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Jin Daying

The University of Montana

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ACCOUNTS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS

PRISONERS OF WAR: A TRANSLATION

by

Li Zhihua

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Accounts of the Chinese People’s Volunteers Prisoners of War: A Translation

Director: Henry R. Harrington

This thesis comprises the translation of Jin Daying’s book of reportage *Accounts of the CPV POWs* and an introduction to this reportage work by the translator.

Jin Daying’s *Accounts of the CPV POWs* records life of the CPV (Chinese People’s Volunteers) POWs in the U.S. POW camps in South Korea during the Korean War in the early 1950s. The book is made up of the individual life stories of the CPV POWs, their experiences in the POW camps and after their return to the People’s Republic of China. The book contains much first-hand data. Most of the names of the characters, places, descriptions of events, and dates are verifiable. Altogether, approximately 159 POWs with names are mentioned in the book, of whom some are still living today and others died either in the POW camps or after they returned home. The stories of the specific POWs are woven into the narrative to give it continuity. Jin Daying, from his Chinese point of view, sings praises of those Chinese Communist POWs who rebelled against the control of the U.S. POW camp authorities and condemns the U.S. and South Korean POW camp guards’ maltreatment of the Chinese and North Korean POWs as well as the horrible deeds committed by some anti-Communist POWs.

In his introduction to the translation of Jin Daying’s book, the translator offers a survey of *The Resist America and Aid Korea War* studies in China, a description of the Chinese popular culture on *The Resist America and Aid Korea War* as reflected in literary reportage, and his commentary of Jin Daying’s accounts of the CPV POWs.
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I would like to thank several people who have made important contributions to this translation of Jin Daying’s book of reportage *Accounts of the Chinese People’s volunteers Prisoners of War*: Philip West and Henry Harrington for the advice, support, and editorial comments; and Cathy Brown for the many hours she has spent in editing the whole translation.
Introduction

1. *Zhiyuanjun Zhanfu Jishi (Accounts of the CPV POWs)* and Its Contribution to the Studies on the Korean War

In the preface to his book, Jin Daying writes:

As several comrades whom I know very well have been engaged in reexamining the returned CPV POWs since 1979, I have had the opportunity to learn from them about the unusual experiences of the CPV POWs and to meet with these POWs on many occasions, who have survived the Korean War. However, because of various reasons, I did not start writing until the early half of 1986 when an editor from the Kunlun editorial department asked for me for "writing leave," the first time in my life. My authorities gave me the permission to leave. And then I started my seven weeks's busy interviewing and writing.

I read through nearly five hundred letters of appeal handed in by the returned POWs as well as many of their brief autobiographies, self-accounts, and reminiscences. I also read the confessions by those POWs who later became U.S. secret agents and were captured when they were sent back to North Korea, and the court verdicts given to them by the court-martial. I interviewed the representative figures of the CPV POWs. And my friend Comrade Liu Wuyi helped me find out lots of background materials on *The Resist America and Aid Korea War.*
From what is said above, we can see that Jin Daying based his book primarily on interviews with specific POWs. In writing it, Jin Daying tried to give an "impartial appraisal" of the POWs, thus entering the realm of what would now be the "risky literature," showing the good and the bad. Jin felt at the time when he was writing his book that reportage writings in China were getting "more and more imaginary," so much so that the readers could not tell the true from the false. Jin Daying was determined to base his book on facts by "quoting as often as possible the reminiscences and personal records by the witnesses." Jin Daying decided to offer the readers "more real accounts and fewer literary descriptions." It was quite possible for Jin Daying to do that in 1986 when the Chinese people wrote and talked with a freedom that the government finally was compelled to curtail on June 4, 1989 in Beijing.

First of all, we should say that Jin Daying's book Zhiyuanjun zhanfu jishi (Accounts of the CPV POWs) is basically true. The book does contain much first-hand data. Most of the names of the characters, places, description of events, and dates are verifiable. Many of the characters the author mentions in the book are still living. For instance, Wu Chengde, the supposedly highest ranking officer among the CPV POWs, is now retired and lives in his home town in Yuncheng County, Shanxi Province; Zhang Zeshi now works in the Association of Science and Technology of

Many other POWs mentioned in the book can also be found in different parts of the country: Hou Guangfu in Henan, Cao You in Hubei, Sun Zhenguan in Zhejiang, Zhang Da in Beijing, Tang Naiyao in Shanghai, He Pinggu in Chongqing, Li Xier in Wuhan, and Ma Youjun in Sichuan. The accounts of Li Da’an and Chen Jiaying, two of the so-called renedades among the CPV POWs, are also quite convincing. Li Da’an was executed at 4:30 p.m. on July 10, 1958 in the suburbs of Beijing according to the historical archives. Chen Jiaying is, I believe, also a real character now living in Hunan, for the author has offered us in the book Chen Jiaying’s original confessions made in early 1953.

In order to make the book seem true to life, Jin Daying has used simple sentences instead of compound and complex sentences. Jin Daying, as a Chinese author, has presented the whole book from a Chinese point of view. And he, like the other Chinese writers, mentions the U.S. as the
primary enemy. Jin writes about how the Americans raped the female Chinese and Korean POWs, and how the Americans ill-treated and tortured the Chinese POWs in the Pusan, Cheju-do and Koje-do POW camps. Americans beat and killed the POWs, cut off food and water supplies, and forced POWs to eat human excrement on the ground. Despite the obvious patriotic tone of the book, Jin Daying strives for objectivity. On occasion he praises the humanitarianism of the Americans. For instance, in Chapter Two Jin Daying writes:

There is no denying that there were also some humane and noble-minded American army doctors. Wei Lin, vice chief of staff of a CPV regiment, has never forgotten Doctor Ausman, an American Captain, who treated his wounded hand with great care. He still remembers clearly that Doctor Hausman was from the state of Florida. Wei Lin called him "a good man and a good doctor."

And in Chapter Eleven, Jin Daying once again offers the reader a quite humane and kind-hearted American soldier. When a traitor named Xiao Qiqiang was about to stab a CPV POW who insisted on returning to China, the American soldier stopped Xiao from killing the POW with his carbine. Here, the American soldier is described as quite a positive character:

Taking out his knife, Xiao Qiqiang started chasing him again. He had stabbed more than one man with this knife. Now with heavy breaths and bloody eyes that glinted as cold and ominous as his knife, he took several long steps. Clenching his teeth, he violently charged with his knife. "Ping"
the knife hit a metal piece, causing sparks to fly. An American soldier with a carbine had blocked his way.

"Hullo!" Xiao Qiqiang immediately gave a smile.

The American soldier was tall and white-skinned, wearing a pair of gold-framed glasses. He had witnessed all this. The short prisoner might have aroused something in his mind: he might have thought of his aged parents, or of his girl friend, or of the sweet scent of a meadow in his home town...

"Hullo!" the American soldier raised his chin.

"He is a Communist bandit, a red element..." Xiao Qiqiang said with a smile.

"Go back!" the American soldier pointed to the opposite direction with his gun.

Xiao Qiqiang had no alternative and walked back resentfully. The short prisoner then followed the "repatriation" procession. When he passed by, the American soldier stood at attention and raised his right hand to the cap, presenting a military solute to another soldier.

This balancing of opposing characteristics lends complexity to his characterization and follows the conventions of "risky" reportage.

In writing his book, Jin Daying follows the traditonal pattern of violence. Depiction of violence and brutality exists in the Chinese classic, popular, and war novels, and in many other genres as well. Throughout Jin Daying's *Accounts of the CPV POWs*, we can find descriptions of violence and brutality between the U.S. and South Korean camp guards and the POWs, and especially between the anti-Communist and pro-Communist
POWs within the POW compounds. For instance, in Chapter One, we see two American soldiers kicking a wounded POW (p. 15); in Chapter Two, the author tells us that over six hundred sick and wounded CPV POWs were killed in an air-raid shelter by the American soldiers (p. 27); in Chapter Four, the CPV POW Cao You was tortured with electric shocks and later was thrown into the water dungeon (p. 63); in Chapter Six, Du Gang, a CPV POW, was beaten so viciously by the anti-Communist POWs that his teeth fell and his thighs became festered (p. 106); the most brutal acts recorded in the book, gruesome and gory in detail, is the cutting of human flesh by Li Da’an in Chapter Ten. The flesh cut from the arms of the POWs filled seven basins (p. 192). Jin Daying’s purpose in depicting violence and brutality in his book is both to excite his readers and to condemn the American and South Korean soldiers and the renegades. Jin probably also wants to defend the pro-Communist POWs who insisted on returning to their motherland. In light of the suffering he describes, these POWs received very unfair treatment after their return to Mainland China (Chapter Seventeen).

Judged by the criteria and requirements of the style of reportage, however, Jin Daying’s book Zhiyuanshun zhanfu jishi (Accounts of the CPV POWs) can only be rated as in Dr. Philip West’s words "the semi-factual style of baogao wenxue (literary reportage) (The Korean War and the
Jin Daying's book does contain a certain amount of fabrication. Many details in the book are obviously the author's own imagination. For instance, in Chapter Three "Female Prisoners of War," the details are not convincing at all, although similar things may have occurred in the Korean War. For one thing, there are no real names in the whole chapter, for another, we do not know from which parts of China the characters came. And since the author has not seen or talked with anyone of the four female POWs, how can the details be so vivid? Let us just quote a few paragraphs to show this:

The American soldiers took them (the female POWs) to their campsite and brought them a few pieces of bread. They were extremely hungry and did not hesitate to eat.

The American soldiers, on the other hand, looked them up and down with malicious intent. They touched here and there on their bodies with the excuse of searching for weapons. One of them was bitten by Big Zhao. The American soldier did not get angry. Instead, he rubbed his hand and laughed.

The four female POWs were escorted in front of a tent. The American soldiers declared that they wanted to "interrogate" them one by one. The four of them sat on the ground, huddled together. No one moved.

Two American soldiers came up and lifted Little Li from the ground. She kicked them, crying and shouting, "I don't want to go! I don't want to go!"
"Stop!" the elder sister Wang stood up. "Don’t touch her. I’ll go with you!"

Wang calmly combed her short hair backward a little with her hands. In the afterglow, she appeared so tall and big, but most of all, noble. A woman captured by the enemy could still face violence with such a look in her eyes and such an expression on her face. That was true human dignity.

The American soldiers did not touch her, but escorted her into the tent. Very soon her shouts were heard from the tent.

The other three rushed into the tent despite efforts by the American soldiers to stop them. Inside, they saw several stark-naked American soldiers keeping a tight grip on their elder sister on a camp bed, while one American soldier was weighing upon her with his body covered with black hair.

To me, this is like fiction. Since three of them died long ago and Zhang Lihua is nowhere to be found now, who on earth could have provided the author with such details? Besides offering no real names, the author does not provide a time during which the event took place. It is obvious that the author did not possess the first-hand data when he wrote Chapter Three. These four female POWs are typical characters created by the author. They are portrayed as typical Chinese heroines, for they looked death calmly in the face, especially the elder sister Wang. She stepped forward bravely at a critical moment and sacrificed herself for other people. The loss of specifity turns these passages into moral examples.
Jin Daying’s book is made up of the individual life stories of the CPV POWs, their experiences in the POW camps and after their return to the People’s Republic of China. Altogether approximately one hundred and fifty-nine POWs with names are mentioned in the book, of whom some are still living today and others died either in the POW camps or after they returned home. The stories of the specific POWs are woven into the narrative to give it continuity. For instance, the story of Zhang Zeshi, one of the main characters in the book, begins in Chapter Two. Zhang was born in 1928 in Guangan County, Sichuan Province. His father was an engineer. He attended an American missionary school in his teens. That is why he was still able to speak fluent English at the age of fifty-eight. He was enrolled in the famous Chinese Qinghua University in 1946 and joined the Communist Party of China the following year. In 1950, he joined the People’s Liberation Army and went to Korea the following year. In Chapter Two, we see Zhang Zeshi being escorted into the POW collecting point in June 1951. Later in the POW camps he served as an interpreter and formed a secret organization called the "Patriotic Group." In Chapter Sixteen, we see how he was repatriated by the American Army on September 6, 1953. And from the final chapter we know that in 1959 after his return to China he was wrongly accused of being a Rightist and a traitor when he wrote to the army authorities complaining about the
maltreatment the returned POWs had received. He was thrown into jail and his girl friend left him in consequence.

In putting the book together, Jin Daying must have faced the problem of how to make it comprehensive and balanced. For instance, Jin Daying had to deal with all types of the POWs, males and females, and the camp guards as well, offering a complete picture of the life in the POW camps. However, it would have been very difficult for Jin Daying to collect all the necessary data and interview all the POWs involved in the book. Therefore, in some cases, the author had to rely on his own imagination to do the kind of balancing we see in his characterization of Americans. Although some details in the book stray away from the style of the literary reportage, they are nonetheless necessary for the author’s purpose in making the book more comprehensive and balanced.

The absence of extensive research on the Chinese POWs is probably because POWs have traditionally been considered "disgraceful" people in China. They are "second-class" citizens; that is, they can not take important government positions. So even if POWs or researchers wrote research papers on the subject, it would be very difficult for them to find a publisher. Both Jin Daying’s Zhiyuanjun zhanfu jishi (Accounts of the CPV POWs) and Zhang Zeshi’s Wo cong meijun jizhongying guilai (I Return from the Concentration Camp of the American Army) were written and published
several years ago at a time when "bourgeois liberalization" prevailed in China. Of the two books, Jin Daying's offers us a more comprehensive study of the experiences of the CPV POWs in the concentration camps and their subsequent treatment after they returned to China. The significance of the book lies in the fact that the book has dealt with those aspects of the Korean War which have been neglected in the studies of modern Chinese history, such as the issues of the CPV POWs and humanitarianism. In this case, it may well be regarded as a sort of pioneering work in the research of these fields.

As a literary reportage style work, Jin Daying's book is different from other works on the Korean War published in the last few years, mainly in that it draws a general picture of the Korean War and reflects its grimness or harshness from a personalized point of view, that is, through detailed accounts of the individual POWs; whereas the more conventional histories of the Korean War deal with the war from a macroscopic point of view, that is, by giving a general description of the war, its major events, and their cause and effect. These two different styles of writing are mutually complementary, thus enabling us to understand the Korean War better.
2. A Few Remarks on the Translation

Translation is no easy task. It requires a good command of the source language and the target language. Chinese and English belong to two different language families. The Chinese language belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family, while the English language belongs to the Indo-European family. Though the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet uses letters from the internationally-accepted Latin alphabet to indicate the Chinese pronunciation, great differences still exist in morphology and syntax between Chinese and English. Besides, the Chinese people have lived so far apart from the native speakers of English.

In point of culture, the Chinese are quite different from the English-speaking people. Cultures differ not merely in dress and behavior, in political, economic and social institutions, but also in language, which is a form of social behavior. Because of such differences, I have not followed the word-for-word translation. For instance, the Chinese phrase "Xiamashawei" toward the end of Chapter Two literally means "get off the horse and deflate the arrogance." The phrase originally means that when an official first assumes office, he will put on airs. Now it generally refers
to the power expressed by one who wants to show his or her own formidableness at the first encounter. So the phrase "Xiamashawei" is translated into "a head-on blow at the first encounter"; and also the phrase "Pixiaoroubuxiao" in the middle of Chapter Five literally means "The skin smiles, but the flesh does not," a meaning similar to the English idiom, "putting on a false smile"; and the phrase "Qianbubaifeng" literally means "mend for a thousand times and sew for a hundred times," but actually it can be translated simply into "patch up." As the English-speaking people are unlikely to be familiar with a particular figure or event in Chinese history, I have provided footnotes to make the reference clear. The phrase "Shazhubamao," which appears two often in Jin Daying's book to footnote, literally means "kill a pig for its hair." The four characters making up this phrase were once tattooed on the arms of the POWs to stop them from returning to Mainland China. "Pig" in Chinese is homonymic to the surname of Zhu De, Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army, while "hair" in Chinese is homonymic to that of Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Furthermore, we have tried to be faithful to the original style and tone of Jin Daying's book. As the book is of the reportage style, it does not use much rhetorical floridity. The words Jin Daying chooses are simple and concise. I have tried to reflect this simple style in the English version.
3. Chinese Popular Culture on the Korean War as Reflected in Literary Reportage

Unlike the case with scholarly studies on the Korean War, writings in the style of literary reportage on the war are numerous in China. During the thirty-three months and two days (October 25, 1950-July 27, 1953) of the Korean War, the Chinese government sent a large number of reporters and writers to Korea, among whom were such famous writers and reporters as Ba Jin, Lao She, Yang Shuo, Liu Baiyu, Hua Shan, Han Zi, Xi Hong, Huang Gang, Wei Wei, and others. They produced a great many works of reportage, for example, in Chaoxian Xinwen baodao ji (A Collection of News Reports from Korea) alone, there were one hundred and nine stories. In addition, many other collections of works in the style of reportage and important articles on the Korean War have been published, including Yang Shou’s Yalujiang nanbei (The South and North of the Yalu River); Liu Baiyu’s Chaoxian zai zhanhuo zhong qianjin (Korea Is Marching Forward Amidst the Flames of War); Ba Jin’s Shenghuo zai yingxiongmen zhongjian (Living Amongst Heroes); Li Rui’s Zai Chaoxian qianxian (At the Korean Battle Front); Huang Gang’s Zuihou shengli de yugao (The Herald of the
Among the above works of reportage, Wei wei’s *Shui shi zui keai de ren?* (Who Are the Most Beloved People?) has been considered to be the most representative one. All these works were written after the authors went to the battle front in Korea. While reporting the heroic people and their deeds, the authors tried to reveal the noble sentiments and thoughts and feelings of "the most beloved people."

