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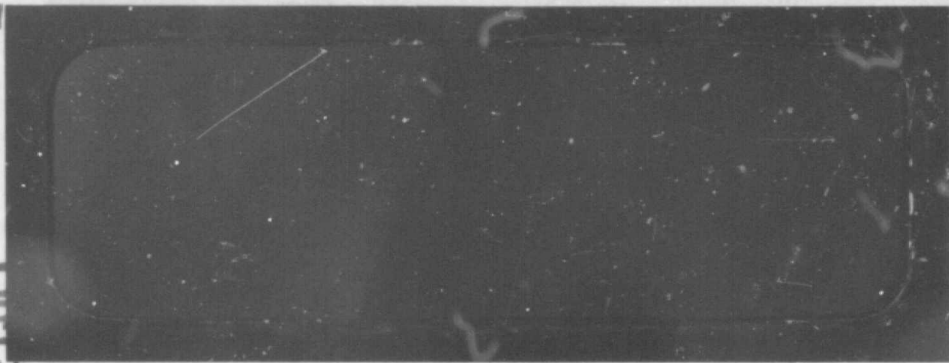
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PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE DIVISION

The George Washington University
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Task TICK

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⑨ Interim Report.

⑥ WANG TSUN-MING, ANTI-COMMUNIST:
An Autobiographical Account of Chinese Communist Thought Reform.

Approved:

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⑪ Nov 1954

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INTRODUCTION

Wang Tsun-ming, the subject of ^{the} ~~the following~~ autobiographical account, has been labelled by Radio Peking "a reactionary agent of Chiang Kai-shek". As a Chinese Nationalist officer, Wang fought the Communists in various roles for three years but was finally captured in 1949. After an unusually long, intense re-indoctrination he was put into the Communist Army and then sent to Korea, where he deserted to the United Nations. He subsequently became a major leader among the anti-Communist Chinese prisoners-of-war, and has now been repatriated to Formosa, where he has resumed his career in the Nationalist army. The present report is based upon interviews conducted while he was a POW.

The bulk of Wang's story concerns his re-indoctrination by the Communists. It reveals with exceptional clarity the emotional and intellectual elements of "brain-washing" and its effects upon a dynamic, natural leader of men. Especially noteworthy in Wang's detailed account of his "thought reform" are the progressive narrowing of the choices open to him, the devices by which the Communists wrecked his traditional and Nationalist social ties, and the way in which he simultaneously served the purposes of the Communists and developed a bitter-end will for revenge. The story makes it crystal-clear that the effectiveness of Communist "brain-washing" with Chinese subjects is not traceable to the inherent moral and intellectual power of Marxist-Leninist views, or to their special affinity to Chinese culture. The ingenious use of teaching procedures, especially the close interweaving

of formal instruction, group discussion, confession, and self and mutual criticism, have a lot to do with Communist success, but the preparation of detailed dossiers on the "pupils", intimate surveillance of their actions, physical exhaustion, and threats of severe penalties are indispensable - indeed crucial - parts of the process. Wang seems to have been an unusually difficult pupil, and was subjected to formal re-molding for a period three times as long as that prescribed for captured Nationalist officers. That his brain was not "washed clean" should warn us against exaggerating the potency of Communist techniques in re-shaping Chinese values and personality patterns.

At the same time, the reader should recognize that Wang's personal response to these controls is unique in some respects: he had unusually strong reasons to distrust and dislike the Communists, and their consequent effort to remold and control him reinforced this hatred even as it taught him to conform. Yet he is aware that his conformity was not a mere surface yielding.

As a prisoner of war in a huge compound on the island of Koje in Korea, Wang aided in the suppression of Communist conspiracy and participated in the development of a political "party" through which he and his group exercised authority. This part of his story, read in the context of what preceded it, provides insight into the bloody struggles between Communists and anti-Communists in the prison camps and into the attitudes, motives, and organization of the non-repatriate prisoners-of-war.

Wang Tsun-ming is clearly a vigorous man of action; he is also unusually lucid and articulate. He is tall, with an impressive military bearing, and speaks with an air of authority and conviction. He was selected for interview because of his breadth of experience in (a) the Nationalist Army during the civil war period, (b) Communist indoctrination schools, (c) the Chinese Communist Forces, and (d) the UN POW camps; and because of his understanding of and persistence in resisting Communist control. Because of his position of leadership in the POW compounds, the interviews upon which this report is based were interrupted repeatedly by other prisoners demanding Wang's advice and decision on internal administrative problems. But he is evidently proud of his record as an anti-Communist fighter; he tells the story freely and expresses willingness to have it widely known. In telling the story of his life, he grows most intense when he describes his re-education and "reform through labor" at the hands of the Communists. Indeed, he regarded the lessons of his experience under the Communists as so important that he made great efforts, unusual for him, to delegate his responsibilities as a POW leader in order to keep the long interview periods free of distraction.

The bulk of the following narrative is presented in the first person; it represents a nearly verbatim record of Wang's replies as translated by a highly qualified interpreter in the course of a three-day series of interviews conducted at Mosulp'o on Cheju-do in August 1953. Parts of the story, however, are summarized in the

third person and single spaced in the text below. These represent additional information acquired several weeks later through another series of interviews. A few highly specific items of information are from a routine Military Intelligence interrogation of Wang which was conducted shortly after he became a prisoner of war.

With one significant exception (which is noted in the text), these three sources of data on Wang Tsun-ming are mutually consistent at the many points of overlap; each of the three provides some information omitted by the others. The objective aspects of Wang's account of Communist techniques for consolidating power in the villages and of "brain-washing" are, of course, corroborated by many existing reports; his account of developments within the UN POW camps is supported by those of UN officers as well as other prisoners.

HUMRRO Project TICK, of which this report is a bi-product, is under the direction of William C. Bradbury. The two long interviews which form the principal basis of the case history were conducted by Lloyd E. Ohlin and Richard P. Harris. Major contributions to the editing of these materials and the preparation of the report were made by Richard P. Harris, Mrs. Helen Piazza, and William C. Bradbury.

CHRONOLOGY

- September 1926 Born in Shenmu-Hsien, Shensi Province
- 1933 - 1938 Attended primary school in Shenmu-Hsien. In 1938 Wang's parents prevailed upon a friend, an army officer, to take their son and leave the area, in order to protect him from the Communist guerrillas.
- 1938 - 1945 Travelled across China with his protector; completed primary and middle school.
- March 1946 Volunteered for and assigned to Civilian Service Section, Ministry of National Defense, at Suchow, Kiangsu Province. Became a warrant officer and received political schooling for four months.
- July 1946 Sent to Kiangsu Province to obtain information and to organize the people for counter-intelligence and security against the Communists.
- July 1947 Sent to Lini, Shantung Province in the same capacity. Joined the Kuomintang Youth Group. Volunteered for regular Nationalist Army.
- January 1948 Sent to CNA officer school in Nanking. After graduation as 2nd Lt, was sent to Sian, Shensi Province, as an instructor in a military police officers' school.
- July 1948 Assigned to Heavy Machine Gun Company, 1st Battalion, 181st Regiment, 61st Division, 90th Army at Pucheng-Hsien, Shensi Province as a political officer.
- August 1948 Retreated northwest with regiment after engaging CCF units. Promoted to 1st Lt.
- 1949 Became a regular member of the Kuomintang and a Company Commander, after further action and reorganization. Moved to Chengtu, Szechwan Province to engage CCF units.

December 1949	Regiment received orders from Army headquarters to surrender. Wang made strenuous efforts to break out of encirclement. Regiment interned at Liangshan-Hsien, Szechwan Province.
March 1950	Sent to "Military Political Academy" near Liangshan with 40 fellow officers; subjected to intensive political indoctrination for three months.
June 1950	Sent to Wan-Hsien, Szechwan Province, for a second period of indoctrination and "reform through labor".
October 1950	Sent to Chungking, Szechwan Province for a third period of indoctrination.
January 1951	Assigned to 82mm Mortar Co, 91st Regiment, 31st Division, 12th Army, CCF. Moved with 12th Army to Hankow, Hupeh Province, and then to Chin-Hsien, Hopeh Province.
March 1951	Moved to Antung, Manchuria, and a week later crossed the Yalu River into Korea.
21 May 1951	Surrendered to UN Forces. Was wounded slightly when taken.
June 1951	Placed in hospital, Camp #2, Pusan area. Transferred a month later to Camp #3, Pusan area.
August 1951	Transferred to Camp #10, Pusan area, for his protection after a dispute with Communists in the camp, and subsequently to Compound 86, Koje-do.
April 1952	Signified his desire not to repatriate.
June 1952	Moved to Camp #3, Mosulp'o, Cheju-do with 15,000 other non-repatriate Chinese. Became chief of Enclosure 2, with 5000 POWs, two months later.
September 1953	Moved to Demilitarized Zone for "explanations" by the Communists of "voluntary repatriation".

January 1954

Repatriated to Formosa with 14,000
other anti-Communist ex-POWs.
Re-commissioned as Lt. Col. following
three month rehabilitation program.

WANG TSUN-MING, ANTI-COMMUNIST

I. Family and Schooling

Wang Tsun-ming is 28 years old. He was born in Shenmu-hsien, about 160 miles north of Yen-an in Shensi province, northwest China, in September 1926. He was the second of three sons in a family of five children. His father was a minor Nationalist government official, and the major source of the family's income was his position as personnel chief of the county government. But the family also owned a small clothes shop and 100 mow of land (about 16 acres). By Chinese standards, therefore, Wang came from wealthy, landowning origins. While Wang and his younger brother were still students, the oldest brother became a chief of police.

At home with Wang's parents lived the two daughters, the three sons, the oldest brother's wife and eventually their three children. Wang's father's brothers and their families, similar in size and composition, also lived in the immediate family circle. This was, Wang tells us, "an old-fashioned Chinese family. The discipline was very strict, because I came from a rural family. When I did something wrong I used to be punished by being made to kneel in the corner or at the place of ancestor worship. I was instructed at great length in the moral code of China, and great stress was laid on filial piety."

As Wang approached his tenth birthday (1936), the Communist Eighth Route Army, having completed the now famous "long march" from the south of China, installed itself in northern Shensi. The southern part of the province was still controlled by the Nationalists, and even in the north the lines of Communist control were constantly shifting. Wang did not know what the word "Communist" meant; he recalls that the Communist forces were always referred to as "bandits" and described as "cruel" by his relatives and friends. Until he was eleven and left Shensi, Wang was not allowed to go out on the streets alone, since the Communist guerillas often kidnapped boys in the outskirts of the cities and in the rural areas.

√The Communists were not the only source of disorder and violence. A Manchurian army under General Chang Hsueh-liang, driven out of its home area by the Japanese, was in southern Shensi, ostensibly under Kudmintang orders to attack the Communists. But when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek visited the area late in 1936, Chang kidnapped him and

attempted to force the Generalissimo to agree to a "united front" of Communist and KMT forces against the Japanese. This policy was confirmed when the Japanese forces moved south from Manchuria into China proper in 1937. But the Communists used this period of domestic "cooperation" primarily to expand their own power.]

Thus, during 1938 the Communist armies became a "close threat" to the Shenmu-hsien area, and many boys were sent off to the Nationalist army schools. Wang says: "The local government had been ousted and my parents were very much afraid. They obtained a promise from a friend, an officer in the Nationalist Army, to take me with him and go away from the area. I stayed with him for a number of years and went to school wherever he was stationed." In the next few years Wang travelled over much of north China; at first the pair was in Anwei, then in Honan until 1945. Here Wang completed two years of a senior middle school (high school) run by the National Army. In addition to his regular classes, he received one hour of political study and two of military drill each week. The political course was principally anti-Japanese, and had no anti-Communist content.

As he was finishing his second year, the Japanese surrendered and the school moved from Honan to Suchow in coastal Kiangsu province. The government then withdrew its support, and Wang was forced to leave for lack of funds. He entered government service and never saw his family again.

