41. Disrespect for group leaders, 529, 530
42. Nostalgia, 540

Goal: Discord
45a. Dissension between cliques, 580–582
45b. Dissension between groups, 594
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 614–616, (611)

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 675, 676

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
55. Sabotage, 736–739
56. Organized resistance, 749
57. Revolt or secession, 754–756

Goal: Good Will
58. Strengthening of common ideals, 763

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
65. Preparation for postwar world, 863–865

SECRET SOCIETY MEMBERS

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
35. Avoidance of military targets, 416, (411)

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
40. Disrespect for national leaders, 515, (512)
42. Nostalgia, 541
43. Apathy, (539)

Goal: Discord
44. Resentment of profiteers, 565
46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 617, (638)

Goal: Privatization
49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, (673, 674)

Goal: Subversion and Resistance
52. Slowdowns and delays, 708
53. Malingering and absenteeism, (701)
54. Strikes, 721, (713, 747)
56. Organized resistance, 750, (735)
57. Revolt or secession, (743, 752)

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59. Rebuilding national unity, 770

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Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
- 61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 818, 817, (824)
- 64. Receptive attitudes to change, 851, (865)
- 66. Assistance in restoration, (864, 891)
- 67. Assistance in handling DP's and POW's, 892, 893, (879)

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Goal: Good Will
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- 34. U.S. troops liberators, 391–396, (386)

Goal: Compliance/Cooperation
- 35. Avoidance of military targets, 417–422
- 36. Evacuation of cities, 427–430

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
- 37. Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory, 436, 437
- 38. Desire for peace, 461–463
- 39. Doubt re: own ideology, war aims, 486–488
- 40. Disrespect for national leaders, 516–524
- 41. Disrespect for group leaders, (501)
- 42. Nostalgia, 542–545
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- 44. Resentment of profiteers, 566–569
- 45b. Dissension between groups, 595, (592, 593)
- 46. Ethnic or social disaffection, 618, 619, (596)
- 48. Resentment toward country's allies, 639–644

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- 49. Dissatisfaction with conditions, 677–681

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- 52. Slowdowns and delays, 709–711, (727)
- 54. Strikes, 722–724, (745)
- 56. Organized resistance, 751

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- 59. Rebuilding national unity, 771–776
- 60. Hope for the future, 791–799

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- 61. Discrediting of defeated regime, 818, 819
- 62. Countering of rumors/false reports, 826
- 63. Eradication of militarism, 836–838
- 64. Receptive attitudes to change, 852, 853
- 65. Preparation for postwar world, 866, 867, (855, 858)
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