Compared to poetry, the novel, and drama, reportage is a new literary genre in China. Reportage is defined as "writing of real people and real events directly drawn from actual life with a typical meaning, reported quickly and in time with proper artistic processing to serve the current political purposes." (Xia Zhengnong, editor in chief, *Cihai*, Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, Shanghai Dictionary Publishing House, 1980.) Like a news report, it must reflect facts truthfully. Otherwise, it will lose the trust of the readers, and therefore, its realism will be discounted as mere sophistry or propaganda. Such examples can be readily found in the Chinese reportage works now.
The one entitled Riben xiaoguniang, ni zai naer? (Japanese Little Girl, Where Are You?) which was carried in many newspapers and magazines in China in 1987, is one example. This work reports the rescue by the Eighth Route Army men and return to the Japanese Army of a Japanese orphan during The War of Resistance Against Japan. However, many of the details of the report are not factual, but simply imagined. For instance, no witnesses from the actual Eighth Route Army company that rescued the Japanese orphan over forty years ago can be found now. So the details of how the Eighth Route Army men rushed into a burning house and took the crying baby out are pure imagination, which created a very bad impression among the Japanese readers when it was translated into Japanese. Even the truthfulness of Wei Wei’s famous work of reportage Shui shi zui keai de ren? (Who Are the Most Beloved People?) was also questioned by the scholars (Yi Junsheng, Yang Rupeng, Baogao wenxue lunwen ji, Collection of Essays on Literary Reportage, Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, Sichuan People’s Publishing House, 1983, p. 211). The well-known Chinese reportage writer Liu Baiyu considers Wei Wei’s Shui shi zai keai de ren? (Who Are the Most Beloved People?) to be "a feature story of unreal people and events" (Liu Baiyu, Lun texie, On Feature Stories, first issue of Xinwen zhanxian, News Front, 1958.), for the names of the characters in Wei Wei’s report are fictitious. No wonder people have asked Wei Wei
how much of his *Shui shi zui keai de ren? (Who Are the Most Beloved People?)* is true.

Because of its newness, people have not yet reached agreement about reportage's characteristics of its style, its functions, or the standards of factual truth to which it must adhere, which has led to confusion in practice. At present, works of literary reportage in China can be roughly divided into three types, derived from its hybrid nature. The first type emphasizes the journalistic reporting of facts and neglects the literary quality, making these works of literary reportage quite similar to news stories in daily papers. The second type, almost indistinguishable from fiction, emphasizes the literary quality and neglects the journalistic quality. The third type, which is more common in China now, simply embellishes the truth.

Reportage as a literary genre has been considered by many in China to be a kind of politically "risky literature," for its style requires that it reflect life truthfully. Yet, actual life does not always offer good deeds; it is also full of wickedness. The reportage writers who sing the praises of good people doing good things are rewarded, but it takes some courage to be a reportage writer showing human errors, especially in China. While these reportage writers know that they must reveal truth, most of them are afraid at the same time of doing so. Therefore, for safety's sake, they do not use
the real names of people and places. It is common now to describe places
by letters instead of proper nouns--B municipality, S province, A county--
and to describe individuals by using the word "certain" instead of a proper
noun--a certain Party secretary, a certain director. This kind of writing
gives the impression that the writer knows everything and is discontented
with the bad things in life, but actually denies the reader specific
information about the basis for that discontent.

Shortly after The Resist America and Aid Korea War was over, the
Chinese army authorities solicited writing on the topic "One Day in the
CPV," calling on the former CPV officers and men to record the
experiences from an exciting and interesting day in the CPV. The army
authorities received over ten thousand contributions. Although only over
four hundred contributions were chosen, the collection contained over a
million words. Wei Wei spoke highly of this book in its preface: "These
articles are all personal experiences of the war veterans, which have their
own peculiar attraction. The articles are so vividly and movingly written
that you can't help reading them. . . . As far as the richness and vividness
in reflecting the period of the history of the Korean War is concerned, this
book may well be regarded as a monumental work in the history of
Chinese reportage." (Wei Wei, Preface, Volume Three, Zhongguo baogao
wenxue congshu, Chinese Literary Reportage Series, Changjiang wenyi
In the past few years, two more major works of literary reportage on the Korean War have been published in China. One is the object of this thesis, Jin Daying's *Zhiyuanjun zhanfu jishi* (*Accounts of the CPV POWs*) (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, Kunlun Publishing House, 1987.) Another is *Banmendian tanpan* (*Panmunjom Talks*) by Chai Chengwen and Zhao Yongtian (Beijing, Jiefangjun chubanshe, The PLA Publishing House, 1989).
4. A Survey of the Korean War Studies in China

The Korean War in the early 1950s was a contest of strength between the capitalist powers, headed by the U.S., and the Communist powers, headed by Russia and China. It ended with the signing of a truce between the two belligerent sides at Panmunjom after thirty-three months and two days of fighting. The Chinese entered the war because of a major decision taken by the newly-founded Communist Chinese government to declare itself to the world and to China as a global political force.

The Korean War as an important historical period ought to have been taken seriously by Chinese historians. But surprisingly, studies on the Korean War have been relatively rare in China. What research has been done falls into two periods, the first beginning in 1952 and ending in 1959; and the second from 1980 to the present. During the first period, research on the Korean War was characterized by the summary of the battle experience by the Chinese People's Volunteers (hereafter CPV) itself. In early 1952 while heavy fighting was going on on the Korean battlefield, the general headquarters of the CPV appointed Song Shilun, Vice Commander-in-Chief of the CPV to be in charge of making a comprehensive summary.
of the battlefield tactics, and logistical support. The summary, about four
hundred thousand words, was printed and distributed among the
commanding officers above the division level for reference by the
operational department of the general headquarters of the CPV.

In 1954, Deng Hua, the then Commander-in-Chief of the CPV,
transferred over sixty army officers from the CPV army troops, army
organs, and military academies in China to form a compiling committee of
the CPV for summing up the experience of the Korean War. The
committee turned out a book entitled Kangmeiyuanchao Zhanzheng de
jingyan Zongjie (Summary of the Experience of The Resist America and Aid
Korea War) with about one million and six hundred thousand words,
including a brief history of the war, a summary of the experience in tactics,
descriptions of some famous battles, and studies of the enemy forces. This
second summary was far more comprehensive and systematic than Song
Shilun's. After it was completed in August 1955, Peng Dehuai, the first
Commander-in-Chief of the CPV, proofread it and inscribed the title on its
front cover. It was distributed within the army in October 1956.

Following the criticism of Peng Dehuai at the Lushan Plenum

1The Lushan Plenum refers to the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party held in August 1959 at Lushan, Jiangxi Province. The Lushan
Plenum adopted a resolution denouncing "the antiparty clique headed by Peng Dehuai ".
Peng was condemned for having slandered the Great Leap Forward and was dismissed as
Minister of Defence. Peng's supporters were removed from key positions in the army.
1959 and the removal from his post, studies on the Korean War were interrupted in China. They resumed in 1980 with the rehabilitation of Peng Dehuai. This second period is characterized by comprehensive research on the Korean War; that is, research not limited to the military aspect of the war, but expanded to the political, economic, and foreign aspects and that of international relations. About thirty books on the Korean War have been published since 1980, including books on comprehensive history of the war and on battle history, summaries of the experience of the war, memoirs by the former CPV generals, collections of research essays on the Korean War, literary reportage, and so on. Among these publications, the following two may represent the best research published to date. The first is *Zhongguo renmin zhiyuanjun kangmei yuanchao zhanshi* (A CPV's History of The Resist America and Aid Korea War) (Beijing: Junshi kexue chubanshe, The Military Science Publishing House, 1988). The second is *Kangmei yuanchao zhanzheng* (The Resist America and Aid Korea War) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, The Chinese Social Sciences Publishing House, 1990). These two books were both assignments given to the Military Science Academy by the

Therefore, people had to stop their studies because it was impossible for them to proceed with their research without mentioning Peng Dehuai's important role in *The Resist America and Aid Korea War*. Peng Dehuai has been held in high esteem among the Chinese people since his reputation was restored in 1980.
Central Military Commission. The authors are mostly famous historians or writers in China. The two books are similar in that the authors of both books take the historical facts seriously and give the major issues of the Korean War a relatively impartial commentary. The chief difference between the books is that the former is primarily a battle history, whereas the latter offers us a comprehensive treatment of the Korean War.

Although China has achieved important research in recent years, studies on the Korean War are still quite limited. Of the thirty books that have been published, some of them are for internal distribution only. So the Chinese people's understanding of the war is quite limited. The scope of the research is also quite limited. The present studies on the Korean War in China are still chiefly restricted to the military aspect. Although Chinese historians have begun to consider the economic, political, and international relations aspects of the war, publications following these broader lines of inquiry have not occurred in China. Nor, it seems, has anyone dealt with the social and psychological aspects of the war. This is probably because much of the primary historical data has not been available to the historians. The depth of the research is likewise limited. The publications we now have are mostly general interpretations of the Korean War, which lack depth. Finally, those researchers working on the Korean War, who are well known, are mostly from the army: Meng Zhaohui, Yao
Xu, Wang Hanming, Chai Chengwen, Zhao Yongtian, and others. They themselves are CPV veterans. Outside the army, few people are specially engaged in the research and teaching of the Korean War period of the Chinese history.
Jin Daying

Jin Daying was born on November 3, 1954, just after the end of the Korean War (June 25, 1950—July 27, 1953). After finishing high school, he joined the Navy where he began his career as a writer. From April 1977 to June 1988 he worked at the China Central TV Station. At present, Jin Daying is a research fellow at the Institute of International Strategy Studies of the Chinese Academy of Management Science in Beijing, a research fellow at the American Studies Center at Tianjin Academy of Social Sciences, and a member of the Chinese Writers' Association. In recent years, he has been invited by a dozen of universities and colleges, including Qinhua University, Sichuan University, and Beijing Normal University, to give talks on literary creation. In addition to numerous newspaper and magazine stories and several film and TV scripts, Jin Daying has many works of reportage to his credit. Among the most important ones are *Lin Biao Shijian (The Lin Biao Incident)* (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing House, 1981.), *Luo Ruiqing Jianjun (General Luo Ruiqing)* (Beijing: Jiefangjun wenyi chubanshe, The PLA Literature and Art Publishing House, 1984.),

xxviii
Shui Lai Baowei 2,000 Nian de Zhongguo? (Who Is to Defend China of the Year 2000?) (Beijing: Jiefangjun wenyi chubanshe, The PLA Literature and Art Publishing House, 1988.), and Shengming Zhiyou Yici (There Is Only One Life), serialized simultaneously in the magazines Sanyuesfeng (March Wind) and Furong (Lotus) in 1992. Shengming Zhiyou Yici (There Is Only One Life), a sequel of Zhiyuanjun Zhanfu Jishi (Accounts of the CPV POWs), has come out in book form. The story offers an account of the maltreatment suffered by the Chinese POWs after they returned to their motherland.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................ ii
Acknowledgements ........................................................................................ iii
Introduction ...................................................................................................... iv

Chapter One: "The Pitch Dark Days and Nights" ........................................ 1
Chapter Two: "The Line that Divides the Human World and Hell" ........... 28
Chapter Three: "Female Prisoners of War" ............................................. 51
Chapter Four: "The Initial Silence" ............................................................. 61
Chapter Five: "Renegades" ........................................................................ 81
Chapter Six: "A Test of Strength" ............................................................... 106
Chapter Seven: "Savagery and Civilization" .............................................. 122
Chapter Eight: "The 'Little Yan'an' on Koje-do" ....................................... 137
Chapter Nine: "The Smile of Matthew B. Ridgway" .................................. 160
Chapter Ten: "Screening' Under the Death Shadow" ............................... 191
Chapter Eleven: "POWs and Camp Guards" ........................................... 227
Chapter Twelve: "The Red POW Camp" .................................................. 256
Chapter Thirteen: "Red Flags Dyed in Blood" ......................................... 280
Chapter Fourteen: "Another Type of POW" ........................................... 304
Chapter Fifteen: "The End of the Renegades" ......................................... 322
Chapter Sixteen: "The Road Leading to the Motherland" ....................... 342
Chapter Seventeen: "History is Narrating" ............................................. 384

Bibliography ................................................................................................. 424
Chapter One

The Pitch Dark Days and Nights

The Korean Peninsula was shrouded in the dense smoke of gunpowder; the sky was overcast, shutting out the sunlight. The beautiful land had been turned into a sea of flames. Cities, towns and villages had become ruins. Slaughtered civilians could be seen everywhere. Girls, raped and killed, were lying exposed in the wilderness. Bloodied children were crying out loudly beside their mothers’ dead bodies. . . . Several million soldiers of all colors--white, black, yellow--who came from all corners of the world to this long and narrow peninsula were piling iron, steel and explosives upon one another.

That was the Korean War which broke out in 1950 in the Far East.

After the Second World War, the shape of the world political map was decisively changed. The Communist camp, led by the Soviet Union, was lined up against the capitalist camp led by the United States. On August 15, 1945, the day of Japan’s surrender, President Truman of the
United States announced to the Soviet Union and Great Britain his executive order on how to accept the Japanese surrender. The order was issued by General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in the Far East and stated that upon acceptance of the Japanese surrender in Korea, the demarcation line for the Soviet Union and the United States should be the 38th Parallel. Since then, the Korean Peninsula, long united by national tradition and common culture, has been divided in two and has become two separate regions closely allied to the world political camps.

On June 25, 1950 a civil war broke out in Korea.

On June 27 President Truman issued a statement declaring that America would send troops to Korea and Taiwan.

On June 28 Chairman Mao Zedong of China delivered a speech, appealing to "the people of the whole nation and of the whole world to be united, get fully prepared, and defeat any provocations of the American imperialists."

On June 30 President Truman ordered the American ground forces to enter the war. On July 2 the American Army landed in Pusan. On July 28, 1950, the American forces crossed the 38th Parallel and entered North Korea, triggering the Korean War.

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2General MacArthur issued General Order No. 1 on September 2, 1945 as the directive under which all Japanese forces would surrender. The order provided that all Japanese forces north of the 38th Parallel would surrender to the Soviet commander, while those south of the line would capitulate to the American commander.
7 the Security Council of the United Nations, manipulated by the United States, passed a resolution to set up a unified headquarters to invade Korea. President Truman appointed MacArthur as the "Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command." On the same day the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to move the ___ Army\(^3\) from the mid-south military area to the banks of the Yalu River and redesignated this army as the Northeast Frontier Army to defend the security of the Northeast.

At the initial stage of the Korean War, Syngman Rhee's troops retreated in defeat time and again. Within less than a month and a half, the Korean People's Army (KPA) liberated over ninety percent of the Korean territory and over ninety-two percent of the Korean population. On September 15 the American Army, commanded by General MacArthur, landed at Inchon. The majority of the KPA was cut off in southern Korea—it came under attack from both the southern and northern directions—and suffered heavy losses. The flames of war soon extended to the banks of the Yalu. The American planes repeatedly invaded the territorial skies of our country, bombed our border towns, and massacred our people.

\(^3\) Translator's note: not indicated in the Chinese original.
On October 8, according to the will of the Chinese people and the request of the Korean Government, Chairman Mao Zedong of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Chinese People issued an order to organize the Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV) to enter the Korean War. He appointed Comrade Peng Dehuai to be Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Volunteers and also their Political Commissar. Beginning on the evening of October 16, nearly a million of the worthy sons and daughters of the New China launched forward on the expedition to "Resist America, Aid Korea, Protect our Homes and Defend our Country." They did so valiantly and with great spirit.

On May 26, 1951, in a valley near Chunchon in Korea, a certain CPV division Party committee was in session. None of the comrades who attended the meeting expected it to be their last time to attend such a meeting. From a distance, there could be heard the booming of guns, the approaching of tanks, and the whistling of bullets. All over the mountains and plains around them were corpses soaked in pools of blood; the soldiers were shooting back at the enemy in attack, while the battle steeds stretched forward, neighing in fright. The air was filled with the smell of burnt grass and trees. Those comrades present at the meeting were alerted to the fact
that they were heavily surrounded. They were ready to make a quick decision. Over ten thousand men from the whole division looked anxiously at their officers.