As for the family, Wang says: "I got one letter from home in 1940, and had no further word until 1951. My family had stayed in Shenmu until the Communists came in 1940 to take over on a fairly permanent basis. At that time the whole family moved to the country where we own land - all the uncles as well. Eventually, I heard through friends in 1951, the family lost even their farmlands and had to escape to save their lives. They moved to the city of Sian [in central Shensi]. My older brother was dead." Then they were sent by the Communists to Suiyuan Province [beyond the Great Wall, northwest of Shensi] to open up the country. I do not know if they are still alive, since I have heard nothing more about them." Wang has no idea where his parents may be and thinks they are probably dead. He speaks of his family with little emotion and in the past tense, as if resigned to the fact of their death or disappearance.

II. Observations on Communist Procedures for Taking and Consolidating Power

After the Japanese surrender, a race developed between the Nationalists and Communists to secure the weapons, territory, and productive capacity that had been under Japanese control. With Russian help, the Communists won easily in Manchuria. By the end of 1946, they had captured Japanese arms deposits, isolated the province, and secured key locations throughout North China. Elsewhere, during 1946 and 1947, they employed their now famous hit-and-run guerrilla tactics to destroy Kuomintang armies piecemeal and to gain a stranglehold on communication centers in Central China. At the same time they built up strength and reorganized their forces for the final campaigns of conventional positional warfare.⁷

In this situation, according to Wang, the Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense issued a secret appeal to numerous young people to serve in the anti-Communist cause. Because "I always wanted to join the army, to revenge myself for what the Communists had done to me and my family," Wang joined a People's Service Team in March 1946 at the age of nineteen. He became a Warrant Officer in Suchow and received four months of political training, including for the first time some formal briefing on the Communist threat. For a while he served as a liaison officer with the civilian population, arranging billets and supplies for the militia. Later, he was given the job of organizing an anti-Communist intelligence network among the civilians, first in a part of Kiangsu province and the next year in neighboring southern Shantung.

Organizing Newly Captured Areas

In this job Wang became intimately familiar with Communist techniques for organizing newly captured territories.* Says he:

"In general it was a situation of vacillating conflict where control of an area passed from the Nationalists to the Communists and back again repeatedly. I did not see much evidence of indoctrination of the peasants by the Communists at that time. The Communist activity

*Wang's description of these procedures is confirmed by the personal experiences of other informants, as well as by several published accounts.

was guerrilla activity. They were interested in fighting and concentrated on that, moving in and then pulling back again. Under these conditions the Communist policy when they took over a village was one of mutual purging of people. This policy was pursued as follows:

(1) The first step would be to mobilize the riff-raff* in the area. The Communists told the riff-raff that now the tables had been turned and it was they who would purge the capitalist class. (2) The second step was to make use of the poor farmers to purge the well-to-do farmers. After each struggle for control of an area a number of rich farmers and capitalists were killed. Thus the vacillating conflict gradually led to the killing of rich merchants and those in the land-owning class. (3) The third step was then to mobilize the middle-class farmers to purge the riff-raff, because they had committed robbery, theft, and other crimes which were essentially crimes against the people. By that time large groups of recruits were ready to move with the Communists when they pulled out of the village, because they feared the revenge of their victims.

"The first job the Communists had, of course, was to organize the government. They pulled together party workers, "progressive" elements and people like that. The gangsters, riff-raff and thieves were used as goon squads and progressive elements at first. The first job was to mobilize these men. Then the Communists issued directives to the "progressives". Then they would have the first

*Asked what he meant by "riff-raff", Wang made it clear that in his vocabulary the term covered petty thieves and people who were poor or destitute or down-and-out.

public meeting, a people's assembly of the village. This is the beginning of the second step. During the assembly the "progressives" would be planted as stool-pigeons in the audience, and they would air grievances against well-to-do people. In this way victims are identified and charged. The victims are then told to confess their exploitation of the people. Of course their confessions can never be satisfactory. The goon squads would then kick and beat the victims and continue to air grievances against them and other people. I remember one village where a farmer was accused by a fellow of taking an egg. It was not the farmer who took it but his great-grandfather. The fellow charged that this egg became a chicken and this chicken made many eggs and so later there were many eggs and many chickens. Thus, this farmer would have to pay a huge fine on his exploitation of the original stolen egg. In this way and by such devices, it would eventually be possible to confiscate all his property to pay for his - or his ancestors' - exploitations of other people in the area. The next step would be for the poor people, the agitators, to move into the rich farmer's house, claiming he had exploited them. The farmer would be told to borrow from friends and relatives to pay the fines which were assessed against him. The fines were levied usually by a vote of the poor classes in the public assembly. The final stage, after the man had been stripped of all his property, was to force a confession from him. This confession would be rejected on the grounds that the man was a perpetual liar, that his guilt had been established, and that he had reactionary elements in his makeup which could not be changed. An

agitator would cry out that the man should be beaten to death. Planted 'progressives' in the assembly would respond and agree. Sometimes all the members of the assembly would be forced to participate in the execution. Each person would be given a bamboo stick. They would parade by in single file and whip the victim. Thus the blood of the victim and his final death would be on each man's hands. Sometimes even women and children would have to participate. All families in the area were made to participate in such executions in public, and thus they all in some measure shared the guilt of them.

"The Communists took money and food themselves. The land and the property they distributed to those who claimed the most exploitation. In this way people were encouraged to air grievances, since by airing grievances they could lay a claim to land and property.

"The third stage is when the purging gets turned around. The middle-class farmers in China are those who just manage to plant their land and get along. The Communists talk to them. They point out the criminal threat, the thefts, and the unworthiness of the riff-raff. Thus, they even use the middle-class to fight the tenant farmers who are too obedient to the landlords, insisting that the middle-class farmers suffered from subservience of the tenant farmers to the landlords. Now another public meeting is held. The riff-raff are charged and also the very poor tenant farmers because they were too obedient to the landlords. Members of the middle-class farmers are planted in the assembly. These party members or 'progressive'

middle-class farmers then say 'Let's give these people another chance since they are part of the proletariat. Henceforth, if they serve the people they will redeem themselves'. Then the Communist Party members call for the poor peasants, the tenant farmers and the riff-raff to join the army. These people knew that it was either a case of joining the army or being purged by the assembly, so they usually joined the army. The poor peasants did not have to be accused of bad action as much as the riff-raff group. The poor peasants had received land in the purging of the upper-class wealthy farmers and so they were told: 'Now that you have benefited from the people you must serve the interest of the people.' They were also advised that by joining the army they would serve to protect their new holdings. Thus the poor peasants were appealed to less for redeeming their former crimes than to protect the new benefits they had won.

"The Communists operated on a very different time schedule when they had firm control of an area than they did when they were moving in and out in the guerrilla days. When they were operating as guerrillas they had to speed the process up and it was not so thorough as later on. After firm control is established in an area the process may last as long as eight months. In the first stage, three months are spent in which no apparent action is taken. Everything is calm on the surface. This time is spent in research and investigation by the Communists. The Communists appeared to do things openly and above-board. They had simple slogans which were easily understood

and there was a great deal of easy explanation for everything that was wrong. The soldiers treat the people well and even help with the farm-work. At this time many people become converts to the Communist cause, but in reality the Communists are finding out all about everyone in the village and their relations with each other. In the second stage a village committee is organized consisting of the poor farmers. The third stage consists of the purging of landlords and rich farmers and the fourth stage of land redistribution. Thereafter purging is continuous as the need arises. With the guerrillas this whole process was speeded up and might take place within a month. Under these conditions many landlords escaped. Where the control was firm in the later days the Communists were able to make their restrictions on the movement of people stick and no one escaped. During the period of land reform no one is allowed to leave the village without a permit. In this way everyone is kept under control. After the land reform is completed restrictions are relaxed and people can move about more freely.

Resistance, Submission, and Commitment

"I do not think any effective resistance against this process is possible. I found that rich people preferred to commit suicide rather than to fight. They tried to keep everything, to hold on to it to the last minute. When the Communists take away their farm they try to save their house. When they lose their house they try to save their clothes. When they lose their clothes they try to save their lives.

Finally there is nothing left, and they commit suicide. These people will not resist. They are poor fighters. They always try to compromise with the Communists. Furthermore, there is close surveillance of rich people. They are usually imprisoned after they are charged at the very beginning. Under these conditions the man tries to protect his family after he has lost everything else. Then he tries to kill himself rather than fight hoping that this will protect his family and they will leave the family alone. These people are not used to fighting. They hope that at some point they will be let alone. Frequently old men and women also kill themselves rather than fight. The able-bodied men who could resist the Communists and might be inclined to are rounded up and imprisoned. This leaves only the older people and the very young left at home and they are unable to fight. Of course the Communists do not call it imprisonment; they call it 'protective custody'.*

"Under these conditions there is no real physical resistance. Most of the resistance seems to come from people who have tended to collaborate with the Communists before. They may even have sons in the Communist army, but during the period of land reform perhaps their land-holdings are reduced. They protest verbally. They argue that they have supported the Communists and should not lose the land.

*Here Wang adds: "The Communists are always turning words upside down. When they say 'protective custody', they try to make you believe that they are protecting the man from the mob or from the public assembly and from purging. In the same way they refer to the places where they reform men and brain-wash them as 'military colleges'."

Penalties are levied on them for making this protest. They are charged by the Communists with not being honest; usually they are middle-class peasants who hold up to maybe 20 mou of land (about 3 acres). Each member of the family is entitled to 3 mou of land. If there are four members then the family is entitled to 12 and if they hold 20 now, they must lose 8. If they protest they are penalized for the protest. Instead of losing 8 they may lose 10 or 12 now, so no one protests. The system varies from one locality to another, but the amount of land depends on how many people there are in the area and what the local conditions are as regards their being able to farm the land.

"Some resistance comes from the poor tenant farmers who refuse to accuse certain land-owning 'capitalists'. Some of the land-owners were very benevolent and very friendly to the tenant farmers. These farmers were loyal to their friends and to the proprietors. Some tenants therefore refused to be used by the Communists and refused to denounce the landlord during the purgings. Failure to cooperate in this way meant they either had to run away, or some might join the Communist army to escape, or some were charged as running-dogs of the landlords and penalized accordingly. The way these people acted shows that the Chinese have a strong moral code. The real problem with our people is their general ignorance. That is why the Communists are so successful.

"In my job I found the peasants very cooperative. In general the local people seemed to think that the Communists were oppressive in

recruiting for guerrilla activity and for labor and in their methods of collecting food. The first thing we did when we came back into a village that had been occupied by the Communists was to call a meeting of the whole people. We told them we were aware that the Communists forced everyone to participate and we assured them that only under the Communists do they have to do things like this. The worst elements had usually departed with the Communists. We got some complaints by relatives of people who had been the victims, but these complaints were reconciled for the purpose of restoring order and for the purpose of conserving the popular support for the Nationalist cause in the area. We tried to help the victims of the Communist terror and to reorganize the countryside for the Nationalist cause. We recruited peasants and other people in the area to serve as informants for such a time as Communists might again move into the area. People who had served as purgers for the Communists were given a chance to repent and again serve as Nationalist supporters. Nonetheless, in this process the Communists always gained strength, since they had involved people in actions for which these people feared to be called to account by the Nationalists when the Nationalists returned. [Such people became tied to the Communist wagon.] Under these conditions the Nationalists were continually losing strength.

"I recall one case in Lini, in Shantung Province. It happened in 1947. The Communists occupied this area and then it was recovered by our side. I had to help organize the people. When we got there we

found a tremendous welcome. The people killed chickens and everything to welcome us. This included all classes except those who left with the Communists. I found that many poor people still believed strongly in the old moral code of the Chinese. The Communists violated this code. We rounded up the old village heads who had fled from the Communists. There were Nationalist Youth members who had become Nationalist guerrillas when the Communists came in, and they returned too. We also used the poor peasants who were willing to cooperate with us. The government was reinstated with little change. The poor tenant farmers returned to the government the land they had received from the landlords - that is, the land taken from those people whom the Communists had killed.