That was a real scene during the second stage of the Fifth Campaign of the Korean War. During the previous four campaigns, the CPV had driven the American and South Korean troops from the banks of the Yalu to the 37th Parallel. The victory won by the CPV shook the whole world, and New China gained great fame and high prestige. Former President Hoover admitted in his broadcast speech, "America has been defeated in Korea by Communist China. No troops in the world are powerful enough to repulse the Chinese." The Americans called it "the greatest failure in the history of the American Army." They cried out in alarm, "It seems that China has become one of the powerful nations of the world overnight."

On the evening of May 16, the CPV and the Korean People’s Army broke through the lines of enemy defence and began the second stage of the Fifth Campaign. After five days of fierce fighting they routed Syngman Rhee’s fifth and seventh divisions and annihilated over seventeen thousand enemy troops. A CPV division was assigned the task of thrusting deep into enemy lines. They only took enough field rations for seven days and

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Translator’s note: Chinese histories of the Korean War typically describe the first year of the war as five campaigns. The First Campaign began with the date of their entry into the war in late October 1950. The dates of the Fifth Campaign are from April 22, 1951 to June 10, 1951.
carried a limited amount of ammunition. They fought while charging ahead, smashing all enemy resistance and penetrating and cutting up the enemy forces. But they did not realize that the war situation had already changed greatly.

With one victory after another won by our army, the great disparity between the military equipment of our army and that of the enemy became increasingly apparent. At that time our air force and navy were newly established and were unable to stand up to the American forces, which had complete control over the air and command of the sea. An army (three divisions) of the CPV had only one hundred and ninety-eight artillery pieces, less than half the number equipped to an American division which possessed four hundred seventy-six artillery pieces. Our ground forces walked on foot, while the American ground forces possessed a large number of motor vehicles and tanks, making it far more motorized than our army. The weakest link of the CPV was its logistic supply lines. The CPV had only eight hundred trucks for the logistics department, six hundred of which had already been blown up by American planes. As the battle line extended, the problem of limited transportation became more and more clear. Every time the CPV launched an attack, they had to take along their own food and ammunition, which would last only a week or so. The Americans had discovered this weakness in CPV plans of attack, calling
them "weekly attacks." When the CPV moved back after fighting about a week, the Americans seized the opportunity to counterattack in full force. They called this "magnetic tactics."

On May 20 the American Army and Syngman Rhee's troops soon filled the gap opened up by the CPV and began to apply their highly mechanized military equipment. The leading comrades of the CPV resolved to halt their attack. On May 21 Peng Dehuai reported the status of this CPV advance by telegraph to Mao Zedong and at the same time brought it to a halt. The CPV did not expect the Americans to launch such a quick counterattack in a parallel pursuit along the highways. With tanks, with infantry on motorized vehicles and with air coverage, the Americans took advantage of the Chinese overextension. By then the CPV was already exhausted and short of food and ammunition.

The American airborne forces landed behind the CPV's route of retreat and raced ahead to seize control of the bridges, ferries, narrow passages and strategic points. A certain CPV division was cut off in the rear of the enemy by these so-called "magnetic tactics." Their transmitter-receiver had been destroyed in the bombing, breaking off contact with their higher authorities for three days. The responsibility of devising a plan to

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5 Reference here to the parallel situation, six months before, North Korea, when the problems of overextension and the advantage of surprise attack were similar.
break through the enemy's tight encirclement of the division now fell on the shoulders of the Party committee.

The atmosphere of the Party committee meeting was thus rather gloomy. Each member weighed every word, for what they said would affect the lives of the ten thousand officers and men. The acting political commissar and director of the political department, Wu Chengde, paced slowly to and fro, three steps forward and then back again, one step after another. As his cigarette began to burn into his hand, he woke with a start from his pondering. He was then just thirty-five years old but already a leading cadre of our army who had been engaged in the Chinese revolution for fourteen years. He had gone through the War of Resistance Against Japan and also through the War of Liberation. He was very familiar with this army unit which had become famous within the Chinese army for its ability to storm heavily fortified positions during the Yuncheng and Linfen Campaigns against the Nationalists in 1949. It had also developed a reputation for its ability to fight with unusual boldness when it later marched into the Northwest and then with lightning speed into Sichuan Province. Now, the whole division had been without food for almost four

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6In the Chinese Communist Army, it is the Party that is in command of military action, because the commissar is usually the Party Secretary and the commander the Vice Party Secretary. The commissar is the one who makes the final decision. The commissar chiefly does the ideological work, that is, boosting the morale of the soldiers before a battle, etc.
days, their ammunition would soon be used up, and they were to break through the enemy’s line of defence, fully stocked with an ample supply of shells and bullets.

"What should we do?" Wu Chengde asked as he turned calmly to the others.

Everyone kept silent. The only reply to his question was the sound of gunfire outside.

A moment later someone proposed in a low voice that the division disperse first and then break out of the enemy’s encirclement. Many times before, during the War with Japan and later during the War of Liberation, these comrades had turned danger into safety by relying on the help of the local people. But this was on the Korean battlefield, and there were no locals in sight. No one in the division was familiar with the local topography or could speak Korean. If the division was dispersed, it would not be powerful enough to break through the enemy’s line of defence.

But this proposal was accepted, nonetheless. The commanders returned to their own regiments on horseback. There sounded the sad yet shrill bugle, followed by scattered volleys of fire. Groups of three to five soldiers went in every direction.

Before the soldiers were dispersed, it had been suggested that the horses be killed to feed the soldiers. Many of the soldiers, indeed, had
eaten no food, but the suggestion was vetoed unanimously: "The horses are our comrades-in-arms . . . ." Thus, even though they were completely exhausted from hunger, the same soldiers let a large number of horses go free into the mountains.

Wu Chengde went around on horseback to all the regiments to see whether or not they were ready for the breakout. Suddenly he heard someone calling from inside a nearby gully, "Political Commissar Wu, we are wounded and can’t move at all."

"Which regiment do you belong to?"

Wu heard the reply and immediately asked his messenger to have the regimental commander come over to where the wounded were. After he made proper arrangements for the wounded soldiers, the division headquarters had moved away.

It was getting dark. Night had fallen upon the battlefield south of the 38th Parallel in Korea. The officers and men took advantage of the darkness to start their breakout. The enemy’s searchlights swept overhead and over the highways and mountain slopes; star shells were shot into the night sky one after another; one fierce shower of artillery fire after another turned the rocks into a bright red.

Wu Chengde, together with his bodyguard and his messenger, quickly got on his horse and headed up the mountain in a western
direction. At the pass he found, in the light of the star shell, a dark crowd of about three to four hundred wounded soldiers pressed closely together. Some of them were lying stiff, while most were doubled up in great misery. When there was a lull in the artillery fire, he heard the terrible moans of these wounded men. As soon as he dismounted, the wounded soldiers surrounded him and bombarded him with questions:

"Commissar Wu, can we break out of here?"

"How many enemy troops are there around us?"

"Commissar Wu..."

One of the wounded soldiers crawled over and grabbed on to Wu’s leg: "Commissar Wu, be sure to take us along."

Wu Chengde responded gently to the wounded soldiers. They looked to him with eyes of trust and expectation, and his own eyes were filled with tears. He pulled out his pistol and shot his own horse with one bullet, and then he shouted in a loud voice, "Comrades, I’ll stay with you!"

The wounded soldiers lined up on their own accord. Wu stood on a rock and shouted, "Officers and Party members, please step forward." And then at the top of his voice he said, "Comrades, let us take advantage of the darkness to break out of the enemy’s blockade. Each officer is to lead a group of forty soldiers. Now let’s begin the breakout."
The wounded soldiers supported one another with their hands and began their breakout on the scorched mountain slopes, facing the enemy fire. But a large number of the enemy’s mechanized troops blocked the highways, machine gun fire was heavy, and large cannons were blocking every road junction. In the end, very few wounded soldiers were able to break out of the enemy encirclement. Most of them were killed in action.

The forty wounded soldiers led by Wu Chengde rushed here and there but failed in their attempt to break out. As dawn broke, the enemy encirclement began to close in. Some soldiers sat on the ground, angry and crying bitterly at the hopelessness of breaking out. Wu Chengde raised his pistol and shot two bullets into the air, shouting, "Comrades, come with me up the mountainside and let us continue the fight with guerrilla warfare."

... Wu Chengde took his soldiers with him and carried on with guerrilla warfare for the next fourteen months around the 37th Parallel. In the end, only three of them survived, their fighting ability completely gone. In the end they were captured by the Americans who by then were searching every mountaintop.

In the Korean War the CPV fought many victorious battles. History will conclude who were the winners and who were the losers in the war.
There is no denying the fact that the CPV also suffered defeats. The loss of this division was one of the most serious defeats of the CPV throughout the Korean War. Just as Clausewitz pointed out, "War is not an action between a living force and dead matter. It is always a conflict between two living forces." It is impossible, therefore, for any army in the world to achieve victories every time.

At present, Wu Chengde lives in his native Yuncheng County in Shanxi Province. After he was repatriated home from the POW camp, he was expelled from the Party, demoted and dismissed from his army position. He was then assigned to work on the Dawa Farm in Liaoning Province. After he retired in 1975, he returned home. Over the last three decades, he has written scores of self-criticism and appeals. Each time he mentioned how he was captured. The division suffered heavy losses because of the faulty command and wrong decisions made by the division Party committee. A large number of officers and men died on the battlefield and several thousand were taken prisoner. This number accounts for nearly one-third of the total number of the CPV POWs in the Korean War. The division commander and vice-commander were severely punished. As the supreme political commander of the division and the highest-ranking captured officer of the CPV, Wu Chengde is pained and filled with regret whenever he talks about the loss: "A defeated general
cannot say that he is brave." He refuses to talk about himself and does not like others to write about him. He would like historians to write about this period of history with wider focus.

The heavy rain stopped at last. Hou Guangfu, secretary of the political department of a regiment, opened his red and swollen right eye with his fingers and thumb and saw a thread of bright light. To him, those were pitch-dark days and nights.

Hou Guangfu had not eaten a single grain of rice for thirteen days. His troops were tightly surrounded by the enemy, and he became separated from them during the breakout. He headed north with a soldier named Guo Changbao. Then suddenly the enemy fire broke out. Guo fell dead, and Hou received three wounds in the right eye, which swelled up so tight that he could not open it. His left eye had been blinded four years before when a bomb exploded in the Yuncheng Campaign just after he had joined the Liberation Army. Hou pushed open his right eyelid with the fingers of one hand, held his gun with the other, and continued to run. He was starving and ate grass roots and herbs to survive. For water he drank from the ditch, from which he caught dysentery. He kept vomiting and suffered from diarrhea for several days. He was weak and limp all over, he had an
unbearable stomach-ache; and he swayed so much that a gust of wind could have blown him down. Still, he continued to grope his way over the mountains, heading north. Leaning on a stick, he forced himself to walk over seventy kilometers of mountain roads.

Suddenly a gun went off. Hou immediately threw himself to the ground and then forced open his eyelid to look around, but there was only a vast and blurred expanse before his eyes. There came another burst of fire. This time he realized that it was the enemy shooting at him. He tried to draw his pistol from his belt. His stomach began to ache again. He clenched his jaws and held the pistol in his hand. There was only one bullet left in the chamber. That one was for himself. He strained to raise his pistol, but he had no more energy to fire the gun. Suddenly, he was seized around the waist. He wanted to struggle and resist, but to no avail. He was thrown onto a truck without even catching a glimpse of his captors. . . .

The next man is still living on the jet black land in North China. He was healthy and strong, like the tall and straight red Chinese sorghum. However, on the wall in the main room of his own house is hung the "Certificate of the Death of an Armyman in The Resist America and Aid
Korea War." It amuses visitors who don't know the ins and outs of the matter. But when he sees it, he wants to cry, because he did not die on the battlefield. He was instead taken prisoner.

It was during the Fourth Campaign of the Korean War. The enemy had gathered a force of two hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, with large numbers of planes, tanks and artillery, launched for an attack on the CPV all along the 37th Parallel. One day in early February, fighting with his back to the river together with his comrades south of the Han River, he fought to resist the attack by the American Army. The battle went on for over ten days and nights. During winter in Korea the weather is cold and the ground is frozen. Everywhere snow lies deep on the ground. The American planes had blocked the transportation lines and the CPV supplies from the rear. The CPV soldiers were short of food. They boiled water from the snow with some fried noodles to eat. All the ammunition they had was taken from the bodies of the fallen enemy. The feet of many soldiers were numb and their fingers would freeze to their guns. According to instructions from the higher command, they withdrew to the next position at night, after beating back the enemy attack during the day. In

7 The Fourth Campaign lasted from January 25 to April 21, 1951.
this way a large number of enemy corpses were left in front of every
position.

That day, the enemy attacked more fiercely than usual. Officers of
the higher level had ordered them to hold their positions until evening,
then withdraw across the Han River and continue to check the enemy on
its northern bank. The ground was frozen, which was an advantage for the
advance of the enemy's mechanized troops. One tank after another
charged toward their position. The soldiers aimed their mortars level with
the enemy tanks and fired at them. When the tanks drew near, they picked
up their bangalores, jumped out of their trenches, and sprang onto the
tanks. The flames lit up the sky as one more tank blew up. One CPV
soldier jumped out of the trench and shot at the infantrymen behind the
tanks with his submachine gun. Just at that moment, a shell exploded near
him. He fainted and knew nothing more. Later, he felt two persons
placing him onto a stretcher, shaking from side to side. Still later, he felt
the stretcher stop, and it seemed that people were talking about something.
He wanted to open his eyes and say, "Comrades, I am still alive." But he
could not move. The joints throughout his body were stiff. He had
exhausted all his energy. A little while later he passed out again.

Time passed by without notice, and then he felt himself being kicked
twice. He came to in a daze. The pain forced him to open his eyes. A big
leather shoe kicked his wound once more. This time he saw clearly that
two American soldiers were standing in front of him, gabbing about
something. The overcoat full of bullet holes which had been covering him
was ripped off him by an American with a bayonet. One more kick fell
upon his wound before he could say anything, and he fainted once
more. . . .

While he was suffering a lot in the POW camp, a memorial meeting
was held for him in his home town with nearly everyone in the village
attending it. On one of the wreaths was written "A great life, and a
glorious death." The village Party Secretary said in the memorial speech
that he was the "pride of the people of the whole county." Yet, at the end
of 1954 when he was repatriated to his own motherland and was
transferred home from his army unit, he brought with him the official
conclusion by the army authorities, saying, "not being steadfast and unable
to maintain the integrity of a revolutionary soldier." No matter what his
file may hold, he was happy at long last to return to his home village. He
had yearned for it day and night. When he got off the bus, he simply
stared blankly at his home village for a long while. He was surprised to see
his home town folks back away from him, without even saying "hello" to
him when he entered the village, as if they had met some kind of monster.
His mind was filled with questions. Upon entering his own home, he was
greatly amused. There, hung on the wall, was his photo, framed in black, with the inscription "Certificate of the Death of an Armyman in The Resist America and Aid Korea War." When his wife saw him, she moved back two steps, asking, "Is this really . . . really you . . .?" He replied: "Who else could it be if not me?" His wife leaned on his shoulder and began to cry. She later told him that others were busy trying to help her find another husband. When he had joined the army nearly six years before, he had been married to her for only twelve days. They had no children yet.

Twenty years later, from 1979 to 1981, he had mailed six appeals to the department concerned in Beijing. The letters were duplicate copies, the contents of which were the same. The letters were sent to Beijing at one month intervals. The following two paragraphs are quoted from his letter:

"I have a load on my mind, a heavy one, that is, my Party membership. For several decades, since the year I was expelled from the Party by the Administrative Office in Charge of the Returned CPV POWs, I have shed lots of tears. My wife has persuaded me that I am already fortunate enough to have returned home alive, and that I should be content to work hard at home and set aside more grain to secure our lives. She asks, ‘Why are you still so upset?’ I am not convinced. I reply to her saying, ‘What do you know, you’re only a woman? Aren’t we nothing but pigs if all we do is eat and sleep?’ Anyway, I did not surrender in Korea."
Nor did I betray my comrades. Nor did I do a single disservice to the Party and our country."

Another paragraph written by him, however, may appear to be a little contradictory:

"Chairman Mao taught us that: ‘This army has the indomitable spirit. It will crush any enemy and will never yield to the enemy. No matter how hard and difficult the situation is, you must continue to fight even if you are left alone.’ But under the hard and difficult situation in Korea, I did not shed the last drop of blood for the people. Instead, I was shamefully taken by the enemy as a Prisoner of War, a byword of infamy."

The above man is called Liu [translator’s note: first name is not revealed in the original book]. He entered the PLA in 1949 and joined the Party on the Korean battlefield. He was a former squad leader of the CPV.

Among the CPV POWs, there are other types, too:

He is named Rao Jiafu, a former soldier of the CPV. He joined the army in April 1951, and in June of the same year he entered Korea and participated in the war. On June 28, he picked up and read the propaganda sheets dropped by the Americans, left his own army unit, and
surrendered himself to the American Army. He was eighteen years old at the time.

In the POW camps, he was tattooed with twenty-two characters on his body such as "Oppose Communist China and Resist Russia" and two insignias of the KMT. He polished leather shoes and washed clothes for the American soldiers instead of doing hard labor outside the POW camps as a result of his begging. He did that for over a year. On the early morning of September 14, 1953, he crossed the wire entanglements in the Neutral Zone and came back to his own country because he actually could not put up with the inhuman life in the POW camps.

Rao Jiafu is from Geyang County, Jiangxi Province. Before liberation, his family owned eleven Mu\(^8\) of land and a five-room house. Upon the return to his own country, he went back to his home village to be a farmer. I planned to get in touch with him, but I failed to find him. The following is an extract from the account he gave of himself on May 8, 1954:

On June 27, 1951 I went to a valley to gather firewood. There I found the enemy's propaganda fliers, in which it was written: "Comrades, come over to our side. We will drive you to the rear of the battle-lines for a rest. If you join us, we guarantee that you will be safe and treated in the same manner as the U.N. Forces. You will be given decent clothes to wear.

\(^8\)One Mu is approximately one-sixth acre.
Don't die unworthily for Russia. Your parents and wives all hope that you will return home." After I read that, my mind began to waver. I believed the enemy and did not trust the Party or the authorities any longer.

On the night of June 28, we were rebuilding fortifications. Our squad leader asked me to carry bullets for the machine gun. So, I stayed behind the squad leader. When I saw the squad leader walking elsewhere, I immediately put the ammunition in the air-raid shelter. I put on an overcoat and took along a raincoat, a mosquito net, and a pair of shoes, and walked through the mountain valley, intending to surrender myself to the enemy. On the morning of June 29 I ran into an American devil. Because I could not speak English, I showed the propaganda sheets to him, and he then took me to the enemy headquarters in the rear of the battlefield by jeep.

At the headquarters, there were two people who could speak Chinese.

"How many people have you brought to us?" they asked.

"Only myself," I replied.

"Did you bring any weapons with you?"

"No."

"Which army unit do you belong to?"

I told the truth.
"Why do you want to surrender?"

I said that when I saw the propaganda sheets dropped by the U.N. Forces, I thought it would be good for me to surrender because I was afraid of hardships and death and unwilling to fight.

(Next, the interrogators asked him a series of questions about the military equipment and morale of the CPV, which is omitted here—author’s note)

At that moment, I began to regret my decision. I should not have gone to the enemy’s side. I also realized that the enemy’s propaganda sheets were deceitful. I did not dare return to the CPV because I knew that I had committed a serious crime. I also knew that the enemy would not bring me any good. The enemy had asked me to defect, not to provide me with a good life, but to obtain military secrets. I asked, "What’s written in the propaganda sheets is so promising, why don’t I have any freedom after I’ve come over to your side? Why do you still treat me as an enemy? You shouldn’t deceive people!"

The interrogators then said, "It will be good for you after you arrive in the rear. You will have freedom; you will be able to eat good food, stay in a nice place and wear decent clothes."

I didn’t believe them and asked one more question: "Then, why do you keep me in an iron cage and have the military police watch me?"
One of them asked, "Are you a secret agent sent over by the Communists?"

I said that I was not a secret agent.

At that moment they asked me to shout propaganda at the CPV troops across the lines. I did not agree to do that. They asked me why I wouldn’t comply with their wishes. I said that the Chinese Communists had guns and artillery and I was afraid of being killed.

Finally, they asked me to think it over and tell them whatever military information I could remember. I replied that I could not think of any.

In the front, I was interrogated three times. In early July I was taken to Seoul where I was interrogated three more times. After that, I was taken to the Pusan POW Enclosures and was kept in one of the small wire compounds, separate from the others. . . . At that time, I was laden with guilt and regret for what I had done. I should not have surrendered myself to the enemy. I hated myself for not believing what my authorities had told me."

Among the CPV POWs, a few of them did surrender themselves to the enemy on the battlefield. Of these people, Rao Jiafu was one of the
exceptions who was taken in by the enemy’s propaganda sheets. Most of them were former KMT soldiers who either surrendered to the PLA or were taken prisoner by the PLA during the Chinese People’s Liberation War. Some of them had been local ruffians and rogues of the old society or KMT secret agents who sneaked into the CPV. It is not strange for these people to hold up their hands in surrender to the enemy on the battlefield because they lacked feelings and understanding for the New China and the Communist Party of China. It is now impossible to find out the details about how and why they surrendered to the enemy because nearly all of these people went straight to Taiwan from the POW camps. I found among the historical archives over a dozen "Registration Forms of Those Who Have Surrendered to the Enemy." I have extracted two of them:

Ding Guangzu, a platoon leader of the first company of a CPV regiment, was born in 1924. His story was recorded in the column "How It Happened, Its Cause and Consequence":

"At three o’clock in the morning on April 30, 1952, Ding led his platoon out to lay an ambush. On their way back, he took advantage of being the platoon leader to ask the No.7 squad to return, telling them that he would follow the No.9 squad. When he went to the No.9 squad, he said, ‘I’ll follow the No.7 squad.’ As a result, he seized the opportunity to
surrender to the enemy, taking with him a carbine, one hundred and twenty rounds of ammunition, and the list of weaponry of the whole platoon."

In the column "One’s Ordinary Behavior" it was written: "This person was a former KMT platoon leader of the 22nd Division of the New 6th Army. He joined the PLA in 1948 after he was captured in the Liaoxi-Shengyang Campaign. He does not like to talk very much ordinarily."

Zhou Zhiming, a soldier in a machine gun company of the 3rd battalion of a CPV regiment, was born in 1921. In the column "How It Happened, Its Cause and Consequence," it was recorded: "Zhou was reported to be missing late at night on October 10, 1952, taking with him RMB four hundred thousand Yuan (equal to forty Yuan now), two pairs of sneakers, and a bag of field rations. It was not until October 18 that people knew from the confession of an American prisoner that Zhou had surrendered to the enemy. After Zhou went over to the enemy’s side, the enemy took a photo of him, had it printed in leaflets, and distributed them to our positions."

It was recorded in the column "One’s Ordinary Behavior": "Zhou joined the KMT Army at the age of twenty-one and served in the 88th Division of the KMT Army for nine years. He joined the PLA in 1949
when Guangxi Province was liberated. In normal times, he often spread rumors that life in the American and KMT Armies was much better."

'Over thirty years have gone by. Things of the past drift by like mist.

Since then, the situation in the world has changed so much and there have been so many ebbs and flows on the two opposite coasts of the Taiwan Straits. If Ding Guangzu and Zhou Zhiming are still living in Taiwan today, both of them are nearing seventy. It is unlikely that either of them will forget that scene which occurred on the Korean battlefield, isn't it?
Chapter Two

The Line That Divides the Human World and Hell

"It was not knives and guns but wire entanglements that hurt our hearts."

-- by a POW of the CPV

On the Way under Escort

One early morning in June 1951 several dozen American-made trucks set off in the vicinity of the North Han River. The motorcade was brightly lit and was speeding along the hilly highway under close guard. The trucks were carrying the CPV POWs. All the American troops along the way had been ordered to provide patrol teams to ensure the safety of the motorcade.

It was unknown just which batch of the recent Chinese POWs was the last to be escorted to the rear lines. They were first gathered one by one, batch by batch, to the "Temporary POW Collecting Point in the Front." When enough were gathered for a motorcade, the Americans
would then escort the POWs to the POW transit camps\(^9\) at Daegu and Suwon.

For these Chinese POWs, it was a humiliating and painful experience.

Among them was one Zhang Zeshi from Sichuan Province, a former secretary to a CPV regiment. He was captured after he was wounded and went into a coma.

In late August 1986, I met Zhang Zeshi in a room belonging to Beijing Municipal Science and Technology Association, where there were safes standing up against all four walls. Though already at fifty-eight years old, he did not look it at all, with a tanned and thin face and a pair of bright piercing eyes. And he was dressed in a trim Western-style suit. His Party membership and military status had been restored in 1981. Now he is vice-director of the Joint Office of Beijing Municipal Science and Technology Association. He is from Guang'an County, Sichuan Province. His father was an engineer. The high school he attended was a missionary school, where he had learned to speak fluent English. In 1946, he was

\(^9\)According to *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War* (prepared by the Military History Office, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3. Headquarters, United States Army, Pacific APO 958 San Francisco, California, June 1960, pp. 13-14), the United Nations Forces had many POW transit camps in 1951, for instance, at Wonju, Yongdong-po, Parhan-ni, Suwon, Chechon, Taejon, and Hayang, receiving and processing North Korean and Chinese POWs evacuated from the POW collecting points.
admitted into Qinghua University. He joined the CPC in 1947. One year later, he was assigned to the liberated area, where he received training for underground work, after which he was sent to Sichuan, his home province, to participate in student activities and the armed guerrilla struggle. In 1950 he joined the PLA to do propaganda work in the literary and artistic fields. And in 1951, he entered Korea with his army unit. . . . To Zhang Zeshi, those days and nights in the summer of 1951, thirty-five years ago, were the longest, the most unforgettable and the most unbearable part of his life. He spoke with great composure, with his eyes frequently turning to what he was casually drawing. As he spoke, I could feel the excitement swelling within his heart that he was trying to hold back. The following is what he said:

... walking out of the valley, I saw a long procession of other CPV prisoners moving along the highway. When we fellow sufferers met each other, we were on the verge of tears. We were shaking with grief and supported each other, grabbing one another's hands. We were all so weak that we could hardly walk. By contrast, the American officers and guards who escorted us on both sides walked with a swagger and shouted loudly at us, "Hurry up!" I was greatly distressed and moved numbly ahead. The mental agony was greater than the bodily pain.

Walking in the procession were quite a few wounded soldiers covered with gauze. We later found out that most of the wounded soldiers who were captured by the American Army had received first-aid and that a couple of the seriously wounded soldiers were even carried to the rear by helicopter.
Of course, those CPVs captured by Syngman Rhee's troops, were cruelly treated...\textsuperscript{10}

I cut him short and read to him a few lines mentioned in a letter of accusation written by a former Chinese POW in August 1953:

On May 28, 1951, over six hundred sick and wounded CPV officers and soldiers were huddled in an air-raid shelter northeast of the Han River. When the American soldiers arrived, they immediately drove the Chinese out of the shelter and shot them with machine guns. A few of the sick and wounded Chinese soldiers who were unable to move out of the shelter were killed by hand-grenades thrown by the American soldiers.

Zhang Zeshi listened to me in silence, and then said "I had heard about that before. This is of course true. The American soldiers did that, possibly because the American Army could not carry the sick and wounded Chinese soldiers off the battlefield... That was, at any rate, an inhuman and savage act."

After that, Zhang Zeshi went on to tell me his own experiences in the war:

All of a sudden, shouts arose from the front of the procession. An American soldier was shouting to a POW who was covering his belly with his hands and running toward the foot of the hill. "Stop, or I'll fire!" the American soldier

\textsuperscript{10}This is probably true, for \textit{The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War} (ibid, p. 5), also says that ROK forces mistreated or killed POWs with even slight provocation. It was determined, therefore, that POWs be placed under U.S. control as soon as possible after capture in order to assure compliance with the Geneva Convention.
shouted and shot into the sky. I shouted hurriedly in English, "Don’t shoot! He’s suffering from diarrhea. He’s going to relieve himself."

The tall American soldier beside me stared in surprise. He immediately took me to his officer and reported to him, "Here’s a POW who can speak English." That officer, a Second Lieutenant, looked me up and down curiously and asked me where I learned to speak English. After I told him where and how, he said to me, "Don’t be afraid. As far as I know, armistice talks will begin soon. Once the war is over, the two sides will exchange POWs. Then you can return home to continue your studies." He did not seem to realize how strongly the information shook me. "How can the enemy let us go back home? Won’t the enemy take us to Taiwan to be cannon fodder or to Japan or to another island to be used in experiments with the atomic bomb . . .?" Just at that moment, the procession was moving into the "POW Collecting Point in the Front," enclosed temporarily with wire entanglements along the riverside. I was escorted along with the others into the place, pained, worried, and with deep misgivings.

At the POW Collecting Point, the Second Lieutenant asked me to get the Chinese POWs to line up and hand out a rice ball to each one. The rice balls were about as big as a fist, and I told everyone, "Don’t give away military secrets, and don’t betray our motherland!" Some of the comrades nodded their heads with tears in their eyes when they heard me say that, while others only stared at the rice balls with a blank expression on their faces. Still others looked at me in fear, with sidelong glances at the American soldiers standing by with guns in their hands, as if to say, "What kind of occasion is this? How dare you say such words?" Sure enough, one American soldier asked me, "What are you telling them?" I replied in English, "I advised them not to eat too quickly but to chew well and swallow slowly because they’ve been hungry for a long time." Upon hearing this, another black American soldier raised his thumb, signaling to me, "Okay."
Zhang Zeshi met Captain Brooks from the Intelligence Office of the Headquarters of the Eighth U.S. Army. Brooks accompanied the CPV POWs throughout their stay in the camps. He had killed three Chinese POWs at the massacre he himself had commanded on October 1, 1952. But in the beginning, he appeared to be refined, kind and gentle. Zhang Zeshi continued with the following:

A fat captain looked me up and down for quite a while. Then he stretched out his hand and beckoned to me with his finger and said, "You, follow me this way!"

He took me to the driver's cab of a truck, picked up a military blanket, draped it over my shoulders and began to talk with me alone in English. He said, "I'm sorry to see you in such bad shape because I am fond of the Chinese people. China is my second home," he continued, "for I was born in Kunming. My father was an American missionary and my mother is Chinese." He also told me, "My surname is Brooks and I would like to make friends with you."

What he said was quite unexpected and also raised my suspicions. Then he asked, "What is your name and where did you attend school?"

I responded to his question truthfully. After that, he asked, "How come your English pronunciation is so good?"

I told him, "The high school I attended was a missionary school and my English teacher was an American."

"Oh, so that's how it is..." He seemed delighted. "Why have you followed the Communists and come here to fight against us? If you were killed, it would not be worth it at all."

"I came here as a volunteer."
"Then, you have been taken in by the Communists. . . ."

"But, I can't help but show love for my motherland, just as you also love your country. Of course, I appreciate your honesty, but you're too young to understand politics. You should continue your education. . . . If you agree to do translation work at the Headquarters of the Eighth U.S. Army, we can relieve you of your POW status and let you hold a civilian post as an American citizen. We guarantee to send you to study in an American school as soon as the war is over."

His proposal really shocked me. I quickly made up an excuse: "My fiancee expects me to return home. I hope to return home through the exchange of POWs when the war is over. I can't break my promise."

He heaved a sigh and looked at me, "What a pity!"

After I returned to the enclosed compound, I began to plan my own program of action. I would follow the tactics taught to me by the Party when I was engaged in the underground struggle in the White Area, the KMT-controlled area, before liberation. I decided to establish a secret organization called the "Patriotic Group." I would use it as a core to unite my fellow prisoners to uphold patriotic integrity and the Communist faith. I decided I must also report all this to my superiors and ask them for further instruction. . . .

Just then, I heard a burst of sobbing. I walked over and found that it was the crying of a young man of sixteen or seventeen. I asked him why he was crying and he said, "Just now, the Americans asked me to go over for some interrogation. They asked me the percentage of Communists among the CPV. I told them that everybody was a Communist. They also asked me how many Communist members there were among the Chinese population. I replied that there were 450 million [translator's note: the total population of China at that time]. Then they beat me and kicked me so hard that my wound started to bleed again."
I told him, "You gave them an excellent answer. What a brave and unyielding man you are!"

He replied, "I am not afraid of pain. But when I start thinking that I might never return home in my life, I feel anxious that my family will be greatly worried about me."

Then, I gave him a few words of comfort, telling him that the armistice talks would begin soon and we could go back home through the exchange of POWs after the war was over. I also added that our task now was to unite our fellow prisoners, oppose the oppression of the Americans and uphold revolutionary integrity. I admitted him into the "Patriotic Group" as its first member. This very tough soldier, Comrade Jiang Ruipu, later persisted in the struggle to return home... On the same day, I also recruited several other comrades. They had been members of the propaganda team of the former CPV regiment before they were captured.

Other POWs were escorted, one group after another, into the POW Collecting Point in the evening. Early next morning, nearly one thousand CPV POWs were escorted onto the trucks.

At the POW Enclosures

A military train stopped at the Pusan Railway Station. The platforms of the station were heavily guarded. In the distance, Syngman Rhee's troops were standing guard. Standing in front of them were the American soldiers and in front of the American soldiers were the American military police with white helmets on their heads. Pusan is a seaport at the southern-most end of the Korean Peninsula. As the largest port in southern
Korea, it is important strategically. It is the port where the American Army landed at the end of WWII. It was once the temporary home of Syngman Rhee's regime.

One after another, the Chinese POWs were forced off the train to stand in a line of five people. They were then forced to march forward between two rows of cold and threatening bayonets.