"In the beginning, as I said, the Communists got many converts and got a great deal of active support. But gradually the people find out that Communism has a way of increasing its demands after the organization is firmly established. The freedom of movement of the people is restricted; the taxes become even greater than those levied by the former landlords; the people have to make continuous contributions to the government; they must give manpower to the army. They begin to feel trapped and to see no escape. I will tell you how the Communists operated. They had what they called a Three-Step campaign in the early days - and in the later days too - of their conquests. The first step was the strict discipline of the army - strong disciplinary measures for all the troops. The second step they called a "love

people campaign", and the third step was to instill terror and fear psychologically. I found - and people told me too - that the Communist army was far more disciplined than the Nationalist army. The soldiers were taught that they had a mission to serve Communism and that they could perform this mission by treating the people well. They were forbidden to steal or commit any act of disregard for the rights of civilians. They were urged to help the people in many ways. They helped with farm work, carried water, and did other things. In this way they won friends. This was part of their discipline and their "love people campaign" in the early stages. Later on, they began the purgings by exploiting the resentments of the peasants against the rich landlords. These purgings instilled fear and terror. Then later the people are told by the Communists to build a militia to protect the Communist organization against raids by the Nationalists or against sabotage. They are told they will get better food in the militia and they will be treated well. But after they join up they are moved to another place to get training. Then suddenly they find themselves very far away from home, out of touch with everybody, and incorporated into the Communist army. These people then become very resentful because they feel they have been tricked into it."

Destruction of Traditional Loyalties and Moral Code

Repeatedly in his interviews with U.S. personnel, Wang reverted to the theme of the destructive impact of Communism upon old loyalties and moral precepts, which is so well illustrated in his own experience. Thus he says:

"It must be clear that the Communists are a revolutionary party. Their only chance to gain power is through chaos. It is also clear that in China the teachings of Confucius are the backbone of the Chinese people and help to maintain the social order of China. Some of the details of these teachings are obsolete, but the principles still stand and serve to govern effectively all relations between family members, friends and strangers in China. The Communists blame the poverty and weakness of China in the past on her moral heritage. They charge that the restrictions of the moral code kept China backward and kept her from moving ahead in the world.

"They would usually start with the family. Filial piety is one of the highest virtues, according to the old code of Confucius. The Communists tried to promote dissension between family members. They persuaded sons to denounce their parents as reactionaries. They tried to break up husband and wife relationships by giving the wife greater emancipation and by organizing women generally into various women's groups. They also created dissension among brothers, trying to get one brother to report on another. They tried to exploit the feelings of rivalry between brothers which have always existed. They tried to exploit conflict between different age groups, the old and the young. They tried to split all these groups up. The slogan that they used was 'Everything for the younger generation'.

"I have seen them try to break up the family system very early, especially in the early school years. They taught the children that

parents brought you to this world by accident, but Mao Tse-tung will educate and care for you; you needn't depend on your parents any longer, but depend on Mao Tse-tung. Another thing they did was to publicly praise the children as being intelligent and patriotic. They would urge them to report on their home life. They would pick out a child as a shining example if that child reported on his parents as reactionary. They would say to the child and the other children, 'By getting his parent arrested, this child has served hundreds of people'. Another thing they would do is to plant questions for the child to ask his parents, and then he would report back to the school. They would make use of the children's reports about their parents to build up a case against the parents. They usually use such techniques on specially identified targets that they want to purge or eliminate.

"In the old Chinese family, dissension among the members or splitting up of the family property was regarded by everyone as reflecting on the honor of the family. There was very little quarreling between family members because this too was regarded as reflecting on the family honor. I believe it is easier to break up the families in the cities. In the rural areas they are more conservative and the children adhere much closer to the old moral code, but in the city there are more influences outside the family which affect their behavior. When I was at home, discipline was very strict, because I came from a rural family.....

"I will tell you an example of what I saw, showing how the Communists try to break up the family. During the indoctrination program which I went through after I was captured, we were told by the Communist authorities at the military college that we were going to visit a ten-day Youth League meeting. This meeting of boys that we watched concerned the case of a father who had beaten his son. The son reported the beating at the meeting and the father was called up to be questioned and lectured by the authorities and then questioned by other children in the group through prepared questions. They asked, 'Do you not know it is a feudalistic practice to beat one's son? Do you not know children have liberty and self-respect? Children are the masters of tomorrow. Do you not know they are treasures of the country?' Finally the son was told to hit his father back before the group. After the meeting the Communists lectured our former Nationalist officers from the military college, and told us, 'We took your group to see this because you all have old feudalistic ideas. Henceforth you must realize that the feudalistic practice is to be wiped out'. After this we all had to discuss the case and justify this interpretation though we were all sick at heart at what we had seen.

"Another way they tried to do it was to break up relationships between friends. Friends have always been sacred and the bonds of friendship have been honored. An example of this is what they did between me and my troops. See below They forced us to denounce

each other and become suspicious of each other. They also tried to work on the attitude toward the nation. They tried to replace the loyalty to the family and the country with loyalties to the leaders of the Communist party. They also systematically went about burning the old books, and rewrote history in an effort to blank out the teachings which lay in the historical writings of the Chinese people.

"Do you know that the Communists taught that no sentiments are to be allowed between people? The only sentiment allowed is stated by the Communists as follows: 'There is no sentiment between individuals. Emotion is only to be built on the revolutionary basis. Revolution purges all decadent thoughts. Everyone should worship Mao Tse-tung.'* The Communists do not like 'wise people'. One is not supposed to use his brain to think but to learn the true - that is, the Communist - precepts. Letting your brain become too well developed, the Communists say, is dangerous.

Communist Substitutes for Traditional Sentiments

"Of all the emotions the Communists taught, the most important is 'revolutionary emotion'. This means obedience to Mao Tse-tung and his Party. One becomes a comrade by virtue of this emotion. Only this emotion is permitted. Let me give you an example. They teach us about 'revolutionary love'. This is one of the accepted emotions of love. When an old party member has sought the favor of a young

*The quotation is a literal translation from Chinese characters which Wang wrote down from memory.

woman of the party, it is necessary to get her to submit willingly. Other women party members will persuade her. They will say to her, 'We know that this man is ugly and old, but he has contributed greatly to the revolution. You are not going to bed with this man, but with what he represents. You will be serving the Party and be duly rewarded for your action. Your refusal will be a refusal of the cause and not the man.'* Thus you can see that everything between persons, all kinds of sentimental relationships, must always have some kind of revolutionary reason.

"Among the parents, mostly there was just sort of a passive depression, despondency, fear and anxiety in response to these Communist tactics. They did not know how to resist or to fight. It was mostly passive resistance. Sometimes they refused to support the son at school. But there were too many outside influences at work dividing and splitting the family members from each other. All the members belonged to different organizations. They became members of units outside the home, which separated them. They found gradually they had more in common with these outside organizations than they did with the family or other members of the family. These outside units always kept trying to promote trouble in the home. The family members could no longer share their thoughts and experiences because of fear of betrayal by the others in the family at their organization meetings. The family

* Wang laughed repeatedly as he recounted this illustration, as if at the transparency of this disguise for a seduction.

members were warned by the Communists not to discuss outside the organization what went on in the meetings, so they could not talk at home about what happened outside the home. The most important teaching that was always drummed into them in these organizations was that they must always follow Mao Tse-tung and his leadership of the Party and the demands of the Communist organization. This takes precedence over all other loyalties including those to family members."

III. Combat and Capture by The Communists

In 1947, Wang joined the Kuomintang Youth affiliate, and late that year volunteered for service in the regular Nationalist Army. Early in 1948 he was transferred to a select central cadre in Nanking for training as a political officer. Here he had three months of anti-Communist training, including courses in the three principles of Sun Yat-sen and the Four-Open Movement, an anti-graft campaign. He then asked for assignment in his home province of Shensi, served briefly as a political instructor in a school for Military Police officers in Sian, and was again transferred at his own request to a regular military unit, the 181st Regiment, 61st Division, 90th Army, at Pucheng, Shensi. Here as a Second Lieutenant he gave political instruction at the company level. A few months later he was promoted to first Lieutenant. In 1949 he became a regular member of the Kuomintang.

Morale was very high in the 61st Division, according to Wang; the Division was noted for its bravery and fighting spirit. Wang states that at one time the Communists were ready to sacrifice three armies in order to crush this Division. The Communists were particularly afraid to fight the 61st since this division was the top of the cream. The 90th Army was the best of the three Northwest armies which were Chiang's most loyal troops (under General Hu Chun-nam) and had been sent to prevent a Russian move to the south. They were armed with American weapons. Wang says he thoroughly enjoyed fighting the Communists. His division, he recalls, always tried to take Communist prisoners alive since prizes were offered for captives.

One of the most courageous and well-known fights of this division, according to Wang, occurred when it was surrounded by four Communist armies in October of 1948. Almost the entire 181st Regiment was wiped out in six months of fighting. Forty men, including Wang, attempted to fight out of the encirclement in two hours, but only 21 men lived to tell the story. For this daring escape, Wang was given a decoration certificate, 30 silver dollars, and a captaincy.

The 181st was reorganized and the Army retreated westward to Kansu province. There in 1949 Wang received another month of officer training and then was reassigned to his regiment as an infantry company commander. His job was to guide troops across the mountains in the battle zone. But after fighting only a month, the troops were transferred:

"The Nationalist troops were ordered to fight as guerrillas in the rear of the Communists, and we were among them. But very

shortly we were ordered to Szechwan province, where a huge showdown battle was scheduled to take place. There were many conflicting orders at this time, and everybody was very confused. The Communists were already in possession of the territory to which we were finally ordered, and the local Szechwan forces had rebelled and were fighting our troops. These rebel troops were under Generals Liu Wen-whei, Ten Hsi-ho, and Pan Chun-san, who sold out to the Communists before the Nationalist Army could effect plans to retreat to Tibet. The armies of these warlords surrounded our units. They ordered us to disarm, but as a company commander I refused. I organized two platoons to serve as guerrillas, and we tried to break out of the encirclement. The Communists captured the generals of our Division and Corps. These senior officers advised us to surrender, but we broke out with one battalion. We were surrounded again by the Szechwan Army. Again I was returned to my unit, and I tried to negotiate and build up more resistance against the Communists."

At this point, Wang launched into a long, impassioned description of his attempts to break out of the encirclement. He seemed to place a great deal of stress on his own participation in organizing these breakouts, particularly as evidence of his resistance to Communism. There follows a brief outline of his several escape attempts:

"I organized three escape attempts in an effort to return to a guerrilla status and break out of the encirclement. The first time it was successful - one platoon got away. But before

I could get the rest of the platoons out, the plot was discovered. We were then moved to another place, and for a second time I mobilized my company and other companies as well. But this was discovered before we had a chance to make the break. A few of the officers had gone over to the Communist side, and we didn't know it. They had become progressives. The Communists then reorganized the battalion command. I then made a third attempt. I organized two companies. The company from the other battalion was discovered, and we had no chance to break out. The Communists seized me and talked to me for two hours. They did not dare discipline me too much because they knew I was not only an officer but a leader, and they were afraid I would fight, and they were trying to win the confidence of the men. The regimental commanders, who were siding with the Communists at that point, asked the Communists to remove me away from the men. That's when they took me out as a disturbing element. After they first arrested me they kept me seven days and nights in a dark room.

IV. "Reform" at the Hands of the Communists

The 181st Regiment was interned at Liangshan, Szechwan, late in December, 1949. Wang and 40 of his fellow officers were segregated, and in March 1950 were moved to a large nearby installation. Here he began his political re-education. That his troops were subjected to a similar though less intense indoctrination is indicated in the following:

"I was no longer with my troops, but later in Korea I met some of the men, and they told me what had happened. At first there was no change. The Nationalist Army was not disbanded, they only were lectured by the Communists. They were told that those with no guilt would be forgiven, and others could redeem themselves. Only a few cadre of persons from the Communist side stayed to promote better relations among the Nationalist troops. The Communists more or less stayed under cover, but they conducted individual interviews. After two months the Communists fully understood all the individual backgrounds of the men and the organization of the Nationalist troops. The food was excellent. The troops had meat every day - better even than the Communist army.

Then general discussion meetings were held, organized by units. They started the airing of grievances and then the liquidation of a few targets. After that there was a systematic elimination and weeding out of reactionary and unreliable elements."

First Indoctrination Period: Military Political Academy

Wang and other captured officers became students at the Political Military Academy near Liangshan. The period of indoctrination here was three and a half months. There were over one thousand students, some of them men who had been selected for training as party members, but most of them officers captured from the Nationalist forces. Wang recognized many of the students as former officers of the 1st, 3rd, and 90th Nationalist Armies. During the first three weeks they were permitted contact with one another, but after that all contact was suspect since cells of opposition might develop. The class was broken up into groups of 40 persons, the members of each group living together with assigned leaders.

1. The "winning over" period.

"The impression I got was that of a military and political college because that was just the way it looked. My first reaction and that of the other men was that it was not so bad. They treated us very well, and we thought that maybe the Communists would treat us well after all. The environment was very good, and we had a lot of freedom at first. All of the students were greatly impressed for this two-week period, since we had anticipated no such freedom. Many had received little education and they thought that now they would get a college education. They were told that after they had finished their training they would be able to get home and, if they were willing to work with the people, this training would make them better qualified. I felt frustrated by the failure of the guerrilla movement and the failure to break out of the encirclement. I was ready to give them the benefit of the doubt and make the best of it.

"There were three main steps in the training program. The first

step was one of management, which was placed in the hands of the students. We conducted our own elections, and we disciplined ourselves, and the Communists did not interfere with our activities at all.

"The second step was one in which the Communists began to promote activities designed for our spiritual and physical well-being. There was still no coercion and no indoctrination. We had sports and games and dancing; just plain recreation, and no coercion at all. For the first two weeks we had been given complete freedom by the Communists.

2. Indoctrination, confession, criticism: the screws tighten.

"After these first two weeks, the groups of forty were divided up into separate classes and the real indoctrination stage began. This lasted the rest of the time we were at Liangshan. The main themes of the classes were that the old way was false while the new way brings theory and practice together; that action always follows discussion; and that labor is the foundation of the world. Heavy work always went along with the instruction in theory, even when the work was not closely related to the subject we were studying.

"They started off first with lectures which explained the wrong-doing of the Nationalist regime and attributed many evil schemes to General Chiang Kai-shek. Following the lectures we

had discussions in the evenings. Now we had to do more and more what the Communists wanted us to do, such as dancing and singing and holding discussion meetings, and the schedule became very heavy. We had less and less time to ourselves. Subsequent lessons were on 'The Purpose of Society' and 'The History of Social Evolution.'

"After the first few weeks of theory and discussion, the airing of grievances began. Each of us had to accuse the others in group meetings for their past or present failings; we all had to criticize ourselves and each other. Soon began the period when we had to write our personal histories. These autobiographies went into the files and were used to check our activities in the past. Then came the period of 'greater understanding of each individual', the purpose of which was to probe into our backgrounds and build up the file. All our own confessions in response to accusations by others were included. The next step was the lectures on the history of social evolution - many lectures and much discussion. And finally there was the period of 'co-ordination of mind and action'. The purpose of this was to firmly establish recognition of the proletarian class and to identify ourselves with it in mind and action. After the first two weeks of gentle introduction to life in the 'college', all these stages took the remaining three months.

"I do not remember too much about the economic theories taught at Liangshan⁷. But one point impressed me. They said there

was no such thing as basic economic laws, but if one set goals according to Marxism it was possible to control the course of economic development. If certain things are regarded as favorable to Communism, it is possible to adapt the theory of Marxism to rationalize them. It was most important above all to understand the rise of the proletariat.

"In this first school, after the first few weeks, there were generally six class days and one 'free day'. But on the 'free day' the students were never allowed to rest, since almost every minute had some planned activity, usually heavy labor. Everyone volunteered to occupy himself usefully on these days. The other days were divided into class days, when the majority of time was spent in lecture and discussion, and occasional work days, when the students volunteered to do heavy work such as carrying heavy sacks of rice. Work was always emphasized and held in high esteem because here 'theory is put into practice'.

"On class days much of the class time was spent in planning or discussion before work and in criticism and resolutions for improvement afterward. There were times when we worked only half a day and spent the rest of the day in discussion. But we were always kept busy and everyone was under great pressure to participate actively."

Wang describes a typical class day as follows:

- 5:00 a.m. Get out of bed, and immediately divide into small groups of four or five persons to resolve good behavior for the day--e.g., "We must work hard and study hard. We must not let our heads nod in class."
- 5:20 Twenty-minute rest period.
- 5:40 Breakfast
- 6:00 "Big Class"; a two-hour lecture on the current subject matter. Students must take voluminous notes.
- 8:00 Twenty minute rest period.
- 8:20 "Small Class": students in small groups read their notes from the Big Class and discuss the topic for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Everyone participates actively.
- 12:00 p.m. Lunch
- 12:15 Fifteen-minute rest period
- 12:30 Small group discussion. Questions asked about aspects of the current topic that are still not understood.
- 1:00 Big Class
- 3:00 Small Class
- 5:00 Supper
- 5:15 Folk dance. Everyone participates
- 5:45 Thirty-minute rest period
- 6:15 Small Cell discussion. Four or five students report to each instructor. Personal criticism and the leader indicates where improvement can be or has been made. Sample topic: How to become eligible for the Communist Party.
- 6:45 Ten-minute rest period
- 7:00 "Small Class". Three cells with a total of twelve persons. Criticism of daily behavior--e.g., "You only carried forty sacks of rice".
- 7:30 Singing session. All songs have an ideological content

8:30 Roll call. As names are called the leader gives praise or blame to the student for his behavior during the day.

Here is the way the accusation system worked. "Not far away my enlisted men were also being given special training. Among other activities, they accused their former platoon leaders and officers. I was accused of three errors: squeeze graft, slapping enlisted men, and having a 'big shot complex'. I was taken back to the compound where I had lived before being removed from the unit, and faced four enlisted men who were my accusers. I confessed to my errors and said that now my mind had been reconstructed. It was fortunate for me that I was a good athlete and was respected by my men; they could have made things much worse for me."

3. The price of self-preservation

"I will tell you everything that happened and just how my first impression changed. I had been there a little over a month and had been writing all these personal histories and everything, and the Communists knew about my past and knew that my father had been a landowner. It was in April, 1950, and they were beginning to conduct land reforms in my home town, in Shensi. Four soldiers from Shensi addressed a letter to me. They told me to return and face land reform procedures at home. I knew this meant I would be liquidated if I went back, and I tried to find ways so that I wouldn't have to go back and face the purgings in the village. I went and spoke to the authorities of the school. I said, 'I wish

to learn to be a new man here'. The military authorities at the school said that I had to talk to the four soldiers. I talked to them very courteously. I explained to the leader that I had never indulged in corruption. I admitted I had beaten one man in my command. I agreed to apologize before the people.

"The four soldiers said they had no authority not to take me back to the province with them, unless it was okayed by the school authorities. Now I was a good basketball player at the school, and the school authorities knew me quite well. Also many teammates spoke in my behalf. I wrote a seven-page letter to give to the soldiers to take back to the province with them. In the letter I gave a thorough confession of everything. I confessed I was from the landlord class, that I had accepted their practices, and I knew this was wrong, and I wished full-heartedly to be a member of the proletarian class. I would even be willing to confess irregularities before the people to show my humility to the people. I had one fountain pen as my only possession; I would surrender it for proper use by the people. I begged them for another chance so that men like me could become useful to the New China. I also wrote a second letter to my old squad leaders in my old unit. This letter was sent back to the unit. I urged these men to accept the communist program, so that they might benefit and work for the people. I told them I had given up everything to work and to learn under the new Communist system.

"Under these conditions some of the students were taken back to face charges at home, and some were permitted to stay. It all depended where the authorities thought the men could be put to the best use to further the Communist cause, either at home or at the school. I believe that the school authorities engineered this whole thing. They had my record, and they knew where I came from, so they notified the home authorities. This was not used on all men, but it was mostly used on those in a position of leadership, like commanding officers. In this way the resistance of the commanding officers is broken down and their willingness to cooperate is then used to educate others in the school and among the troops back in their old units.

"It all depended on the individual case. Those who were best supported by the men at the school were allowed to remain as an example that could be used with their troops. Those who were very corrupt would be used for a better purpose back home.

"I think that this trick they played on me occurred about one and a half months after I arrived. All this time the educational process or indoctrination was going on among my old troops too, so these old troops were more receptive to this. The Communists thoroughly planned everything, and they insured the success of techniques like this. They used them to convince my former soldiers to follow their bidding. They are diabolically clever. They destroy all personal relationships and feelings. After such an action, I

could no longer reorganize my men to resist even if I tried. I am convinced the men would not respond after the letter I wrote. The loyalty that used to be between us was destroyed. [I am sure that this was the result because I was able to learn what was going on among the enlisted men]. There was a lieutenant colonel from the same Nationalist unit there at the school going through the training. He had an aide who was able to bring messages from the outside, so we knew about activities back in our old company. We knew the Communists had mobilized the men to use him as a target. They had mobilized the men against me as a target too. They had mobilized those whom I had beaten, and the beaten ones helped to mobilize the rest against me. The entire company was forced to unanimously condemn me as a person. They worked individually on those who would not do this; they intimidated and forced them to agree to criticize me.

"I knew that all the men felt guilty in violating the old moral code between officers and men, and I knew that they would not hold me strictly responsible for the letter I had written, because they too had realized that I had been forced to do what I did. Nevertheless, it broke up something between us.*

"Furthermore, I felt badly hurt in my feelings because of the

*As he told this story, Wang gave evidence of being highly emotional and upset. This seems to have been an extremely distressing experience and it was surely a distressing confession to make to strangers. Moreover, he manifested great bitterness toward the communist pressure and trickery which had forced this kind of behavior.

unfair charges they had directed against me. I knew that the confession that I had to make out was not true. I knew that I was not corrupt, but I also knew that the Communists wanted 'to kill without having victim's blood on one's hands'. This meant that they wanted physical and mental liquidation of one's self by one's self, so that no one could say they had done it but rather the person had brought it upon himself by the nature of his previous actions. In this way they could kill without having the victim's blood on their hands.

"I was struck with a great fear. This was the first time I really realized the danger I was in. I became very keen and alert to the danger, and I was always alert to what was going on around me. I felt a great bitterness growing in me toward the whole system, and my desire for revenge was strengthened, though also it strengthened my precaution to preserve myself alive, so that I could have this revenge. At the time of writing the letter, I knew there was no alternative. I must write it or perish. I became aware then of the great deception by the Communists. From that time on, the frequent review of my case and my confessions insulted and hurt me further, and my resolve was strengthened to fight the Communists with everything I had. At the time I acted out of fear of being returned home. I desperately looked around and sought an alternative; this was the only way out.

"The only consolation I had was that it was customary for people

to have to do this sort of thing. I knew that it was serving the Communist purpose, but I could not help myself. I felt that my troops would not believe it at heart, though they had to appear to believe it."

The Communists also forced Wang to confess his past errors through writing and re-writing his personal history. Hours were spent dredging up all past events. This personal history became a part of his file.

4. False confessions and their uses

The diaries and autobiographies the men wrote were rarely acceptable upon first writing, and were written over and over until all sins were discussed and rejected with sufficient fervor.

After all the autobiographies were handed in, the leaders gave talks to the group stating in very polite language that "some of us are still not honest." No one was specifically pointed out, but everyone was afraid that he was the one being censured. Some students were pointed out as models. The leader would say, "This man has been most honest, but others of us have not done so well." Wang felt guilty because he had not been so honest a man as these, but his fear kept him from telling the whole story.*

The group was also given blanks to fill in. Such questions were asked as: "How many Communists have you killed?" "How many women have you raped?" At first Wang refused to fill in these blanks, and the Communist leader asked him to come to the office. There the leader continually asked questions, keeping Wang in the same seat for hours. This process continued for three or four days, the strain

*Wang's "sense of guilt" about his dishonesty indicates that, despite his hatred of the Communists, he had already partly internalized - i.e., had partly accepted and was partly acting on - the Communist standards of conduct. Evidently membership in a group which is undergoing "thought reform" and a sense of obligation to measure up to the group standards, even though these standards have been foisted on the group, is one of the strongest weapons the Communists possess.

becoming greater and greater. Wang says he became confused because there was no time for rest or thought and finally capitulated. Never did the Communist leader use open threats. Rather, the leader would continually ask questions, keeping Wang constantly defending himself, and would use such veiled threats as: "You know the people have treated you very well in spite of all your past errors. Now you, in turn, must tell the whole story and hold nothing back." Everyone knew that even more severe re-education awaited those who did not measure up to the people's generosity.