It was a procession in rags. The uniforms of the Chinese POWs were a motley of black, red, and yellow, dyed by rain, sweat, and blood. Some uniforms were badly torn. It was difficult to distinguish between the uniforms of the Chinese and the North Korean POWs. Some walked on crutches and inched forward; those who had lost both legs were carried by their comrades-in-arms; those who had lost their arms swung their empty sleeves; the blind POWs were led by their fellow prisoners; and some of them, even at such a slow pace, were gasping for breath. . . . Mere skin and bones, the POWs were already streaming with sweat, with only a few steps. . . . One POW who had walked in the procession, said thirty years later that it was a wretched moment. A foreign correspondent who witnessed the scene reported it as "one of the greatest processions in human history."

The North Korean POWs first started singing "March of the People's Army." Despite the whips, gun butts and sticks falling on their bodies, the
singing of the POWs grew louder. They sang one song after another, "The Song of General Kim IL-sung," "The Song of the Guerrillas," and so on. Then the Chinese POWs started singing, too, "The East Is Red," "The Battle Song of the CPV," "Let's March and Follow Mao Zedong," and so on, their eyes brimming with tears. After that, the North Korean comrades began to sing Chinese songs, while the Chinese comrades sang Korean songs. 11 Though warded off by Syngman Rhee's troops, the local people also began to sing.

The procession headed northwest of Pusan City for seven to eight kilometers, and then turned into a pass nestled among the hills. Emerging in front of them was a massive POW camp complex, which was the Pusan POW Enclosures built by the American Army. There, standing on both sides of the highway, was one camp after another. Each was surrounded by wire fences, five meters high, in five concentric circles, two meters apart. In the four corners of the camps were watchtowers, ten meters high, mounted with machine guns. All around the wire fences were smooth roads for the American tanks and armored cars to patrol and for sentries to keep watch. Inside the wire entanglements were metal huts and tents.

11Singing was rife among both the CPV and KPA POWs as it is recorded in The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, pp. 15-17.
Gigantic searchlights were erected on the nearby hilltops. Armed helicopters were taking off and landing on the heliport.

As we approached, we saw many POWs with bandages and crutches standing inside the wire entanglements. They were wearing worn-out American Army uniforms, but many of them were still wearing the Chinese or North Korean army caps. After observing the expressions of the people in the wire entanglements, one POW in the procession commented, "The Chinese POWs are looking at us in embarrassment, but the North Korean POWs seem to be a lot more cheerful. Facing us, they were firmly holding their hands high above their heads, demonstrating the unity and friendship between the peoples and armies of China and Korea."

The American Army started building the Pusan POW Enclosures in the latter half of 1950.\textsuperscript{12} Compared with the Koje-do and the Cheju-do POW Enclosures, built respectively in April 1951\textsuperscript{13} and May 1952\textsuperscript{14}, the

\textsuperscript{12}Records show that the first United Nations Command POW enclosure was built in July 1950. As \textit{The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War} tells us that "by 24 July, the perimeter of the POW site as Pusan was enclosed by barbed wire and 27 POWs who had been accumulated by then were confined in this enclosure," (p. 3) "Additional enclosures and a hospital facility were constructed in the Pusan area during the autumn" of 1950 (p. 6).

\textsuperscript{13}There seems to be some discrepancy between Jin Daying's account and that provided in \textit{The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War}. The latter says that "construction of Koje-do's enclosures began on 1 February and progressed throughout the month, and at the end of February, 53,588 POWs had been transported from Pusan to Koje-do." And "On 1 March, the main headquarters and force moved to Koje-do, and on 31 March, the total camp population on that island was 98,799" (pp. 12-13).

\textsuperscript{14}This is confirmed by \textit{The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War} on page 27.
living conditions in Pusan were much better. Many of those imprisoned in Pusan were sick and wounded POWs. There were nine POW Enclosures altogether, plus two POW prison camps with water dungeons. Each enclosure could imprison one thousand five hundred or so POWs. Enclosures 1, 2, and 3 were for the injured POWs; 5 and 6 for those with tuberculosis; 4 for the other sick and wounded POWs; 7 for female POWs; and 10 and 11 for transferring POWs. The newcomers were first taken to Enclosure 2. Those who were not injured were taken to Enclosure 10 to be transferred to other POW camps when the number collected there reached five hundred. The POWs in Enclosure 11 served as laborers.

The American Army set up a cumbersome structure to administer the POW camps. A Commanding General POW Command and a military police headquarters were assigned by the Logistics Department of the Eighth U.S. Army to be in charge of all the POW collecting points and camps. Pusan, Koje-do and Cheju-do had their own commanders and military police headquarters. In charge of the interrogation of the POWs were the United States Far East Military Information Service, the United States Far East Bureau of Investigation for People's Sentiment, and the Intelligence Department of the Eighth U.S. Army, and so on. The United States Civil Information and Education in the Far East and religious organizations were assigned the task of "educating" the POWs and
spreading propaganda among them. In addition, large numbers of American and Syngman Rhee’s troops served as camp guards. The above systems operated independently, disobeyed orders and competed with one another, frequently resulting in various disputes.

The procession of the POWs stopped in front of the Pusan POW Enclosures. The American soldiers on both sides rushed up and began the body search. Anything valuable such as pens, wrist watches, gold rings and lighters . . . were taken away from the POWs. One Chinese POW, whose two gold rings were taken away from the sole of his shoe, later remembered:

A queer-looking American soldier searched me all over, shamelessly. He pushed up my sleeves, pointed to the watch mark on my wrist, and muttered a few words. I spread out my hands, indicating I had lost my watch. But he refused to understand. He forced my shorts off. When he discovered those two gold rings, he shouted and danced around, holding the gold rings over his head to show them to the other American soldiers. Then he took off my other shoe, held his breath, looked carefully in that smelly worn-out military rubber shoe, and then felt around inside it. After that he threw my shoe away. . . .

After going through such robbery, the POWs were taken inside the tents of the enclosures to get registered, photographed, and fingerprinted.
Each POW was given a metal plate, stamped with a serial number. Groups of fifty soldiers were then taken to an empty tent to settle in. Each was given a used army blanket and a used American uniform, painted with the two English letters, P.W. The Chinese and North Korean uniforms were taken away.

Close to Pusan POW Enclosure 1 was a quonset hut which served as the operating room of the POW hospital. It was there that the sick and wounded POWs received medical treatment.

The well-known Chinese writer Ba Jin\textsuperscript{15} once interviewed a CPV POW surnamed Wu. Ba Jin recorded what Wu told him on September 2, 1953: "We first stayed in Pusan POW Enclosure 1. There were over one thousand POWs in twelve metal sheds, surrounded by a wire fence. There was a building with operating rooms close to these sheds. Interns were changed every three months, among them there were Americans, South Koreans as well as Japanese. They used the sick and wounded POWs as subjects in medical experiments. As a result, a slight injury became a severe one, and a minor illness became a serious one. For instance, if you had a

\textsuperscript{15}Ba Jin (1904--) is one of the most popular writers of twentieth-century China. In March 1952, he, as vice-chairman of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and of the All-China Writers' Association, led a group from the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles to Korea and spent seven months there; in August 1953, after the Armistice, he returned to Korea, this time by himself. His visits to Korea led to his writing about the CPV who fought there in Yingxiong de Gushi (Stories of Heroes), which was published in 1954 by the Foreign Languages Press of Peking under the title Living Amongst Heroes.
slight injury in your hand, they would cut the whole arm off with a saw. If one of your toes was infected, they would cut off the whole leg with a saw. When I stayed at Pusan POW Enclosure 1, I learned that over three thousand people had died in that building. The wound in my hand was not cured. It healed up by itself." There, he paused for a moment and stretched out his right hand to me. I found that his hand was bent inward from his wrist and his four fingers were also curved and could not straighten out. "If I had had a good doctor, this hand of mine would not have been disabled. Right here is a shell splinter that has not been taken out." He rolled up the bottom of his right trouser leg. The wound in the shank just below his right knee had healed over, but a piece of blackened flesh as big as a thumb was sticking out. He kept a grip on it with two fingers of his left hand and said, "I was unwilling to let the enemy doctor perform an operation on me for taking out the shell splinter. I was afraid he might simply cut off my leg with a saw."

There were quite a few small scars in his leg, reddish, brownish, and whitish, but compared with that piece of blackish flesh, they were not conspicuous.
Connected with the operating room there was another building. The sick and wounded who were to have operations stayed there for a day to take a bath and prepare the skin to be disinfected. Everyone about to enter the operating room would say good-bye to everybody else, whether or not he knew them: "If you don't see me later, please remember my name and let the people of my motherland know." To the left of the operating room was the mortuary. Many of the POWs were carried there from the operating table.

As for the treatment of the other sick POWs, a CPV POW, Wang Xingwu, once wrote about his experience in an accusation on March 18, 1954:

The doctors wrote out indiscriminate prescriptions without any diagnosis beforehand. One doctor was in charge of over a hundred sick POWs. They drew blood frequently, four times for every POW on the average, amounting to 20 cc from each POW. They drew so much blood from one POW, thirty-seven times, that he died.

Tuberculosis patients suffered the most as subjects of the enemy's experiments. As far as we know, over thirty comrades in Enclosure 6 died because the enemy did not give them any treatment. The doctors also drew bone marrow and gave injections of air and of poisonous serum. The coughing pills only made the POWs cough more and make it more difficult to breathe. We saw with our own eyes that Zhang Shishun died of bone marrow drawing, while Teng Jiasheng died of air-injections. The same can be said of Enclosures 2 and 4. If you had dysentery, they would not give you any medicine until after you had suffered further. If you had pleurisy, they would
draw as much water as possible from you, regardless of its danger to your life.

There is no denying that there were also some humane and noble-minded army doctors. Wei Lin, a vice-chief of staff of a CPV regiment, has never forgotten Doctor Hausman (Aosiman), an American Captain, who treated his wounded hand with great care. He still remembers clearly that Doctor Hausman was from Florida. Wei Lin called him "a good man and a good doctor."

Interrogation was a sort of check point that every POW had to go through. From the account given by the POWs, there were chiefly four intelligence agencies that were in charge of interrogation. Each was different in its organization and had its own tasks and ways of interrogating the POWs.

The chief task of The United States Far East Military Information Service was to gather military information, especially information about the CPV on the battlefield in Korea and back in China, as well as economic information about the New China. Before interrogation, the POWs were shut up in basements and provided with only one meal a day. During interrogation, the POWs were first asked all sorts of questions and were
offered cigarettes and fruit. No matter what the answers were, the interrogators would say "Thanks." Then if they could not gain any information through repeated efforts, the interrogators would use instruments of torture, including electric shocks and so on to extort a confession.

The chief task of The United States Far East Bureau of Investigation for People's Sentiment was to investigate the thoughts and feelings of the CPV troops, the people in China, and the peoples in the Far East as a whole, even including the state of mind of the American troops. When they wanted to interrogate the POWs, they fetched and sent back the POWs by jeep. They did not resort to any means of threat and punishment. They made it known to the POWs that the latter were free to talk about anything. They could praise the Chinese Communists or denounce the KMT, or even condemn America. But they were told that they had to give reasons for what they said.

The third organization, the Second Section of the United States Far East Intelligence Agency had, as its chief task, to investigate the political background of the POWs such as who the cadres and Party members were, and who the Youth League members were. They controlled the POW camps by manipulation of the traitors, with whom they plotted the
isolation and persecution of the POWs who remained loyal. When they interrogated the POWs, they resorted to all kinds of torture.

In addition, there was the court at the Military Police Headquarters, established specially for the trial and persecution of the so-called "active criminals" among the POWs. Quite often the POWs were taken to one place after another for interrogation. None of them, including the sick and wounded, could escape it. The interrogators used to come in person to the bedside of the sick and wounded POWs to threaten to cut off food and water supplies and stop treatment.

Faced with the enemy's threats of torture, many Chinese POWs showed an unyielding revolutionary spirit. They would rather die than betray their comrades-in-arms or reveal military secrets. Wu Zhong-quan, a CPV gunner, recalled on February 2, 1983 the occasion of his interrogation as follows:

The enemy and traitors took me out for interrogation every three or five days. They said to me, "You are a key member of the CPC. How many cadres and Communist Party members are there in your platoon?" I replied there were none. Then the secret agents and the traitors tortured me by various cruel means, but I would not tell, even with electric shocks. The second time, they bound me with a piece of rope and hung me up. Then they whipped me and beat my body so hard that I fainted. Still I did not reveal any secrets. The third time, the secret agents pumped cold chilly water into my belly through the anus with a sort of spray injector. My belly immediately became bloated. Then the traitors and the secret agents kicked and stepped on it. The water poured out from
my anus, my mouth and my nostrils. I became unconscious, and the secret agents threw cold water on me again. . . .

**Entering the POW Camp**

When the number of sick and wounded POWs who had basically recovered and other captured POWs amounted to five hundred, and they were sent as a large group to the Koje-do POW Enclosures.

The American landing ships carrying the POWs left Pusan Harbor under the roaring sound of the engines.

Koje-do is located only several dozen nautical miles away to the southwest of Pusan. In Korean history, Koje-do used to be the place where prisoners were sent into exile. The American Army built twelve POW enclosures in a big valley along the seashore. Each enclosure was surrounded by five circles of wire, outside of which there was a road. On the four corners of each enclosure were watchtowers. The first Chinese POWs were kept in Compound 72. In July 1951, Compound 86 was established. There were over ten thousand CPV POWs altogether in those two compounds. In November of the same year, one thousand and four hundred POWs were transferred out of Compound 72 to set up Compound

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16There were 28 compounds divided among the enclosures at Koje-do. (Cf. *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War*, p. 13.)
70. Meanwhile, over two hundred more CPV POWs were separated from Compounds 72 and 86 to form Compound 71.

After they were taken to Koje-do, the POWs were registered and fingerprinted in Compound 61 near the seashore, and then sent into other compounds. They were taken into separate tents. Each tent could house over fifty POWs. A ditch, forty centimeters deep, was dug in the middle of the tent. The ground on both sides of the ditch served as beds. Each POW could only sleep in a space thirty centimeters wide. Two persons shared a straw mat with an old army blanket. They thus spent endless nights in the damp and cold.

At mealtime, every POW got a half bowl of food, made up of seventy percent barley with husks and thirty percent rice. There were also two small pieces of turnip in the bowl, to serve as a side-dish for the meal. According to the stipulations of the Americans, the grain ration for each POW a day was one pound, including one can of another kind of food to be shared among fifty POWs. But a sack of grain weighing one hundred and twenty kilograms became less than eighty when it arrived in the POW camps. With each administrative level along the way pocketing a portion of the POWs’ grain rations, the food in every POW’s bowl wound up being far less than stipulated. Boiling water was served once every five days. At other times, the POWs could not even drink clean water. Instead they
could only ladle out muddy water with an iron bowl from the ditch and wait till it had settled before they drank it. In addition, the American Army often tortured the POWs by cutting off water and food supplies. Consequently, the POWs were not able to stand up and even fainted because of hunger.

Connected with hunger was the suffering from the cold weather. In the bitter and freezing weather, the POWs were wearing only the short-sleeved "POW uniforms." They were shivering from the cold. Although the POW Administrative Authorities of the American Army kept a large number of used clothes in the storehouse, they were unwilling to let the POWs have them. It was not until after many POWs became sick from the cold that they provided one jacket for every POW and seven overcoats for ten people to share.

In spite of hunger and cold, the POWs had to go to the dock to load or unload goods for the American Army, to build roads, dig ditches, or build houses.\footnote{\textit{The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War} (pp. 99-100) offers exactly the same record: ". . . Great masses of prisoners were employed on construction projects--first at Pusan, later at the island camps, and again on the Korean mainland. Prisoners drained paddy lands, built dams, improved roads, dug ditches, salvaged supplies, installed lighting and plumbing systems, improvised coal stoves from oil drums, made bricks and metal roofing, and constructed fences, buildings, and sewage systems. . . ."} If the POWs worked slowly, they would be beaten viciously or killed by the garrison team members and the American soldiers.
returning to the camps, the POWs were still forced to smash stones, the bigger pieces into smaller ones, and the smaller ones into still smaller ones. An American Lieutenant Colonel once said to Wang Shunqing, the commander of Compound 72, "We should let these Communists work till they are half dead. If they are set free, they will only make trouble."

When the POWs first arrived at the enclosures, they were taken to the garrison team to be beaten viciously for three nights running. After the first beating they were asked, "Are you a Communist Party member?" On the second night, they were asked, "Have you ever killed any Americans?" On the third night, they were made to promise, "I won't rebel. I'll be an honest POW." They were first beaten up and then were asked the questions. So no matter what the replies were, there was no escape from the vicious beating. Many POWs were badly bruised. Quite often, the renegades would make a show of various types of corporal punishment to the newcomers: flogging while being hung up; scrubbing the underside of the foot arch with an iron brush; striking the finger-tips with an iron hammer; being placed on a rack; pouring chilly water; and so on. The American guards and the renegades referred to this treatment as "a present for the newcomers" or "a head-on blow at the first encounter."

The POWs thus began their life in the POW camps with hunger, cold, hard labor and vicious flogging.
Chapter Three

Female Prisoners of War

The nature of war is ruthless, rough, and tragic, while the nature of woman is kindhearted, gentle, soft, and affectionate. In the course of the development of human society, war is a monster, and women getting involved in war runs completely against human nature.