All former Nationalists, Wang believes, were afraid of revealing the wrong things. For example, confession that one had killed any Communists, he believed, might result in public trial and death. He knew that one of his former enlisted men was killed after admitting killing Communists. Wang remembered bayoneting several Communists in battle, but he never mentioned these in his diary. To be safe, he wrote that he did not know whether or not he killed any Communist soldiers since all fighting had been at long range. However, to compensate for his assertions of innocence in this dangerous area he wildly exaggerated the number of prostitutes he had visited and invented stories of rape. These sexual errors were particularly necessary since "the Communists believed that all Nationalists had committed rape," and if no such incidents were confessed the individual was put under heavy social pressure, until he finally was forced to admit such crimes, whether he had committed them or not. Other members of the group also read and "helped" one to write his diary, particularly where one failed to mention certain errors in his past.

"Inside one felt ashamed for confessing anything at all, but outwardly one must appear to have strong feelings of guilt for these past acts. One always had to rationalize this guilt by blaming it on the old society. One showed progress by saying that one was making this confession for the new society.

"I felt great shame in confessing homosexual acts, even though I didn't do them, since homosexuality is highly condemned in the old moral code.

"After each lecture, it was necessary to have an airing of grievances or confession meeting, and in this meeting we might say

how we were inspired by a lecture, phrase, or by the action of a comrade. We must cite the turning point at each stage of our learning of Communism. Each new insight that we got had to be aired, and our former erroneous thinking condemned. Thus, each time I confessed my past errors, I dealt with a different area, because always I was learning new insights, and therefore had to condemn new past errors. At the end of the three-month indoctrination period, I had to make a list of all previous wrongs that I had discovered I had committed. I had to list how many chickens I killed, how many beatings I gave, how many women I raped or seduced, and how many homosexual acts I committed. I had to tell this whether I had done it or not. I used to invent these things. Everybody did."

When asked by the interviewer whether the great amount of time allotted for discussion did not make the discussion drag and become stilted, Wang replied that quite the contrary was true. There was never enough time to criticize all the "bad things". For example, on the topic "Criticism of Chiang Kai-shek," everyone was competing to speak. "The environment forced everyone to participate. 'No one can throw away his reactionary burden,' the Communists said, 'unless he speaks in a progressive way.'" Wang emphasized that he had to talk -- to confess, to resolve to do better, to analyze the past and present errors of others -- in order to save his life, and adds that his conscience hurt him for talking so much.

"During these discussion periods we also had mutual criticism. Each man pointed to another man and accused him. We all accused each other of killing a chicken on such and such a day. We were always killing animals. When we accused another man of killing a chicken, he would accept the criticism and apologize, so both of us got merit:

one for criticising, the other for accepting the criticism.* We thanked the person for the criticism, but both of us knew it was not true. The Communists, thus, every day promoted the public acceptance of these falsehoods and lies. The Communists knew it was false, but they didn't mind because it went on the record and it could be used against a man in the future."

5. The "new" Chinese man

"In writing my personal history, I would claim that 'I had bourgeois habits, I felt shy about criticism, but now I will reveal my whole life because I realize there is no need for shame.' I would say that I have no such thing as personal friendships any more. 'That is bourgeois. Now all are working for the same cause. I have enlarged my friendship to all and to Mao Tse-tung.' I denounced the old idea I had of personal liberty. 'I confess now that I must realize I must always identify myself with the group. I have begun to appreciate the new society, so now I have the spirit of learning.' Sometimes I would confess I saw a woman on the street. I would confess unholy bourgeois thoughts I had about her. 'But now I realize she is my sister, and such a thought is incestuous. All women are sisters, all men are brothers. All the nation is a family, and Mao Tse-tung is the father. The only sex relations are the ones approved by the Party.' I could only use the word family in connection with Mao Tse-tung and the people as his children.

*Wang described this tactic with considerable humor and laughter, as if he and his fellows felt they had outwitted and deceived the Communists.

"I think the Communists were trying to get us used to accepting all the lies in the Communist doctrine. They tried to break down our respect for truth. For example, one would learn to say, 'I could not understand how the proletariat could lead the revolution, but I see the good work of Mr. X and now I understand'. Mr. X was usually a person of very low mentality, some ignorant peasant. This falsehood would be stated with a great conviction of truth.

"The Communists were always telling us to cut off the burden of our family. We had to write how corrupt and feudalistic the old family was, and state that we would follow the leadership of Mao Tse-tung. We had to always denounce our past life as corrupt and admit that everything there was wrong. I remember a fellow once said that in the old days his father was a landlord and that during a bad year his father opened the granary to the people, and that later the people killed the father. This was a very serious error, and the Communists turned on this man and he became a target for serious criticism.

"The Communists have no truth. It is hard to say what is truth for them. If a Communist asks you to kill a man, and you kill him, that is the concept of truth at that moment. Later it may be defined as an error. Only that which serves the current Party line is really the truth.

"A man is always made to be wrong, never the Party. So the man must confess his guilt. Then he is taken elsewhere and promoted for his Party loyalty. The local situation is satisfied, and the face of the Party is saved. This happened in the selling of Victory Bonds. They sold all the government bonds they were supposed to and more, but too much force was used, which resulted in much local dissatisfaction. So then the Communist Party condemned the use of force, and the men who used force were moved away elsewhere to repeat the same tactics again.

"A man's personal intentions mean nothing. Everything has to be done for the organization. It is the objectives of the Party and not the personal intentions of the men that matter.

"One time while we were at the military college, I had to witness the execution of two friends of mine. They were the regiment and battalion leaders of the unit in which I used to serve. When they were tried, I and the other men had to acknowledge the correctness of the charges. We had to hold back the tears and smile during the execution. I knew then that my men, my troops, would feel the same at heart about the letter that I wrote. The trial of these two leaders was called without the knowledge of anyone. These men were identified as targets. They were given a chance to prove themselves. Outside persons were brought in to make the charges. Everyone was called to the meeting and the trial. The senior Party members of the school were on the platform. The outsiders that were brought in charged

these two men for several days with all kinds of crimes. Two intimate friends of these men were taken out from their quarters at night and disappeared. The fact that these two close friends of the victims were spirited away at night impressed on the rest of us the need to cooperate or face 'unknown fate and terror by night'. After three days of such charges, all the men were called upon to vote for the execution. The men, the party members on the platform asked for objections. They asked all who voted 'Yes' to raise their hands. Gradually the hands were raised higher and higher as the leaders on the platform watched closely the actions of everybody. Everyone knew they were condemning their friends to death, but they had no alternative. When they all voted, they were praised by the Communists: 'At last you understand and accept Communist indoctrination. These people are enemies of Communism and you voted their execution.' Then they shot the men down right in front of everybody, and then every Party member and any of the cadre workers there had to walk by and shoot the men too. They mutilated the dead bodies with all of us looking on. Later they were buried next to our quarters under only six inches of earth. That night it rained. One of the men tried to clear the water from the grave with a cup at night. I will never forget this picture.*

*Again in telling this story, Wang gave evidence of being under severe emotional stress. Apparently these were memories which he seldom permitted himself to dwell upon.

"I think the Communists intended to numb one's senses and one's feelings through such experiences. There were many cases of men who have gone through this experience who have committed suicide. Most of us became dumb and feelingless as if we were stunned by this assault on our emotions and our forced participation in these kinds of actions. After all these things, I felt that my men, my troops, could understand about my letter, and I never really lost the view of myself as being against Communism.

"I fortified myself repeatedly with an old historical story that gave me faith in the future, that made me believe that I could preserve myself, escape Communism, and eventually get revenge. I had this faith in the future, and that was all I had to live by. I will tell you the story. There was a captive prince who had to eat the feces of the conquering prince for ten years. Eventually he was returned by the victorious prince as supposedly a defeated and completely degraded man. But ten years later the former captive prince came back with an army and defeated the former conquering prince. I had to keep telling myself this story repeatedly and it helped to keep my faith alive and my will to resist. There were really two things that helped me to resist. One is this faith in the future, and the other is the feeling that the Communists by deception of this kind could not control the country in the long run. Through these lies they could not control the people. The outbreak of the Korean War helped to keep this hope alive."

None of the three schools Wang attended was walled or fenced in, but guards were posted at the four corners of the building and the students were not allowed to leave a designated area. During the period at Liangshan, three students escaped and never were found. Wang believes they would have been killed if they had been caught. Even if the students had obtained permission -- as they could not -- they could not have gone shopping since they had so little money. They were paid 7000 Yuan in People's Currency per month -- enough to buy about one-half pound of native tobacco. From time to time, they were allowed to go to public meetings of the people for self-criticism, accusations, and public trial of "class enemies."

"During the rest periods between classes, we were able to smoke. All we had was tobacco on a stick. We sang between classes too. We were always watched. There was no chance to talk to anyone except about approved things. One greeting that the men used to use between each other was 'meeting of the dumb' [literally: 'greeting from one dumb fellow to another'] -- but we only exchanged this greeting at the latrine."

Second Indoctrination Period: "Reform by Work"

"The first school lasted until June, 1950 at Liangshan. Then I was moved to another place, Wan-hsien [also in Szechwan], for further indoctrination of the same kind. The Communists were not satisfied with the performance of the whole group at Liangshan and felt that further indoctrination was needed, and this indoctrination took place much further removed from our old military units. They decided that more manual labor was needed, and we had that at Wan-hsien. They called it 'reform by work' or 'productive education'."

At Liangshan all the officers were mixed together. At the new school the senior officers, majors and higher, were kept separate.

At Wan-hsien the students lived in the mountains with much poorer living conditions than in Liangshan. They grew vegetables and built houses. Whereas in the first school the men were able to see their families once a week, now they could see their families only once a month although all the wives and children of the men had been moved to Wan-hsien. The wives and the children lived in a compound far away from the officer group, and they also were indoctrinated. The families totalled about three hundred people. Children's groups were organized; only infants stayed with the mothers. Occasionally, they would have very big classes, where all the family members would get together.

"The wife and the husband only got together when a mass assembly was held, and even then they must stay in their own groups far apart. This was conducted only every three weeks. It was very painful to see them simply look and wave at each other. The Communists started to indoctrinate the wives and children because they found when the husbands went home for visits the indoctrination would not stand up under the critical talk of the wives and children at home. Thus now, in the new place, all of the men were told that their families had been organized into groups and were being indoctrinated 'for the good of the men'. The Communists pointed out that it was an economic necessity to do this. The state had to support their families, since the men were supported by the state, and secondly, the families would become more useful through indoctrination. They would think in revolutionary terms, and thus the men would be better off."

Emphasis in the second indoctrination period was on understanding the spirit of the proletariat through action.

"The main texts were Marx's Das Kapital and Mao-Tse-tung's Modern History of China. They lectured and covered many topics. We learned and studied 'What is the proletariat'? We learned about the modern history of China for the last hundred years. We received lectures on basic economic theory. They also held airing of grievances meetings, and we had meetings for the re-examination of individual personal histories. It was during these meetings that we practiced mutual and self-criticism.

"When we were lectured on the proletariat, we were told we must learn by practice. We must labor, carry coal and honey-buckets* and water, and help the peasants. In this way we would better understand the philosophy of the proletariat through action. The Communists had a saying: 'Theory must coincide with practice'. They taught that we must bring thinking and behavior together by doing. This proletarian work was carried on in July. The Communists started a campaign which they called 'Challenge to other units'. Everyone was very hot. They knew they had to work hard. Each unit had to challenge other units. They couldn't resist. The Communists had teaching units who spent day and night persuading you if you were tempted to resist these work efforts.

*Buckets of human excreta to be used as fertilizer.

"Everybody felt they were being exploited by the Communists, and their labor was being used. We were urged to do our utmost to live in other people's praise and esteem.