When women become prisoners of war, they fall into an even more tragic situation.

It remains a mystery to this day how many CPV female soldiers were actually taken prisoner. Even the commanding officers of the American Army who have gone through that war are not capable of adding up the precise figure, because most of them were not taken to the POW camps.\(^\text{18}\)

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\(^{18}\)A United Nations POW Command Report in early April 1953 had listed a total of 514 female prisoners of war on hand—461 North Korean POWs (23 with one child each ranging from 1 to 8 years of age), 52 civilian internees, and one Chinese POW. And, by September 6, 1953, only one female Chinese POW had been repatriated (The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, pp. 67, 89). What Jin Daying says here is probably true, since most of the female POWs were not kept in the POW camps.
In the wars of primitive societies, men were taken as prisoners, while women, together with cattle, sheep, stone artifacts and so on, became war trophies. On this planet, which is supposed to have stepped into modern civilization, man still retains much of his primitive ideology and behavior.

The account given here is about the tragic lot of a few CPV female prisoners of war. As the reader can well understand, I have not used their real names here.

Her name was Zhang Lihua. She had served as a nurse in a medical team of a CPV unit before she was taken prisoner. She was then only seventeen years old and had served in the army for only ten months. Indeed, she did not look like a soldier. This was not only because she was too delicate, so much so that she appeared as charming as a doll. Nor was it because she had a sweet voice and kept singing and bouncing about, but mainly because she did not understand what it meant to be a soldier, especially to be a female soldier.

Her parents were both clerks in a city. She was the only child in the family. After graduating from junior high school, she was admitted into an army medical school without getting her parents' consent. She joined the army in that way. At that time, she only thought that it would be an honor to serve in the army and that she would look beautiful in an army uniform. It had never occurred to her that she would be a prisoner. Nor had she
thought of what would happen to her as a female prisoner of war. At that time she thought that being a soldier only meant winning battles, singing happily, laughing merrily, and being presented with flowers by relatives. However, reality suddenly confronted this pure and innocent young girl in a rather cruel way.

In the Korean battle front, she and three other women soldiers were assigned the task of conducting propaganda and agitation. Of the four women soldiers, she was the youngest. The oldest was surnamed Wang, who was twenty-two years old and was the only one married. Her husband served as a secretary to the regimental commander. Right after they got married, they moved to the Korean battle front with their troops. She was supposed to be a mother soon. Between the battles, while the bullets were still whistling in the sky, she took some baby clothes out from her army bag and began embroidering stitch by stitch a white dove which held a green olive branch in its mouth. While embroidering, she often couldn’t help smiling, putting a mother’s love in her embroidery.

Big Zhao was twenty years old. She grew up like a boy, dark, strong and tall, with an especially loud voice and a bold and vigorous disposition. Before she left for Korea, she got a letter from her mother. The letter indicated that her mother had found a boyfriend for her. She blushed while reading the letter. Afterward, she even went on a diet for a couple of
days, saying that she meant to make her own waist become a little bit slimmer.

Little Li was eighteen years old. Thin as a twig, she admired Big Zhao greatly for "filling out no matter what she eats." The agitation group was composed of these four women soldiers. The four of them were always together. People could hear them singing everywhere, on the march, in the forward positions, in the clinic and so on.

Later, of the four soldiers, only Zhang Lihua was escorted into the POW Collecting Point of the American Army. She changed completely. She became a person of few words, with a dull look in her eyes and a pale face. For several days in a row, she did not eat a thing, nor did she say a single word. On seeing the Chinese, she would cover her face with her hands, and tears would stream down between her fingers. She clenched her jaws and restrained herself from crying out.

The American soldiers took her out for interrogation. On entering the interrogation room, she bent over the desk, shedding tears and saying nothing. When the American officers in charge of the interrogation brought her some chocolates and chewing gum, she threw them under the desk, shouted abuses at the Americans, stood up and made for the door. An American officer picked up the candies on the floor and slipped them
into her pocket. She would not take them and threw them into the stinking ditch in front of the collecting point.

There was a brown-haired infant in the collecting point. A female prisoner of war of the Korean People’s Army told Zhang Lihua about what had happened to the baby’s mother:

There was a period of time when the American soldiers came to rape the female POWs every night. A year later, one of the girls who was raped gave birth to this brown-haired infant. When the American soldier who had raped the girl heard about it, he brought milk powder, chocolate, and bread. She only accepted milk powder but threw out the chocolate and bread. That night, the American soldier came to rape her again. He pushed her down onto the bed. She struggled and seized the American soldier by the throat. He grabbed his knife and stabbed right into her heart. But she never loosened her grip. . . . The brown-haired child became an orphan.

After she heard that, Zhang Lihua burst out crying. It was the first time that she cried so bitterly during those days. Her heartrending cry rang throughout the air. Later, she told her own story of how they were taken as POWs.

During one battle, their troops were scattered. The four of them went to hide in the remote mountains. There they searched for their own troops with the help of a compass. When they ate up the food they had brought with them, they ate wild herbs and tree leaves. At night, the four
of them pressed close together to protect themselves against the cold wind of the mountains.

One evening, they were discovered by the American soldiers searching the mountains. The weapons they had in their hands were only one pistol, ten cartridges, and two Yuegin (a four-stringed plucked instrument with a full-moon-shaped sound box).

They were thus taken prisoner.

The American soldiers took them to their campsite and brought them a few pieces of bread. They were extremely hungry and did not hesitate to eat.

The American soldiers, on the other hand, looked them up and down with malicious intent. They touched here and there on their bodies with the excuse of searching for weapons. One of them was bitten by Big Zhao. The American soldier did not get angry. Instead, he rubbed his hand and laughed.

The four female POWs were escorted in front of a tent. The American soldiers declared that they wanted to "interrogate" them one by one. The four of them sat on the ground, huddled together. No one moved.
The American soldiers came up and lifted Little Li from the ground. She kicked them, crying and shouting, "I don’t want to go! I don’t want to go!"

"Stop!" the elder sister Wang stood up. "Don’t touch her. I’ll go with you."

Wang calmly combed her short hair backward a little with her hands. In the afterglow, she appeared so tall and big, but most of all, noble. A woman captured by the enemy could still face violence with such a look in her eyes and such an expression on her face. That was true human dignity.

The American soldiers did not touch her, but escorted her into the tent. Very soon her shouts were heard from the tent.

The other three rushed into the tent despite efforts by the American soldiers to stop them. Inside, they saw several stark-naked American soldiers keeping a tight grip on their elder sister on a camp bed, while one American soldier was weighing upon her with his body covered with black hair.

The American soldiers rushed toward them and held them in their arms. They struggled, fought back, shouted and cursed. But they were women after all. Their clothes were torn off. Groans, curses, grins, and blows all mixed together.
One of the American soldiers rose from Big Zhao’s body, his sexual desire now spent. All of a sudden, Big Zhao seized a carbine one of the American soldiers had laid on the floor. Flames shot out from the muzzle. One of the American soldiers fell.

The rest of the American soldiers ran out, rolling and crawling. They surrounded the tent, mounted a machine gun, and shot at the tent.

The four naked female CPV POWs clung together. They burst forth singing a beloved song of theirs. Their hair was dishevelled, tears and sweat streamed down their faces. Their song resounded with the whistling sounds of the machine gun fire. The bullets shot through their bodies, blood gushing out, covering their white skin with a sacred layer of "red gauze."

Of the four sisters, Wang, Big Zhao, and Little Li died. Zhang Lihua was only slightly wounded, because she happened to be lying underneath her three sisters.

This is the story I want to tell about just a few female CPV POWs. People have different versions of Zhang Lihua’s later circumstances. Some say that she was shot dead by the American soldiers in 1952, while celebrating the "August 15th Independence Day" of Korea with the Korean
People's Army female POWs. Some say that she is still drifting about on a distant island, homeless; others say that she has already returned to her motherland. I hope that she is still alive. But I do not hope that she will read this chapter. It would be too cruel. She would be more afraid than any male POWs of being reminded of that terrible period in her past.

If any painter has the wish to create an image of the women soldiers of the CPV, please do it with colors and lines that exhibit the moment they sacrificed their lives so that the painting can stay permanently in the people's memory: the four female CPV POWs were there, in the dusk of the tent, hand in hand, singing songs, the flames of fire gushing forth from the machine gun. Over their heads there were four white doves, four peace-loving doves, holding olive branches in their mouths. These are the women of the New China. And these are the women of the Chinese Army. Only by having such mothers, wives, and daughters can the Chinese live and multiply on this land of 9.6 million square kilometers and be independent of other nations in the world.

When I finished this chapter, a returned POW told me about the tragic lot of another female CPV POW after she returned to China. She was transferred from the army to a city. Several years later, she married.
She was a very gentle wife full of tenderness. A year after they married, her husband began to suspect she had been violated by the American soldiers in Korea. For this reason he put her to shame. Then they lived apart and were later divorced. Her second husband once again mentioned her experience in Korea during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." She simply could not make him believe her. She thought of committing suicide, but for the sake of her two children, she still lives in this world.

The authorities have announced her rehabilitation now, for she was wronged once. She has been given several hundred yuan retroactively, but the scars will be difficult to heal.

I do not want to prove whether or not she was raped by the American soldiers at that time. Not all female POWs were raped. But I cannot help but ask, "Are these two gentlemen above manly enough?--who do not go ahead and denounce those American soldiers who imposed misery upon the female POWs, but instead throw the slops upon their own women in the name of morality!"
Chapter Four

The Initial Silence

At the beginning of June 1951, five hundred more POWs of the CPV were escorted to the Pusan POW Enclosures. As soon as the American escorts left, a POW of the Korean People's Army who was placed in charge of organizing the POWs, cried out in Chinese, "The officers of the CPV may step forward and manage your own affairs. Don't let the authority for supervising the POW camp fall into the hands of the renegades."

The line was silent. There was not a single answer.

The comrade from the Korean People's Army raised his voice and repeated what he had said. Once again, there was no answer.

Many of those standing in the line at the time were captured officers of the CPV, but most of them had declared themselves as soldiers after being taken prisoner.

Thirty years later, Ma Xingwang, a former battalion commander of the CPV standing in the line at that moment, admitted, "my heart was full
of contradictions. First," he confessed, "I was afraid of being taken in, and second, I was ashamed of being a POW officer."

In addition to tremendous physical suffering, these captured Communists bore immense mental pressure. The only thing some of the POWs were thinking was how to end their lives with their own hands.

Zhang Zeshi once told me that a battalion commander--Zhang asked me to keep his name a secret--asked him how to take one's own life. His only wish was to obtain the death certificate of a serviceman during The Resist America and Aid Korea War. Zhang Zeshi dissuaded him from doing that.

Ideology and traditional concepts help to explain the thinking of the POWs. What they thought of was: "Die out of loyalty to the motherland"; and "Better to die than to be disgraced." Even the slogans of the Communists were marked with the traditional flavor: "A good horse serves only a single master; a virtuous woman will not marry twice," and so on.

That was how people understood the term "revolutionary integrity."

When the meal was ready, the POWs of the Korean People's Army stood in line, singing "The Song of the Guerilla," then each received a portion of food in turn. However, the CPV POWs rushed for food, exchanging blows simply for a larger portion. Some had enough to eat; some remained hungry. Similar occurrences ensued for several meals in
succession. Unable to put up with such scenes any longer, Ma Xingwang consulted with Li Shouxin, a vice political instructor of a CPV company, and Kong Fantang, a political instructor. Together they decided to seek out the senior comrade from the Korean People's Army at night.

Behind the tent, the KPA comrade shook hands tightly with Ma Xingwang. He introduced himself, stating he was a member of the Korean Labor Party who once served in the Fourth Field Army of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. After returning to the KPA, he was taken prisoner when the U.S. troops landed at Inchon. He advised, "The right to control the Chinese POW camp on Koje-do has fallen into the hands of the renegades and the POWs of the CPV are being bullied and thrashed. The enemy has not yet found out the internal situation here, so, if you don't organize yourselves right now and wait until the renegades come into power, you will surely have a hard time." He then pointed to the POW camp of the KPA, saying, "The POWs of the KPA have organized themselves. They are taking care of themselves. When we see our CPV comrades in such a state of confusion, we are worried, and sympathetic towards them."

Ma Xingwang and the others shook hands with that KPA comrade. They felt grateful to him from the bottom of their hearts, yet no one dared to say more. Somehow, they still had some misgivings.
Finally, they decided to select former combat heroes and squad leaders as POW company commanders and squad leaders, while the former officers above the rank of platoon leader remained hidden.

Soon the POWs of the CPV found that when the American guard entered the wire entanglements he often brought along with him a POW of the CPV as his interpreter, a man who was short in stature. He fooled around with the American soldiers, and even dared to grab cigarettes from them. The U.S. guards loved to tease him, calling him Cao You. "A shameful traitor," the POWs of the CPV called him contemptuously.

Once, a fat U.S. officer came to "inspect" POW Enclosure 3. One POW could not restrain his anger, blurting out "Just like a large fat pig!" A South Korean immediately interpreted the remark for the U.S. officer who became so angry that he pouted and then went over and slapped the POW in the face.

Cao You stopped the U.S. officer hurriedly with a smile and offered an explanation in English. Anger turning to mirth, the officer burst out laughing and departed with a wave of his hand. Cao You then turned to the South Korean interpreter and said, "China is a country of vast territory with various dialects and colloquial expressions. When you hear something unpleasant, you need to present a better version. The Americans have you accompany them because they are afraid of the misunderstandings brought
about by this language barrier." After Cao You cited a few more examples, the South Korean interpreter nodded his head in agreement.

A little while later, Cao You sneaked back and told the POWs of the CPV in a strong Hubei (province) accent, "It is understandable that you hate the enemy so much, but you have to be tactful. We should restrain ourselves and concentrate on healing our wounds. One day our troops will fight back and we can then take up arms and secure our revenge. It is not too late for a man to take his revenge even ten years later. . . ." On hearing that everyone said "yes" silently to himself.

Cao You had to depart. As usual, he laughed and joked with the American soldiers. In an attempt to test his true loyalty, some Communists told their fellow POWs stories about Wen Tianxiang and Liu Hulan, figures in Chinese history, in Cao You's presence. They noticed that Cao You was paying attention and was listening. "You could well pretend to listen." They then sang in a low voice songs such as "The White Hair Girl" and "Wang Gui and Li Xiangxiang. . . ." Continuing with

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19 Wen Tiaxiang (1236-1283): minister of the Southern Song Dynasty and a man of letters.

20 Liu Hulan (1932-1947): She joined the CPC at the age of 14, and was captured and killed by the warlord Yan Xishan.

21 "The White Hair Girl": an opera song, first written and performed in Yan'an in 1945, still popular in China.

22 "Wang Gui and Li Xiangxiang": a popular song in 1940's and 50's in China.
whatever songs they were able to sing, they found Cao You’s eyes full of tears.

That night, Cao You came to see Zhang Zeshi, a member of the CPC, bringing a worn-out army blanket with him. As he lay beside Zhang Zeshi, he said in a low voice, "Please sing a few more songs of our motherland for me!" Zhang Zeshi moved close to his ear, singing one song after another. Cao You’s tears dropped onto Zhang Zeshi’s sleeves. . . . There was no need for further words as they shook hands tightly.

Cao You’s real name is Zhao Bi. Cao You was the pseudonym he provided in the POW camp. His stepfather was Qu Qiubai’s brother, Qu Baiyun. His own father was killed by the KMT and he was raised by the CPC. Before his capture, Cao You was a reconnaissance staff officer. At the beginning of 1952, he led a group of scouts through a blockade of the U.S. soldiers, capturing a major from the U.S. troops. However, on their way back to their own troops they were discovered by the American Army, whose tanks chased the scouts through the wilderness of ice and snow. To cover his comrades-in-arms, Cao You stayed behind to check the enemy single-handedly. His comrades-in-arms succeeded in their escape, yet Cao You was wounded and captured. The American soldiers tied him

\footnote{Qu Qiubai (1899-1935): He joined the CPC in 1922, one of the founders of the CPC. He was arrested and killed by the KMT on Feb. 2, 1935.}
the camp, and his revival was a miracle. In the POW camp, he found that many POWs of the CPV were shot to death by the U.S. soldiers simply because of misunderstandings. For example, some ran away to seek water because they were thirsty. Some of them brought back several pieces of ship cracker after finishing hard labor outside the camp. To remedy this, he offered his service as an interpreter for the U.S. Army. At that time, the U.S. Army Administrative Authorities were badly in need of interpreters. Therefore, they accepted Cao You's offer immediately. However, since Cao You had only attended junior high school, his command of the English language was not satisfactory to the authorities. He began to learn English through his contacts with U.S. soldiers, and soon he was able to communicate in stammering English.

A number of educated youths in the POW camp of the CPV became interpreters or office clerks. Compared with those CPV and officers who were born in workers' and peasants' families, they appeared to have less stress. At the onset, other POWs failed to understand their actions, thus suspecting, and even hating, them. However, this group soon showed their colors in the struggle against the enemy.
One day a certain regimental political commissar of the CPV named Zhao Zuoduan (alias Wang Fang) was escorted to the special interrogation cell of the Pusan POW Enclosures. He was interrogated and beaten up daily by the U.S. intelligence personnel, the traitors, and the renegades. Learning of that, Cao You immediately notified several members of the CPC. Together they planned a way to help Zhao Zuoduan leave the special cell through the help of a captured Korean army doctor, Mr. Piao, who tended patients in the POW camp. Cao You offered to deliver the plan to Zhao Zuoduan. Upon reaching the special interrogation cell, he chatted and joked with the guards whom he was already familiar with and then insisted that he be admitted into the cell "to have a look at the high-ranking officer of the CPC." The guards, unable to dissuade him, opened the door.

Cao You found Zhao Zuoduan shabbily dressed, his face covered with dirt and his body abounding with bruises. Holding back his inner grief, he said to the guards with a smile, "What kind of high-ranking officer is he? He is apparently a cook! . . ." The guards roared with laughter while Cao You seized the opportunity to throw a little paper ball to Zhao Zuoduan.

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24 The name Wang Fang is confirmed by *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War* (p. 64), which says Wang Fang was "the ranking Communist leader in the camp".
The following day Zhao Zuoduan carried out the instructions written on the paper and pretended to suffer from diarrhea. Doctor Piao "diagnosed" him with "infectious dysentery" and immediately reported the case to the U.S. authorities. Afraid that the infectious disease would spread quickly, they transported Zhao Zuoduan to an isolation ward by ambulance.

Later, Cao You revealed his real identity in the struggle. The Americans arrested him and tried to extort a confession by using electric torture instruments, demanding information on the CPC organization within the POW camp. Under torture, he fell unconscious several times, but did not utter a single word. In the end he was thrown into the water dungeon by the Americans. Upon release, he continued to carry out face-to-face struggles with the enemy until his return to the People's Republic of China. Today, Cao You is director of a sanatorium in Huangshi, Hubei Province. People in neighboring cities both know him and respect him. When his name is mentioned, people raise their thumbs in approval.

There were many educated youths similar to Cao You in the POW camp, and the majority of them were able to withstand the trials and tribulations. Their knowledge and wisdom helped them protect their comrades-in-arms and wage a better struggle against the enemy. When Doctor Piao treated the POW patients of the CPV who had newly arrived
in the camp, he would ask in his broken Chinese, "Who is better, Chiang
Kai-shek or Mao Zedong?" He continued, based on his own observations,
"Those who are able to speak English among the Chinese People's
Volunteers are generally college students, and most of them won't become
traitors." I do not feel certain whether his conclusion is correct or not, but
from the several hundred copies of archival material I have read, I am sure
that what he said was correct. The reason is quite complicated on the one
hand, yet quite simple on the other.

There appeared to be traitors among the Communists. Of the
approximately twenty thousand POWs of the CPV, several thousand being
CPC and Communist Youth League members with several hundred officers.
Of these POWs, seventy percent were former KMT army officers and
soldiers who were "liberated" from the KMT Army. Additionally, these
POWs included those who had revolted, and crossed over to the People's
Liberation Army and later joined the CPV. These people with different
beliefs and experiences were amassed together in the same POW camp, as if

25 Jin Daying's account here tallies with what is recorded in *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War*, which says that "An informant revealed that Chinese Communist POW's had made elaborate plans for a mass breakout and the murder of the camp commander on 1 October, the anniversary of the Communist Chinese regime" (p. 47).

26 According to *The handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War*, there were two groups within the POW camp, "non-Communist and Communist" (P.18), and the "majority of the POW's were non-Communist" (P.18). Those former KMT army officers and soldiers were mostly non-Communist.
they had been placed at the entrance to hell, each would have to make his own decision on which path to take. People began to fall into different groups rapidly, revealing the true nature of each individual. Some regarded their motherland and political beliefs as more valuable than their own lives, yet others would chop off the head of a former comrade-in-arms merely for a half bowl of leftovers. Some people were prepared to fight against the enemy, whereas others trembled with fear and shed tears in secret. Some former KMT Army men made a decision to go arm in arm with the Communists, while a few Communists accompanied the traitors in their evil deeds. . . . Among the traitors, Tan Xingdong, a former vice-director of the political department of a CPV regiment, held the highest rank.

Tan Xingdong, from northern Jiangsu Province, had participated in the New Fourth Army led by the CPC during the War of Resistance Against Japan. After his detention in the POW camp, he remained silent and appeared depressed. Often he stealthily and somberly watched the people around him. One late night, he moved close to Sun Zhenguan, a former battalion political instructor of the CPV, and covered both their heads with a blanket. After introducing himself in a low voice he earnestly said to Sun Zhenguan, "Tell me if you are going to take some action, and test me at the most difficult and dangerous moments." On hearing these words, Sun Zhenguan excitedly responded, "We are both Party members and officers.
We should take a firm revolutionary stand. If there is any specific action, I'll tell you."

Several days later Tan Xingdong kept pestering Sun Zhenguang, insisting that he and his comrades had been engaged in some activity behind his back. He pointed out that this meant they "didn't trust" him, making him "feel extremely antagonized." His strange behavior aroused Sun Zhenguang's suspicions. To unearth his true nature, Sun Zhenguang said to him, "When I was interrogated, I heard the Americans say the North Korean POWs would rise in insurrection. What do you think we should do?"

Tan Xingdong replied passionately, "Good. Let's respond to them immediately, thereby clearing ourselves of the disgrace of being captured through insurrection and armed struggle. It is worth it even if we die outside of the motherland!"

Before that, people had discovered that Tan Xingdong was secretly talking with the traitors in the POW camp. One day he was taken out of the camp by the Americans "to be examined." When he was brought back, he doled out American cigarettes to Sun Zhenguang and others. When he was refused by everyone, he cried out, "You don't trust me, do you? Then let me be bad . . . " He then assumed an air of great sincerity and said to Sun Zhenguang, "Both of us are veteran members of the CPC. As far as I
know, the CPC has never forgiven the error of being captured by the enemy, nor has the CPC ever trusted those who have been captured. I regret having joined the CPC. . . ."

Sun Zhenguang cut him short, "Shut up! . . . As long as I can return to my motherland, and as long as I am allowed to follow the Party, any job will suffice. I am willing to be a soldier, a groom, or whatever other jobs the Party asks me to do." Tan Xingdong went away, and showed his true colors immediately. He first joined the KMT organization in the POW camp, and was later appointed "political instructor." Posing as a veteran member of the CPC, Tan Xingdong frenziedly slandered the CPC and the motherland. He ended up by slaughtering the POWs of the CPV.

Thousands of people were imprisoned in the wire entanglements, crowded together in the limited space. To survive, to acquire enough food and clothing, not to be bullied and humiliated by others, and to attain certain political goals, the POWs established various forms of factional groups. It was estimated that there were twenty to thirty different names for these groups, such as "Fraternity," "Association of Fellow Provincials," "Paoge Association,"27 "Drivers' Association," "Qing Bang,"28 "Hong Bang,"29

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28 Qing Bang: one of the influential gangs before 1949, the members of which were mostly water transportation workers.
etc. What held these groups together was man's instinct for survival and each group being characterized by similar tastes and interests. Over a period of time, most POWs of the CPV were involved in these factional groups. And chaotic fighting became a common sight in the life of the POWs. They watched indifferently as their comrades-in-arms attacked one another brutally. The U.S. soldiers guarding the POW camp shouted "Bravo!" to boost the morale of the two opposing sides, as if each group were comprised of animals rather than humans.

The first to organize from the chaos were the former KMT members in the POW camp.

One day there arrived at the POW camp an unexpected guest over fifty, his hair having already half gray. He was wearing a yellowish suit with a Roosevelt necktie, a style quite fashionable then. Wherever he proceeded, KMT secret agents would rush to greet him. He claimed to be an overseas Chinese businessman coming to the POW camp to visit "the Chinese." He spoke with Wang Youmin, Wei Shixi and Liu Bingzhang, all of whom once served as officers in the KMT Army, all of whom had surrendered of their own accord while fighting in Korea as members of the CPV. He also spoke with Tan Xingdong, betrayer of the CPC. Conversing

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29 Hong Bang: another influential gang in China before 1949.
Wang Youmin and Wei Shixi to immediately set up an anti-Communist organization and to draw in as many "anti-Communist personages" as possible from other factional groups.

On the evening of June 3, 1951, after several days' busy preparation, Wang Youmin and Wei Shixi called together over twenty former KMT members, KMT army officers and military academy students. A meeting was held in a quiet corner of Subcompound 4 of Compound 72 in the Koje-do POW Enclosures.

Wei Shixi addressed the meeting, "Those who are present today are all KMT members and Youth League members of the Three People's Principles, except him," as he glanced at Tan Xingdong. "Everyone of us will take on heavy responsibilities here in the POW Enclosures. In order not to let the CPC control the POW Enclosures, we must organize and rise against them."

"What's the date today?" Wang Youmin asked.

"June 3," someone replied.

"The KMT June 3 Branch has been set up today," declared Wang Youmin.

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30The Three People's Principles: Nationalism, Democracy and the People's Livelihood, which were put forward by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
With the support of the U.S. Army, the administrative setup of Compound 72 in the Koje-do POW Enclosures was fundamentally comprised of members of the KMT June 3 Branch. Therefore, the right to control Compound 72 had always been in the hands of the traitors and secret agents. "The KMT June 3 Branch" expanded rapidly enough to be master of the situation in Compound 72, while, during the same period, such Communist and patriotic POW organizations as the "Returning-to-the-Motherland Group" remained in its initial spontaneous stage, few in numbers, lacking unified command and any significant forceful action. Their resistance and struggle were constantly suppressed by the U.S. Administrative Authorities, traitors and renegades among the POWs. Once, the traitor Wang Youmin wantonly hurled insults at the CPC and hit a CPC member in front of everyone. Zhao Zuoduan could not bear it any longer. He shouted, "Members of the CPC, stand up and fight against the enemy!" he dashed out from the crowd. Following him was Nan Yangzhen, a political instructor of the CPV. Wang Youmin, with several of his hatchet men, leapt forward and beat them with cudgels. Zhao Zuoduan and Nan Yangzhen were covered with blood.

This lesson paid for with blood awoke the Communists. They realized that in the battlefield of the POW camp they must first unite the POWs, then bring them under the leadership of the Party. Only in this
manner, would they be able to carry out an effective struggle against the enemy.

Soon, the first massive struggle staged by the Korean and Chinese POWs broke out in the POW camp. On the evening of June 25 approximately three thousand POWs of the Korean People's Army imprisoned in Compound 72 of the Koje-do POW Enclosures staged an "oppose-hunger-and-cold-and-strive-for-enough-to-eat-and-wear" hunger strike. The POWs of the Korean People's Army stood in lines within the wire entanglements, held a parade, shouted slogans and sang revolutionary songs.31

At once, over half a dozen U.S. tanks and several hundred South Korean military policemen appeared. The POWs, surrounded by machine guns, tanks and bayonets, were fearless. They extended their fists of protest in front of the gun muzzles and bayonets.

The hunger strike by the POWs of the KPA did not end until the morning of June 28. During the previous two days, as the U.S. guards saw

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31 Jin Daying's account here tallies with the record kept in *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War* except the dates during which the hunger strike occurred. The latter says that "the NK officer POW's in Enclosure 7, Compound 72, initiated mass defiance" (p. 15) on June 18, 1951. The POW's in Compound 72 "began frenzied singing, beating on tin cans, and throwing stones" (p. 15). On the following morning, "the POW’s refused to eat unless they were given 'control of all compounds' in their vicinity" (p. 15) According to *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War*, the June 19 Incident "was the first to involve mass defiance by POW's" (p. 16).
the POWs of the KPA refuse to eat, they enlisted the aid of the POWs of the CPV. As the two groups were imprisoned together, the guards allowed the POWs of the CPV access to their food, saying, "If they don't eat, you can take it for yourself." Some CPV POWs even had the impudence to devour it. A red signal flare rose outside the wire entanglements at nine o'clock on the morning of June 28. Machine guns started to shoot wildly inside of the wire entanglements, ceasing only when a green signal flare appeared. Over twenty POWs of the KPA were killed. Two companies of the South Korean military policemen carrying rifles with bayonets, moved inside the POW camp. A sentry was posted every two meters, enabling U.S. soldiers to enter and take away over ten KPA officers, the leaders of the hunger strike. After that, two thousand POWs of the CPV were sent from Pusan, while all the POWs of the KPA were removed from Compound 72.

Although the KPA comrades failed in their strike under the cruel suppression of the U.S. Army, their struggle encouraged and educated the POWs of the CPV. Underground Party branches, Party groups, revolutionary organizations and groups were established systematically in all the POW compounds. For example, "The League of Patriots" was initiated by Wang Huaying, a former assistant director of a CPV operational section, Guo Zhaolin, a former officer of the artillery troops, and Zhao Zuoduan, a former regimental political commissar. "The Disgrace-removing
Association" was led by Liu Jiaping, a former political instructor of the CPV. Most of its over four hundred members had committed a wrong under the threat of the enemy, hence they were determined to clear themselves of their disgrace by their own actions. "Fraternity," was led by Comrade Cao Ming, a former reconnaissance staff officer of the CPV and "Returning-to-the-Motherland Group" was led by Du Gang, a former regimental chief of staff of the CPV. In addition, Zhao Zuoduan and Guo Zhaolin, together with a few KPA officers, formed the "Lianchuan Headquarters" that led the struggle in the Pusan POW Enclosures. The POWs of the CPV rallied around these revolutionary organizations, waging the anti-persecution and anti-treason struggle.
Chapter Five

Renegades

People wearing yellow arm bands would often be seen hanging around the POW camp. Known as the "POW officers," they were utilized by the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities for supervision of the other POWs.

It was originally not the U.S. army's invention to supervise POWs by utilizing other POWs. However, it was obviously to their benefit. On the one hand, it helped in solving their problem of the lack of manpower for the supervision of POWs; on the other, they could utilize POW officers to murder at will those POWs they were dissatisfied with. If reports of these actions leaked out, they would cover it up by stating, "it was merely fighting between the anti-Communist POWs and pro-Communist POWs." Thus, from the onset, the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities sought out and trained a select group of "POW officers." The POW camp was divided into compound, subcompound, company and squad, with various types of headquarters. A garrison team was attached to a subcompound and above
that level. All garrison team leaders and their respective members were former POWs who had controlled the POW camp in the name of "POW autonomy." In reality, the method used was one of "supervising POWs by POWs."

The choice of the "POW officers" was quite complicated. At first, the American guards were not familiar with the POWs and allowed one or two CPC members to be employed as "POW officers." Yet, gradually those POWs who had undergone a short period of special training, along with the rogues and hatchet men, took over the positions. This group wore a KMT insignia on their caps, as well as the yellow arm bands. They bore cudgels, along with daggers stuck in their belts, and were referred to as "renegades" by the remaining POWs.

The POW officers, along with other POWs were of the same Chinese descent. The ancient Chinese culture not only cultivated its best and brightest in great numbers, but also produced the renegades. The renegades bore satisfaction in massacring, treading on, and betraying their own fellow countrymen. Their own characteristics reflected the very grave filth of the ancient traditional Chinese culture, bringing shame to the Chinese nation. Most U.S officers, soldiers and officials deemed what the renegades did to be "the meanest and dirtiest things."
Strictly speaking, the renegades could not be called POWs for they were the KMT secret agents and accomplices. Referring to them as POWs, we only mean that they had at one time served in the CPV and had stayed in the POW camp. Now, let us present them one by one.

**Li Da’an "The Devil Incarnate"**

Renegade One

One day in September 1986, I presented to several former POWs the picture of Li Da’an, a man sentenced to death in the military court twenty-eight years ago. In the picture, Li Da’an inclines his head and appears to be gazing at something. He is medium-sized and looks ugly and ferocious. "It’s him!" shouted the people present as they grabbed the picture simultaneously. If I had not been quick enough, it would have been torn to pieces. "Devil!" Several fists pounded on the desk. . . .

Li Da’an was a murderer!

He used to carry two things at all times: a cudgel and a dagger. The cudgel, which was exceptionally thick, was used to beat several thousand POWs. He invented different methods of wielding the cudgel, such as beating the joints, the ribs, the head, and the lower back. Approximately one hundred people became permanently disabled under his vicious beating.
The dagger given to him by a Lieutenant Colonel, Commander of the Eighth U.S. Military Police Corps, was originally a bayonet from an American carbine with the English letters "U.S." carved on it. Li Da’an killed four POWs with the dagger. Taking out the hearts of the killed POWs, he minced the organs to be used as fillings for dumplings, which he ate with relish. As for those POWs stabbed by him who survived, they were too many to count. This dagger was polished by Li Da’an again and again every time it became rusty with human blood.