1. The need for praise

"I will tell you about something that happened to me. Every member in the camp where we were had been praised at one time or another for his manual effort at labor. No matter how hard I worked, they did not praise me. I was the last one and still not praised. I became very worried and fearful because I knew that this was bad not to be praised. A man who is praised is then sure that he is in good standing. I was not used to carrying heavy loads like the other men. I could carry only fifty-pound loads instead of one hundred pounds. The praise that they give you is an insurance that you are secure. So one day, we were going out to move rice bags to the quarters. I was determined this day to do my utmost--to kill myself if necessary to win praise--because I knew if I did not I would be lost. I picked the biggest load I could find, over one hundred and fifty pounds, and I carried it up the slope. I had to rest. The instructor was watching. He said, 'Today you expressed the true spirit of the proletariat'. I fell under the heavy load, but I asked no assistance. I spit blood, but I won evidence of security through the praise of the instructor. This is what they mean by the spirit of the proletariat. It means to run off and do the impossible with great faith and

willingness.

"The purpose [of the Communist efforts to inculcate this 'spirit of the proletariat'] was three-fold, I think. First, they wanted to create a situation of utter mental and physical exhaustion. We were reduced to animal existence. Our senses were practically destroyed. We could think of nothing else. We could think of nothing. Our movements were mechanical. We became like tools. [Second,] the Communists made use of my group for educational purposes. Occasionally we would receive outside Communist newspapers. In that paper would be the story of our group, our work, our progressiveness, etc. We were exalted and praised. I think this was intended to impress the civilians that these former Nationalist officers had accepted the doctrine completely. I think also it was designed to impress the Communist soldiers that former Nationalist officers are converts to true proletarianism, and this then was a real challenge to all Communist soldiers to follow their example. All Communist soldiers must take up the challenge and be urged on by this great example. And the third reason, I think, is that this group was never thoroughly trusted. It was intended that we were to be liquidated in this process - that we were to die of exhaustion, commit suicide, or violate the code of the Communists and be punished accordingly. This to me is proof of the Communist deception: that while we were being praised in the Communist newspapers and cited as an example,

we were privately being called parasites of society by the instructors. They would say, 'You do not understand the spirit of the proletariat. You committed crimes as Nationalist soldiers. You are still nothing but parasites'. All the men knew they were being deceived, but when they would mouth the progressive slogans of the Communists, they felt that they in turn were in some measure deceiving the Communists."

Wang was asked how he could know what the secret feelings of the other men were if he could not communicate with them.

"There were some chances to communicate, though one had to be very careful. The only chance for an exchange of words was in the latrine. Sometimes one could say half a sentence, or show by an expression or blink of the eye what one was feeling. One had to be very careful whom he spoke to, but it was possible to feel the sympathy and the mutual feelings of understanding of others. The latrine was the only chance to casually pass a half-remark to a friend."

Wang describes the different types of organization meetings held at this second military college:

"I think there were about five different types or maybe even more. The first could be called the smallest. It was a cell meeting of three men. We met after work each night. We made a summary of the work of the day, and we criticized how the work was done. The idea was to develop a spirit of improvement. We discussed all the

events of the day, everything that happened: the food, the meetings, the conversations; and we shared all individual experiences that we had. We made suggestions to the others. This was called 'The Nightly Review of the Day's Events'. The second type was a squad-size meeting of twelve men. It was conducted early in the morning. The platoon leader would outline the working schedule for the day. He would comment on the previous day's events. He would criticize those who had been non-progressive, and he would urge the men to improve. The third type meeting was platoon size, of three or four squads. This was usually a weekly meeting. It handled mostly administrative and organization problems. The squad leaders would report daily to the platoon leaders, and the platoon leaders would review the obstinate cases reported by the squad leaders at the weekly meetings. The fourth type was a company-size meeting, which was held weekly or bi-weekly. A political commissar would initiate the meeting by a lecture. This would be followed by extensive discussion for a day or three days. The leader of the meeting would also cite those to be praised for their work, or criticize those who had been backward. Some were very severely criticized, and this was very bad, because they knew that this was dangerous. The fifth type of meeting was a secret meeting, and this was reserved for cadre or Party members. They met every night. They were concerned with the thinking of the people-- the way we thought, and the way we acted. They would submit reports

on people who they thought were unreliable elements among the men. They would work out programs of handling or dealing with these people and of trying to get them to reform.

"You know, it is not hard to be a Communist man in a cadre. All of his work is done according to stereotyped patterns of praise, criticism, reporting and so forth. They do not show originality. They just do the same thing over and over and over again. The only time they develop new ways of doing things is in the secret meetings where they discuss ways of handling people who resist. When we were at these military colleges, these cadre men took all our possessions from us by claiming that we gained them by exploitation.

"Well, one of the ways the Communists attempted to root out our deep feelings was through the newspaper. We used to publish a newspaper in the camp. The squad published one once a week and the company would publish one every month. Those people who could write were supposed to write and prepare articles in their spare time for the newspaper. In writing for the newspaper, it was important that you express your thoughts. This was the most important thing to do. One had to criticize deviation in thought or practice on the part of others, and praise correct thinking. He must also do this for himself. We would frequently have to quote Mao Tse-tung, and the impressions we had received from his writings. We were supposed to indicate where we got our inspiration and what had changed our thinking. In

lectures, if we were inspired by certain phrases in the talk, we had to use those phrases to re-examine our past and to criticize it. For example, a man would write, 'I have been depressed, but because of one incident, I have seen the light, and step by step am becoming a new man'. It was very important to analyze the turning point in your thinking; the Communists placed a great deal of stress on this. We had to analyze the points of turning in our thinking about Communism and the subsequent stages of our education. All the writings had to be censored. The Communists were continually trying to force men to describe in complete detail the steps leading up to each change in thinking, and to reveal all the incidents and thoughts which made them see the light and the truth of Communism.

"I also had to tell how many Communist soldiers I had killed. I was forced to admit them though they were not true. The first time I wrote a summation, at the end of my first indoctrination course, I admitted everything, but I did not admit killing Communist soldiers. In writing my summation after the second indoctrination, I increased the number of times I had done all of the other things, and I also told of killing one Communist soldier. I said that I had now learned that I had nothing to fear, and so I could admit everything, even those things I had formerly hid way down deep in myself. This was accepted by the Communists as showing improvement and progressiveness."

Conditions of constant surveillance and examination of one's thoughts and actions created unbearable tensions for some of the men.

2. Self-control, exhaustion, breaking points

"We were mostly exhausted all of the time, but we kept a tight rein on our thinking. There was a case of a man who spoke at night in his sleep. He was overheard by the cadre of the Communist instructors, and the next day he was severely criticized in the meeting. Usually when one is criticized before the group, one lowers one's head. He was ordered not to lower his head, and they put a chopstick between his chest and his head to force his head to be held up, so that he would have to look at the group. To preserve one's self, one had to be extraordinarily careful not to betray oneself at any time.

"A lot of the men just go crazy. It's like two people inside themselves, they are always fighting. It was a common sight at night to see men yell and jump in their sleep. But most of the time they wouldn't say anything. They were so alert, and they were so defensive against betraying themselves, they would even protect themselves in sleep. One time I dreamt that I was running. It was sort of a nightmare. I was running, and couldn't run, and I dreamt that I wanted to say something and couldn't say it. I used to have this nightmare frequently. But even this shows the control people kept over themselves. These things would happen most frequently during the period of airing of grievances. The Communists knew that

this kind of conflict was going on inside all of the men, and they would try to scare it out of them or repress it. Occasionally, in class, the Communist cadre would say, 'On a certain night someone said that the Communist army was bad. We must find out who said this'. Usually a man who was accused of talking in his sleep would maintain that he did not know anything about it, and frequently he was not penalized, but thereafter they would keep a very close surveillance on him."

Random accusations for deviation during sleep were frequently made by the Communists.

"This used to happen quite frequently, but everybody knew that they didn't have anyone in mind, so there was no result. But it did have the effect of impressing on everybody that such thoughts were forbidden, consciously or unconsciously."

The conflict between what a man was told and what he really believed was resolved in varying degree.

"It was necessary always to explain to oneself that it is necessary to submit in order to reduce tension. The only way anyone could get control of himself was to see it as an absolute necessity to submit to what the Communists were saying. What I used to do, I would always look at nature. I'd admire the tree or the moon, and do anything to distract my thoughts from all this trouble. It seemed to me that almost all the people at the camp were neurotic. It was just a matter of degree. The extreme cases were just sent away. The

less serious cases were interviewed by party members. It was explained by the party members in class that reactionary ideas poisoned these people's minds, and everyone had to get rid of these reactionary ideas. I don't know of anyone who completely gave up or surrendered to this Communist thought-control. It is impossible to surrender completely to it. On the surface it is necessary to appear to be calm and confident. In the beginning everyone appears to submit to the Communist doctrine, but as time goes on, it is possible for anyone to escape the deception that the Communists are practicing."

Third Indoctrination Period - Near Chungking

"In October, 1950, I was moved to another military college near Chungking for another three months. The Communists didn't tell us why they were moving us. I had been three and a half months at the military college at Liangshan, and an equal amount of time at Wan-hsien. The men believed that the Communists felt we needed more indoctrination.

"In this third school current news commentary was used with stress upon American imperialism and the capitalist menace. There were four different periods of teaching. The first was a period for teaching of current affairs. This consisted of three phases. The first phase was a lecture phase on historical and current affairs. The second was a case history phase, and the third phase the airing of grievances. In the lectures we were taught the history of American imperialism in China. After the initial lectures there was a period in which we gave case histories. The purpose was the mobilization

of thinking about American atrocities. We had to cite case histories of American atrocities. Each member had to contribute from his own knowledge to such stories. We were taught about the Korean War and the American imperialism, and we were asked to air grievances against American imperialism. The second period of the indoctrination was called 'digging the root'. This involved another attempt by the Communist to develop a penetrating understanding of each individual. It involved dipping into his personal background and exploiting the confessions that he would write. The third period was known as 'tail cutting'. This period was devoted to getting rid of bourgeois thoughts and habits, particularly those related to family loyalties and all other reactionary thoughts. The fourth period was devoted to obedience to organization. We must all listen to the people and to the organization. There must be unquestioned obedience by all to the Communist party."

The uneducated and laborers were described again as having the highest status. The instructor said that the world was under the control of the laborer and the peasant and everyone must follow these two classes.

Throughout this training, as in the second school, Wang describes his feeling as one of constant physical and mental exhaustion. There was never time for relaxed conversation. Joking was unknown and a sense of constant threat was felt. One of the men in an adjoining class lost his sanity under the strain, and the instructor explained that it was because he didn't reveal everything in his reactionary past. The majority of students appeared to become mechanical robots who responded when the right button was pressed.

In this third school, children under seven accompanied their mothers, those from seven to fifteen went into a special class, and children above fifteen were considered adult.

V. With the Chinese Communist Forces (CCF)

Wang's group was indoctrinated until January, 1951. At this time many of the group joined a Communist army unit near Chungking for three weeks, and then many were sent to Korea. Others were sent to Sinkiang Province to open up the country. This is "the Chinese equivalent of Siberia" in Russia; it represents forced labor from which there is little or no escape. Wang himself was assigned as a "warrior" (private)* to a Mortar Co. in the 91st regiment, 31st division, 12th army.

"This unit had just returned from Kweichow Province in South China. They had been issued new clothes, rested, and were obtaining replacements. We were immediately placed under very close surveillance in this army unit. Our records from all of our indoctrination training were turned over to the unit. At this time, we were told that the place where the unit was located was unsettled. It was better to move to older, liberated territory.

Ten days later the division was moved from Yutong in Szechwan to Hankow. When asked by the interviewer if he volunteered for the CCF, Wang replied that during all of the time he was being re-educated he was still considered to be a soldier, and it was as a soldier that he was assigned to the 12th army. Almost all students in his last school were assigned to different units.

After three days in Hankow, the army moved to the Ching district of Hopeh, which is known to the Communists as "Old Liberation Home". A week after arrival, their American and Chinese weapons were exchanged for Russian types. Here Wang recalled with a grin, "We always called the Russians 'Elder Brother'."

*In a military intelligence interrogation report Wang is reported as saying that in the CCF he became a platoon level officer with the duty of "drill instructor". The discrepancy between this and his interview statements is unexplained.

"We stayed in Hankow two days. After we got there, we were told there were too many troops near Hankow; there was a problem of supply; we must go to Hopeh Province near Tientsin. We were then told by the Communists that the United States had invaded North Korea and we must volunteer to give assistance to our brother country. We were told: 'We are going to the border, and by our very presence at the border we boost the morale of our brothers in North Korea'. We were told we would receive three months of political and military training, but actually we got much less. They changed all of our weapons. We had American weapons, but these were discarded, and we got Russian weapons. When we got the Russian guns in exchange for the American ones, we didn't like them. They were not as good as the American ones. They were old-style rifles. Many men asked, 'Why do we change?' The instructors charged them with 'unfirm' thoughts, and insisted they must have pro-American sentiments since America is now our enemy. No one dared protest about the rifles any more. We practiced with this new equipment and got political education concerning American atrocities and plans.

"After the new weapons were distributed, a scheduled three months training course began. However, within two months, the army moved north 'to defend the border'. During the entire period of training, the troops were always kept busy. If they were not exercising, they were conducting political discussions. The officers never struck their men. Such tactics were unnecessary 'since all discipline was taken care of through mutual criticism'.

"Among the Communist rank and file members, particularly the soldiers, the resentment was very great over sexual restrictions. The Communists tried to destroy the sense of sex among the soldiers. They were very strict. They tried to benumb the sexual instinct, because soldiers could not afford families or sexual ties.

"One could not get married unless one was a colonel or higher, or a major who participated in the Sino-Japanese war. Those who had families could visit with them once a week. The Communists explained that they could not marry because of the war situation, but the men knew that the top Communists were very corrupt sexually. This promoted and excused secret affairs on the part of the men. They realized that this struggle, the world struggle, would never end, that they must fight America and England. This was one of the greatest problems the Communists had to deal with, for the men felt there would never be a time when the Party would allow them to have adequate sexual relations. Only Party members were very careful not to run against this restriction, if they were not officially allowed, since the greatest fear of the Party member is that he would not know what to do if he were kicked out of the Party; he would be lost.

"The higher one goes in the Party, the greater one's fear is of being caught off-base. Every sentence uttered must be carefully considered. Once a member of the Party, a man has no choice but to devote his whole life to it. For those above the rank of colonel in the army, the discipline was not so strict. They had special mess, transportation, living quarters, and were allowed to have a wife.

The Communists explained this on the basis of the work they had to do: they needed these extra requirements to carry out their jobs. Others who complained were told that when they reached this level they would get these things too, since the higher functions require them, and these are awarded by the Party."

"Guarding the Border"--inside Korea

"After the period of learning had been terminated, we were sent to Antung, a city on the border of North Korea, the object being border-line defense. Before the meetings in the indoctrination in South China, the Communists used to call out the northerners and instruct them to watch the southerners. They reversed this procedure in the north, talking to the southerners before each meeting and telling them to watch the northerners.

"We had only been at Antung a week when the Communists explained to us, 'We are here at border defense. North Koreans are deep in South Korean territory. They need manpower to guard the rear zone. You are to go as security forces to guard PWs'. Before we left Antung we were given two instructions. We were made to practice air raid protection. We were told not to talk and smoke in our travels 'so as not to disturb the people'. We were told that Americans have airplanes for bombing civilians, while all of our planes are out front fighting on the front lines. We were also told to unload ourselves of all excess equipment - that is, to travel light. I knew immediately that this meant we were going to the front, but the instructors said: 'There are many supplies in the new areas where we are going; we may lose all our old things; so leave them behind till you come back'."

Wang's unit learned to fire Russian anti-aircraft guns. They were told that they were preparing to shoot down "American imperialist planes". The American planes, the instructors said, were inferior to the Communist models. They also were instructed how to build improved trenches.

The Communists, Wang recalled, entered the war at the end of 1950, and the 12th army crossed the Yalu at midnight 25 March 1951.

"After I crossed the Yalu with my company, it was still dark. At daybreak we stopped at a farmer's house. The Party commissar talked to us. He said: 'There are a lot of South Korean bandits around this area, who are robbing people. That is why the North Korean peasants are so poor. Everyone must stay with the unit, or he is liable to get killed by these robbers'. I think this was supposed to prevent people from deserting. The second night we ran into an air raid. Bombs and flares were dropped. We walked until an hour before daybreak. Then we dug holes against the air raid. We did the same thing for five nights."

Many Americans were captured and used as guides. Shortly after crossing the Yalu, every man was ordered to clean out all needless materials from his pack, and the march to the south began. All marching was at night. The troops were instructed to look out for aircraft. They were constantly ordered to march faster and not to drop back. The greater part of their food was fried noodles. It was very difficult to obtain hot water to drink.

After seven days of marching, two of the enlisted men of the unit were shot by their leader because they were too weak and could not keep up with the rest of their unit. There were many men lagging behind, so the leader shot these two as an object lesson. He then put a lamp beside the bodies and a note which read, "This is what happens to soldiers who drop back".

"Each night the lecturer told us about bandits. We came across two policemen, and everybody saw them. They were dead. The lecturer told us 'Some bandits have killed these two cops'. I felt, and so did a number of other people, that the Communists might have killed these cops deliberately to impress the men they should not desert. After arriving at Kasan, the regiment camped in the area a week to ten days to rest and receive training. During this period there were three projects: (1) to reduce our pack and unnecessary equipment a second time and to increase the bullets and weapons carried; (2) to recognize who had good discipline in marching - these were given a certificate; and (3) to learn how to dig trenches. We were told to dig trenches. We were told to dig more holes for air raid protection... this job had to be done very thoroughly wherever we stopped. We were also told we were not going to fight. . . .but while advancing we might run into some remnants of the UN Forces.

"They made an effort to mobilize hatred against Americans. We were instructed that the Americans use napalm bombs to burn homes of peasants. We were told to assess our merit: 'Those who march well show their progressiveness.....this is a chance to redeem ourselves', especially those of us who had committed crimes against the people.

"We were instructed in military discipline and notified that the penalty for disobedience was death. We were told that the Communists were increasing our munitions supply in case of trouble.

At the end of ten days, the regiment started out again with much encouragement to march quickly to the second front line. There was no more talking about no fighting. We were now told that the Communist troops are all victorious.

"However, again the marching became too slow. The original assignment of our unit was to take care of the Allied PWs, but because the unit was so slow, the assignment was given to another unit. Therefore our regiment--the 91st--was then marched to the front. During this march, I caught diarrhea and was forced to fall out. I was kept behind with other sick troops until 20 May. In the meantime, the 91st fought in two large battles. I heard from fellow soldiers that the Allied fire was very heavy."

The Communists instill a fighting spirit in the men at the front through the promotion of subordinates.

"The Communists instilled a patriotic fighting spirit in the leadership of the troops by pulling out highly indoctrinated men at all levels of command and then promoting subordinates, who were then inspired to prove themselves. The ones who were pulled out--the highly indoctrinated ones--were saved for further indoctrination of other men."

New Evidence of Unreliability

When asked to explain why the Communists in the Army did not trust him, Wang recounted two incidents.

"Well, two incidents happened. I will tell you about them. The first incident happened while I was in Hopeh Province. I received a letter from a friend in Nanking. The letter informed me that my parents had been ejected from the land where they had their home and were sent to Suiyuan Province in order to open up the country there. The letter told me they were in very poor circumstances. I could understand this since my father was very old. I asked permission from the authorities to sell all my personal belongings and asked the Communist organization to give the money to my parents. I received immediate criticism. They said I still had money and I was harboring reactionary thoughts and had not confessed my background thoroughly. They gave me a receipt but did not remit the money to my parents. I had a gold bracelet purchased in 1942. As a result, I was most agitated, and I planned to escape. I took up the problem with a friend by the name of Liu of similar background. Liu, also a member of the army, middle class background, lived nearby. I gave him the money and asked him to purchase civilian clothes. I planned to go to Nanking. I did not know that Liu was a member of the Youth group, and he betrayed me. They gave me the works. I really became a target. The only way I got out of it was because of the following explanation: 'It was not I who lacked confidence in the organization, but the organization who lacked confidence in me. I had revealed everything that I had done in the past, but the organization doesn't trust me. It didn't remit the money, and I still have the receipt. If the organization would trust me, I would

do as well as I could because I would believe in it'. This got me out of that particular trouble, but they still didn't remit the money to my parents. Instead, they kept me under very close surveillance, and I was never allowed to carry a gun. I just carried two hand grenades and two mortar shells.

"The next incident happened in Kasan in Korea. We had to dig air raid holes. I was very tired, my hands were blistered, and I was in a bad mood. By careful observation, the Communists noted this, and they criticized me again. They called me backward. I said, 'The organization doesn't trust me, and the money has not been remitted'. The indoctrinator assured me that the money would be remitted, and that the organization trusted me. I felt maybe I made a mistake when I said, 'You wait and see when the time comes'. I meant by this that I would prove my worthwhileness to the organization, but it could be interpreted that I would prove myself troublesome. They questioned me further. They took away the two hand grenades that I was carrying and gave me two more mortar shells to carry."

Wang recalled only one friendship during the time he was under Communist control. This friend was a blacksmith whose job was to shoe the CCF horses and who was given the nickname "Horseshoe" - Wang does not know the real name of the soldier. Wang had known this man in the Nationalist army, and each knew that the other hated Communism, but neither ever spoke of this even when the two of them were alone. Once they slept together in a cave and talked late into the night about their personal backgrounds. This friend said that "life in the CCF is very cruel". Neither discussed escape, but it was understood that both would attempt it if the opportunity presented itself. Each pledged that he would take care of the other in case of difficulty. "Horseshoe" was very kind to Wang during his illness, bringing him hot water and finding him a walking stick.

VI. Surrender and POW Experience

While his unit was on the front lines, Wang had an opportunity to read a UN pamphlet signed by General Ridgway and other leaflets dropped from UN planes. (He recalls that the Communists were making much propaganda at this time over the dismissal of General McArthur). After reading the pamphlets Wang decided to surrender at the first opportunity.

On the night of 20 May 1951, Wang was working on his usual labor detail carrying shells and fried noodles up the mountains to the troops at the front. He knew the Americans were nearby because he could see their searchlights. Wang was in charge of a labor detail of three men. He told them that he was going to the latrine, and instructed them to carefully guard the noodles and shells while he was away. Then he took off in the darkness and climbed two mountains, guided by the UN spotlight. Nobody followed him but he heard them calling his name. He spent the night on the mountains and surrendered the following morning. Wang said that, in surrendering, his main worries were that wolves would find him on the mountain or that he would not be able to find the Allied lines.

On the morning of May 21, Wang saw Allied troops, so raising his hands he walked towards them. One of the GIs suddenly raised his gun and shot Wang in the leg. The GIs were evidently taken by surprise since there were no other Chinese in that area. Four or five of the soldiers searched him. When they found nothing but the Ridgway pass, they apologized for shooting him and treated him very well, giving him candy and cigarettes. He was then interrogated for about an hour.

Within a few hours he was removed to the rear to some tents surrounded by tanks. A Korean who spoke Chinese interrogated him while his wound was being treated. The Allied officers treated him well, and he remembers that they had very good food--mostly seafoods from tin cans. He showed them his Kuomintang party card (Officer #828299) which, despite the evident danger involved, he had kept sewn in his pants throughout his indoctrination and subsequent history in the CCF. Then he was shipped through a series of other stations which he does not remember clearly, and finally was flown to Pusan, where he was placed in the hospital at UNC PW Camp #2.

At this time, Wang related, his morale was very high. He was very happy that his surrender had worked out so well. He had an army cot to sleep on. Although the food was of fairly good quality--mostly beans and rice--there was not a sufficient quantity.

Camps in the Pusan Area

During his stay in the hospital he helped a Korean to discover the Communists among the patients. At this time he was still crippled, and it was found that the bone in his leg was slightly broken. In July he was transferred to Camp #3, also near Pusan, where approximately 600 PWs were being kept.

August 1 was "Commemoration Day", a Communist holiday celebrating the beginning of the People's Republic of China. Most of the Communist PWs fasted in memory of this day. Wang says he accused these PWs of being "sons of Mao Tse-tung." After he accused them, some of the PWs ate their food. Others, however, plotted to punish or even kill Wang. So he asked protection from Yun Chin, the UN employee whom he had helped to identify the Communists. He also warned a Korean male nurse that, "If anyone tortures me, you must protect me, or I will take revenge upon you". As an added precaution, he put rocks under his pillow. The nurse, Wang said, was probably a Communist. One day an American army captain called Wang into his office, commended him for his good work, and stated that he was to be transferred for his (Wang's) protection to Camp #10. But the PW leaders in #10 were also Communists. After a few days, he was transferred to an area [probably Camp #5] where he was interrogated by two Nisei Americans for four days, and on 20 August 1951 he was transferred to Koje-do.

Koje-do

After his arrival on Koje, Wang was assigned to Compound 86, and there made several friends. One of these friends was a Mr. Chu, a PW who "was on a special mission for the UN". There were six battalions in the compound, one of which was the security battalion. Of these battalions, four were under Communist leadership, one was neutral, and one was under anti-Communist leadership. The security battalion had leaders from both sides. The Civil Information and Education (CIE) program was conducted at this time by anti-Communist PWs, who served as teachers.

"In Compound 86 at Koje there was much conflict [caused by] the Communist organization there. There was no clear [anti-Communist] organization at that time, but many there knew of my record and my struggle against the Communists. At Koje I had recommendations from others whom I knew at Pusan and whom I had known previously. I was

immediately accepted by the anti-Communist groups, and made a member of the security corps.

"Inside the anti-Communist group we had organized the National Salvation Group, and the Communist organization had formed the Patriotic Youth Repatriation Group. We agreed between us that each group should not infringe upon the rights of the others. The Communists broke their promise."

On October 10, the Nationalist "Fourth of July," a group of Nationalist PWs decided to raise a Nationalist flag. The Communists discovered the plan, and plotted to fight the anti-Communists.

On the evening of October 9, 15 anti-Communist leaders held a secret meeting disguised as a CIE meeting in the CIE building. Three of the PWs present were CIE teachers. Wang was also present. During the meeting, the group received word that the Communists were ready to strike them. Therefore the meeting was hurriedly dismissed and each member went out and contacted his small cell of known anti-Communist friends. Wang's cell was in the Security Guidance Battalion. Through these cells the word was spread to prepare for the fight. The Communists attacked them that night, and a battle broke out between the two opposing forces, both of whom were prepared with tent stakes, poles, and other impromptu weapons. An American army Major brought tanks outside the compound fence. This stopped the fighting, both sides being afraid that the GIs would fire on them if they continued. The Major called upon the leaders of both sides to compromise.

After the Major left, the anti-Communists seized the initiative by attacking the Communist leaders of each battalion separately. A single group of tents was surrounded by anti-Communists. Then they would announce to the PWs in the tents: "Some of your leaders are evil, and we are going to beat them up. We don't want to fight you men, so stay in your beds and keep quiet." They then beat up the Communist leaders and placed them in an improvised "monkey house".* The next day the UNC military police took the Communist leaders away. The removed group included Shiao, who was compound representative. Shiao, his two interpreters and his secretary were all Communists.

*A secure place of confinement.

During the fight of October 9th, Shiao led the 5th battalion, but he was caught while trying to sneak away.

On October 10th the Nationalist flag flew in Compound 86 and the anti-Communists openly organized the "Anti-Communist and Fight Against Russia Youth League". First the rules of the new party were worked out. The initial membership of the organization was less than 100 individuals. The ACFR was divided into one branch for each battalion, with three cells for each branch. The anti-Communist fighters of the night of October 9th were divided among the various battalions. Each member would discuss with his friends and former schoolmates the advantages of the free-world way of thinking. At the same time the Party members were careful to "stay equal" with their schoolmates. Most of the PWs were politically neutral, and it was hard to win converts before the 9th of October. After October 9, the anti-Communists came out into the open, but it became difficult for a PW to join the anti-Communists. A candidate for membership had to have a party member introduce him and three party members to "guarantee" him. The application first went to the cell, where if approved it was forwarded to the branch. Finally it was sent to the central organization of the ACFR. If a man were approved, he was permitted to tattoo the four words "anti-Communist fight Russia" on his arm. After his application, the PW would also write a short biography. Not many of the applicants were refused. There were, however, some compound spies in the organization.* The Communists also organized, but most of them were transferred out of the compound. Some of them were killed by the anti-Communists. When asked how many Communists were killed in Compound 86, Wang said, "This is top secret information!" However, he admitted that one Communist was killed the night of October 9.

Shortly after the fight of October 9th, the approximately fifty anti-Communist members of the ACFR Youth League selected Wang as chairman. Every three months thereafter he was re-elected. During this time, the compound was led by Ying Hsiang-yung and Wang Fu-tien. Their group, and not the UN camp authorities or the ACFR Party, selected the compound representatives. There was one general election for the compound representative by the PWs at large after a CIE unit on democratic government. Thirteen PWs were nominated and one was elected. Wang states that there were no PW courts or police in his compound after the October 9th struggle.

*Both the anti-Communist and Communist PW groups used spies in their efforts to gain control of the compounds.

Screening and Separation of
Repatriate and Non-Repatriate POWs

In April 1952, before the screening began, the UN PW Command broadcast to the compounds saying, according to Wang, "We hope all of you will go back to your homes on the mainland of China. If not, no food, clothing, or shelter can be supplied you". Soon after the broadcast announcement, many men came to the compound to ask if the PWs wished to return to China. Those complying were separated. Wang felt then and at the time of the interviews that the UN cheated the PWs since, in the leaflets dropped over North Korea, they had guaranteed them sanctuary. "And I'm not the only one who thinks this," he added. Wang also stated that there were no beatings in his compound before the screening.*

The interviewer asked Wang why the PWs rejected repatriation when they were given no assurances. Wang replied that the prisoners had much experience with Communism. As for himself, Wang said, "I wanted to be free and to get to Formosa. If I'm sent back, I will commit suicide before setting foot on the mainland."

Wang made it clear that he believes that the screening was legal and proper. It was only the pressure of the UN upon the PWs to force the PWs to return to Communist China that he resents. The screening itself was helpful, since it screened out the Communists.

Out of a compound of more than 8,000 PWs, Wang stated that 1,000 to 1,100 decided to return to China. He feels that all of these decided to go back mainly because of bad treatment at the hands of the Allies. Wang was surprised that the figure was so low.

Wang described his interview with the screening interviewer as follows:

Int: Where do you want to go?

Wang: I want to go back to Formosa.

Int: Don't you wish to return to your family?

Wang: Formosa is my home. I will invade the mainland to return to my home.

Int: Have you heard the broadcasts about no clothing, food, or shelter?

*Interviewer's note: Other PWs from this compound report that "Communists" were beaten.

Wang: If this is true, I will batter the wall with my head.

After the screening the non-repatriate PWs became very frightened because they now expected the UN to try to force them back to the Chinese mainland or else to starve them.

Due to their mistrust of the UN, the compound at first refused to move to Cheju-do, but later they agreed to move if the chaplains and CIE personnel accompanied them. When asked why the PWs requested these two to go with them, Wang stated, "The chaplains are highly moral, and we trusted the Chinese employees of the CIE". Wang felt the removal of the Chinese personnel from the Chinese compounds on Koje was a great mistake on the part of the UNC.

During the movement to Cheju-do the PWs were badly frightened. They had lost all confidence in the UN and felt they were being taken to their death as the American announcement had said--i.e., no food, clothing, or shelter. If they were being taken to the mainland of China, the PWs had plans for seizing the ship. "We would gamble our lives on this issue."

The second great fear was that they were to be left with no food or shelter on the island to which they were being taken. They were delighted to find on the new island (Cheju-do) that life was much freer than before. The fences were lower, and they were given much better treatment. However, later, the PWs were "betrayed" again by the policy of maximum security (building double-fenced compounds and restricting movement of PWs) since this again revealed that the UN did not trust them any more than it trusted the Communists. Wang does believe that the anti-Communist and Communist PWs were treated equally.

"We were moved to Mosulpo on the island of Cheju in June 1952. By August, I was elected chief of the enclosure, and since then I have served as liaison man with the Americans, and as an internal organizer of the compound. In Compound 86 on Koje we had over 8,000 people. Only 1,000 of these were Communists and went to the Chinese repatriation center at Cheju City. The rest of us were anti-Communists and came to Mosulpo. Of the PWs formerly in Compound 86, about 2,000 men are now in Enclosure 3 here at Mosulpo, 500 in Enclosure

1, and about 5,000 in Enclosure 2. I helped to break up the Communist organization in Compound 86 at Koje. We got more anti-Communists out of that compound than from any other compound. I gave strict orders that there were to be no beatings, scoldings, or things like that, that everybody had to be treated alike. We had more education classes there than at any other compound. But the Communists controlled the hospital of the Koje Island camp, and they used poison, and all the anti-Communists that went there got dysentery."

When the PWs first heard of the proposed move to the Demilitarized Zone of Korea for explanations by the Communists concerning repatriation, they refused to go because they did not trust the Communists. However, after the message from President Chiang Kai-shek (asking the PWs to cooperate with the UNC) they agreed to move. Also the visits of delegates from Taiwan and of the UNC observers and representatives helped allay their fears. The PWs were particularly impressed by one theme: "The UN has fought over a year to preserve your freedom, and will not betray you now".

Opinions Regarding UNC Treatment of POWs

Further questions elicited comments from Wang on how the UN Command could more effectively combat communism.

"There are several things that have to be done. In the first place, you have to educate, and the education must be practical education. You must understand these people first and know what to do. In the early days, the Americans just gave lectures. The Communists handled their own teachings. This was impractical and unrealistic. The American teachings were unacceptable to both the Communists and the anti-Communists. The second thing, you must give

proper and effective treatment to the PWs. You must give adequate food and quarters. The food has not been sufficient. The majority of people being repatriated are not being repatriated for political reasons, but because the Communists have been able to get more food for the men. The Communists have used slogans about the bad treatment of the PWs - there not being enough to eat or wear. We used to get better food when the American National Red Cross representative was here. The anti-Communists ask only for better food. We never got meat, lard, or proper rice. If the living conditions are better and the treatment proper, the Communist agents could not be effective among the Chinese PWs. Another thing is that in the early days the interpreters were North Koreans,* and all of them were Communists. They used to twist the interpretations around to the Americans. Thus a large number of men were called repatriates when they were really non-repatriates."

Wang's suggestions as to what Americans can learn from our experience with the Communist organization in the PW camps conclude his story.

"I think it is most important that you get over the language barrier in the administration of the camps. Language is often a big trouble when talking to people here. Next, I think it is important that there be proper living conditions, food and quarters. The next thing, I think it is important to live closer to the people, so that

*The interpreters referred to here were those used in the Pusan PW camps.

you understand the PWs in the camp. I think if you do not do this, it is best to leave the internal organization to the PWs, the anti-Communists, so that the supervision of the camp is directed by them inside the compounds. The next thing, I think that you should use more tact instead of intimidation and threats. A little praise and nice talk makes for very easy management of PWs, since they are usually well-disciplined. The next thing, I think that the educational programs should be realistic and practical, suited to our needs, and the problems we face. The next thing, I think it is necessary that the Americans discipline their own men much better, and they have a clear policy to guide them in their contacts with the PWs. Pointing guns does not scare PWs, but makes a bad impression on them concerning the attitude of the Americans. PWs are not afraid of death. The anti-Communists have chosen freedom. The UN authorities are not their enemy. The PWs are not held back by the fear of these weapons. The reason they restrain themselves from protesting is that they do not wish to come into conflict with the UN authorities, since they regard themselves as being on the UN side. Tear gas and tanks are not capable of maintaining order in the PW camps. It would be easy for us to overpower the UN troops. We would not be afraid to sacrifice a few hundred men to do this. The UN should teach the workings of democracy. They should teach the PWs how the Communists take away freedom. The UN authorities should send observers and supervisors to control the situation right close up. They should not put out irrelevant material for study. The way to

identify and learn who is and who is not a Communist is at the time of capture. This is the only way to learn. When you capture a group, this is the only way to get true identification. A Communist, by himself, will never give his correct rank or position. Communists, infiltrators come from other units. They may not be known by others in the group. These people should be carefully observed and given constant surveillance. In this way, you will pick out those who will be troublemakers."