He regarded it as both a pleasure and a glory to beat and kill people. He beat almost everyone except his superiors, the U.S. guards and the Taiwanese secret agents in the POW camp. Those who were beaten included Chinese POWs, Korean POWs, CPC members, KMT members, and his fellow renegades and officers from Syngman Rhee’s army, who had come to guard the POW camp. Besides the cudgel and the dagger, he worshipped Zhang Zuolin the most, saying, "Zhang Zuolin started with only a cudgel and became a marshal in the end." Li Da’an was only 24 then, but his hands had been stained with the blood of many people. Why was he so vicious and cruel? In June 1956, in a jail on the outskirts of Beijing, he wrote:

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32Zhang Zuolin was a warlord in northeast China and was murdered by the Japanese in 1928.
I am Li Da'an. I am from Shanjiajing Village, Datong District of Andong City in Liaoning Province. When I was born, my grandfather opened a small grocery store called Tongyichang on Liuhe Street, Zhongxing District in Andong City. My father was a worker in a paper mill in Andong. I attended the National Primary School on Liuhe Street. I only obtained "the education of enslavement" adopted by Manchuria, the Japanese puppet state. In school, I was repeatedly beaten by the school master Mu and at home by my parents.

At fifteen years old I dropped out of school when the school master Mu beat me so hard that my hands became swollen, for only a trifle. When I still refused to obey him, the school master said, "If you are angry with me, I will let you have your revenge when you grow up! If you become a policeman, I will be a soldier; if you become a soldier, I will be a bandit." I have never forgotten his words. At that time, I believed that to live without being beaten by others, one had to climb upon the backs of the others and beat them first. Nobody in the world was reasonable, and it was a cannibal society. "The victor becomes the king and the defeated, the bandit." It is the same situation among my family members.

At sixteen, I worked in the Japanese Puppet Andong International Motor Transport Corporation as an assistant to a Korean driver surnamed Kim. He used to hit my head with either his hammer or screw wrench so hard that my head bled a lot. Since then, I have viewed society as a dark void without a single streak of light, a place where people are either beating or abusing others, whoring, gambling, and plundering.

In 1945, at the age of eighteen, Li Da’an married a carpenter’s daughter. He began to beat his wife brutally, forming his wolf-like personality. His uncle, Li Fade, once said, "When I was at home he did not
help with the work at all; he was a pure loafer. If he was with me while I was fishing in the sea, he couldn’t be of any help to me.”

When the Japanese invaders surrendered, I heard and saw many slogans welcoming the Central Army.\textsuperscript{33} During the years ruled by Japanese, I only knew there was a new Zhong Hua,\textsuperscript{34} but I had never heard of Zhong Guo.\textsuperscript{35} Once China recovered, word came of a Central Army. I felt very strange. Several months later, when Andong was liberated, I saw the Eighth Route Army\textsuperscript{36} with my own eyes. At that time I had no idea what the new Zhong Hua, the Central Army, or the Eighth Route Army were, nor what the KMT or the Communist Party were—which one served the country and which one the nation? Furthermore, I even did not know what was meant by a country or a nation.

When the KMT troops occupied Andong, Li Da’an was a member of the guards team of Andong Textile Mill, openly beating and insulting male and female workers. With the liberation of Andong in 1947, he fled to Shenyang along with the KMT troops. Later, he was sent back to Andong to conduct underground activities where he sneaked into a neighborhood organization, and became the leader of a people’s police team, and arrested and beat people everywhere he went. After his offence was reported by the masses, he returned home and lived in idleness. Occasionally he would go

\textsuperscript{33}The Central Army referred to the troops under the direct control of Chiang Kai-shek.

\textsuperscript{34}Zhong Hua means China, which has been called since ancient times.

\textsuperscript{35}Zhong Guo is the abbreviation for the People’s Republic of China.

\textsuperscript{36}The Eighth Route Army was led by the Chinese Communist Party during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-1945).
to the fishery to cheat fishermen out of their fish; other times he would slip into shops to steal goods. Finally, he was arrested for stealing bicycles and was sentenced to a one-year-and-two-month imprisonment.

Following the onset of the Korean War, he became a bus driver with the Highway Communication Bureau in Liaoning Province. Soon he was introduced into the Fourth Motor Transport Regiment in the North Eastern Military Area Command. Soon after that, the regiment was sent to Korea. While transporting the wounded soldiers in the frontier region in Chunchon, he took advantage of the darkness, and surrendered himself to the enemy with some American military leaflets.

Ten days later he appeared in a Chinese POW team of the Investigation Department in the Pusan POW Enclosures wearing a worn-out American military uniform. There were two other renegades present, Wang Qi and Wang Yiaoting, who also surrendered by themselves. In front of the camp gate, a Korean POW asked them, "To what troop do you belong?"

"I am an artillery man," answered Wang Yiaoting.

"I am a cartographer," answered Wang Qi.

"How could an artillery man and a cartographer be POWs?"

"We surrendered ourselves."

"Those who surrender themselves can get enough to eat and live in a separate tent," the Korean POW said ironically.
Li Da’an waved his fist, ready to hit him, but was stopped by Wang Yiaoting.

Sun Zhenguan, registrar in the Investigation Department, was a former battalion political instructor of the CPV. Due to his knowledge of English, the American Army asked him to register cards, where a resume of each POW was recorded, a job enabling him to learn of events taking place in the front and the political background of the POWs. That afternoon, Sun Zhenguan called the three new-comers to the tent of the Registration Department and said, "Feel free to let me know of those who have surrendered themselves and those who were captured."

Li Da’an answered immediately, "I surrendered myself." He had hardly finished his words when his feet were kicked by a person on the other side of the desk. Becoming alert, he held his tongue.

At midnight a small, shifty-eyed figure was whispering to Li Da’an outside the tent. It was the man who had kicked Li Da’an that afternoon. He said to Li Da’an, "The person who questioned you is named Sun Zhenguan, a political instructor of the CPV. Do not tell him the truth. I have been here over a month as team secretary, therefore, I know the situation very well." He made a self-introduction. His name was Tang Jusheng, from Luda in the northeast. Originally he was a platoon leader in
KMT Division 207—a squad leader to be exact—and a San Qing League\(^{37}\) member. After being liberated by the Communist Party, he was assigned to a unit of the Liberation Army as a victualler.

After he came to Korea, he seized an opportunity to surrender himself. When he arrived at the POW camp, a South Korean military policeman named Li said to him, "At present, you’d better not fight against the Communist Party until more people who surrender themselves come here." Tang Jusheng patted Li Da’an on the shoulder, saying, "Well, now that you’ve come, we’d better set to work tomorrow morning."

Early the following morning Li Da’an and Tang Jusheng ran to report to the American military guards that Sun Zhenguan was going to organize the Communist Party members within the POW camp. They also handed over a list of several dozen names of the Communist Party members and CPV officers among the POWs.

The American military policemen then rushed into the POW camp, capturing Sun Zhenguan and inflicting him with cruel torture. It was the first time Li Da’an displayed his skill to the full in front of Americans. He beat Sun Zhenguan almost to death. That same day, the American Army instructed Li Da’an to establish a garrison team in the POW camp,

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\(^{37}\)San Qing League: a KMT organization for young people.
appointing him to be its leader. Wang Yaoting, Tang Jusheng, Wang Qi and three other people were members of the team. There appeared the first violent organization in the POW camp, a team comprised of executioners.

"The Smiling Tiger" Wang Shunqing

Renegade Two

One evening in late August 1951, an American-type jeep halted at the gate of Enclosure 10 in the Pusan POW Enclosures. Five men dressed in yellow khaki army uniforms with red leather shoes, carrying black suitcases, got out. It was supper time in the POW camp and the POWs watched them with curious eyes, as they looked neither like POWs nor like guards. With one glance, the kitchen chief, Luo Baorong, who was a traitor, recognized Wang Shunqing and Wang Futian from among these men.

Previously, in April, these two had been placed in a jeep by an American Sergeant First Class and driven away, with no further news of them. To his surprise, they suddenly reappeared, dressed in such handsome uniforms and glowing with health.

"Hello! Old Wang, don't you recognize me?" cried Luo Baorong on the other side of the wire entanglements.
"Ah, Brother Luo," Wang Shunqing said, grinning from ear to ear, throwing him a packet of Xuzi cigarettes. "Old brother, how have you fared these past months? How are our fellow brothers?" When he spoke, one could detect his pure Shangdong accent.

"Where have you been?"

Wang Shunqing told him quietly that they had returned from the U.S. Far East Military Information Service in Tokyo. He said contentedly, "What a good life it was there! Every day we were fed bread and beef. Japanese girls kept us company. We slept on spring beds. Americans often took us out for fun... They will choose more people to go there; I will help you if you want to go." On hearing that Luo Baorong kept bowing and scraping.

After four months of special training, Wang Shunqing returned to the POW camp. Originally he had served in the KMT Army as First Lieutenant Vice Company Commander. During the Liberation War, he was taken prisoner by the Liberation Army. After his troops were reorganized, he joined the Liberation Army and was appointed platoon leader. At the end of 1950, his troops were sent to Korea. Then, without firing a shot, he surrendered himself to the enemy.

He had received a good education and could speak fluent English. As the Americans favored him, he was quickly promoted from squad leader to
subcompound commander in the POW camp. Through several months of training, he was appointed commander of Compound 72 in the Koje-do POW Enclosures, in charge of six subcompounds with approximately eight thousand CPV POWs. Though he resided in the POW camp, he did not wear a uniform with the two letters "P.W." printed on it and obtained a private iron sheet hut for himself. A captured Chinese fisherman acted as his servant, doing his washing and cooking. Three messengers were at his disposal, with a group of hatchet men to protect him. He even often went to town by jeep to eat at a restaurant with the American guards.

To Compound 72, Wang Shunqing's return to the POW camp was indeed a big event. He immediately reassigned "POW officers" at all levels, combing out the suspected Communist Party members. He instructed the kitchen staff that ordinary POWs were allowed a half bowl of steamed rice per meal, squad leaders, a full bowl, while company commanders could eat as much as they liked. Subcompound commanders were rewarded with specially prepared dishes, and he treated himself to five-course meals. He instituted many new rules: no whispering between two people; no sleeping in bed during daylight hours; no turning over in bed at night without reporting first. . . .
It was at a time when Li Da’an and his cohorts beat the POWs viciously. However, Wang Shunqing never appeared with a cudgel. Instead, he always displayed a smile and said on all occasions,

"We are all Chinese. . . ."

Once, a dozen POWs, headed by Du Ziming, a battalion commander before being taken prisoner, formed themselves into the "Returning-to-the-Motherland Group." Someone reported that to Wang Shunqing who, suppressing his feelings, asked Li Da’an to come to his place and said, "You are really good-for-nothing! Du Ziming has organized over ten persons! And you, such a capable person, could not tackle this trifle."

Irritated by Wang Shunqing’s remark, Li Da’an retorted, "Last time his teeth fell from my beating, still he did the same!" Wang Shunqing continued, "If you cannot make him behave himself, I will look for another capable person. I am afraid if word spreads. . . ." Wang Shunqing let out a cold laugh, "People will say Li Da’an is afraid of the Communist Party, then. . . ."

Provoked by Wang Shunqing, Li Da’an became so angry that he returned with a dozen garrison team members. They hung up Du Ziming, beating him ferociously. Li Da’an wielded a cudgel against each bone joint. With each beating, Li Da’an let out a wild laugh while Du Ziming let out a painful cry.
Hearing the sound of severe torture, several POWs emerged from their tents and spoke their resentment at what was going on. Wang Shunqing approached and pretended to be greatly shocked. He repeated, "What's the matter, what's the matter, we are all Chinese..." He sent for Li Da'an, who was still flogging Du Ziming hard, and advised him, "Drag them to the well side and threaten them." Li Da'an obeyed, dragging Du Ziming and others to the side, pressing their heads downward, while asking, "Do you still want to go back to the Mainland? Say quickly!"

When the torture was about enough, Wang Shunqing came over and persuaded Li Da'an to "calm himself."

In March 1952, to celebrate his thirtieth birthday in Compound 72, Wang Shunqing invited POWs to rehearse a Beijing Opera, "Eight Immortals Offering Birthday Felicitations," and to make birthday peaches for him. After the performance, Wang Shunqing gathered the "POW officers" above the rank of squad leaders to partake in his dinner of longevity noodles, and everybody had a good time on that night. Li Da'an, vice commander of Compound 72 then, could not tolerate his way of winning the favor of others. With pent-up grievances, he decided to hold a birthday celebration of his own. Word spread that Li Da'an would celebrate his birthday the following month.
Wang Shunqing learned from the POW registration card that Li Da’an’s birthday was in February, which had already passed. He knew that Li Da’an lied about his birthday and its forthcoming celebration was directed at him. He kept this fact a secret and figured out a countermove.

That evening Li Da’an invited many guests to an opera, followed by a large feast. He had also traded wrist watches and gold rings previously extorted from the POWs for wine. When the crowd was to toast the "longevity" of Li Da’an, a messenger ran in to report, "Somebody died in Subcompound 5 and the compound commander wanted you and all the officers above squad leaders in Subcompound 5 to go there quickly."

"Crack," Li Da’an threw the wine cup to the ground, kicked over the stool and walked out. Earlier that morning, someone told him and Wang Shunqing that a POW in Subcompound 5 was homesick and insisted on returning to the Mainland. Li Da’an, being occupied with the arrangements for the upcoming banquet, did not pay any attention to the matter.

When Li Da’an arrived at Subcompound 5, he saw a POW standing against the wall outside the iron railings with a rope hanging around his neck. Li Da’an sent for the POW doctor. Through examination the doctor found no scars, only some insignificant bruises on the neck, and the tongue not sticking out. Wang Shunqing stood there making sarcastic comments, "What's the use of making efforts to save him? He is already dead. Be
quick to get an American truck to take the body away." Li Da'an looked at
Wang Shunqing's cynically laughing face and suddenly realized. . . .

Wang Shunqing suffocated the innocent POW only to sabotage Li
Da'an's birthday celebration.

"The Moralist" Wei Shixi
Renegade Three

As soon as he arrived in the POW camp, Wei Shixi handed over to
the KMT secret personnel his certificate of appointment as First Lieutenant
in the KMT Army, a document he hid in his cotton-padded clothes. That
made him exempt from torture. After he settled down in Compound 72,
he was immediately appointed by Wang Shunqing to be squad leader in the
Officer POW Subcompound.

At the beginning of his service as a squad leader, a POW named Ning
stole a pair of trousers, hid it in the toilet while in the hospital, and was
cought on the spot. Because Ning had been a platoon leader with the army
rank as 1st Lieutenant in the KMT Army, and was an acquaintance of Wei
Shixi, the underlying resentment of the other POWs was suppressed.
However, Wei Shixi gathered together over fifty POWs in the squad,
allowing each member to approach Ning and ask him, "Will you steal
again?" They then spat in his face. After all the fifty POWs had their round, saliva was streaming down Ning's face, and the front of his shirt was wet through. At last, Wei Shixi put on a stern face and said, "Other matters we can talk over, but as for this, an issue of morality, should not be done just any old way. . . ."

Before long, an American Sergeant 1st Class invited Wei Shixi and a few others to a brothel in a small town nearby. A garrison team member came out soon after he went inside the house. It turned out that the prostitute he met was an overseas Chinese woman. Upon seeing a fellow countryman, she knelt down, explaining her life experiences tearfully. Her parents died in war. She and her younger brother were separated, and she was driven to this town to make a living by selling out her body. On hearing her story, the garrison team member gave her the money and left the brothel. The American Sergeant 1st Class shrugged his shoulders, indicating he did not understand his action. Wei Shixi said, "We Chinese lay stress on morality. Two thousand years ago China already boasted benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, fidelity. . . ." The American Sergeant 1st Class replied "Okay, okay," while nodding his head.

Very soon, Wei Shixi became well-known as a "moralist" among the "POW officers." American Army guards appeared, to a certain extent, to respect him. He was promoted from squad leader to the commander of the
Officer POW Subcompound, and was even the vice compound commander for a time. He then became more pretentious in his claims to virtue, saying he neither searches POWs for valuables, nor beats them.

However, it was Wei Shixi who provided the U.S. Military Information Service and KMT secret personnel with a list of names containing more than thirty Communist Party members and Communist Youth League members. When Zhao Zuoduan, who had concealed his identification as a CPV regimental political commissar was recognized by a renegade, he advised Li Da'an to "beat him to death."

Li Da'an said, "Americans spared his life, but we will beat him until he can neither open his mouth nor walk."

It was Wei Shixi who plotted, together with the director of the POW warehouse, to steal POWs' garments and trade them for two wrist watches at the free market. That caused some POWs to wear only tattered, unlined garments during severe winters, freezing their bodies into deformity. He signed his name for "the entrustment" of the POWs' wrist watches, rings and other valuables, then turned around and either stealthily gave the articles to the American guards to curry favor with them, or traded them for cigarettes and wine, or went whoring.

In September 1951, Du Ziming, formerly a platoon leader of the CPV, visited a doctor in the POW hospital. He chatted with several
soldiers there, advising them to demand return to their motherland. When Wang Shunqing learned of that, he came to the Officer POW Subcompound with Li Da’an in an attempt to take Du Ziming away for a sound beating.

The POWs blocked the gate to prevent them from taking Du Ziming away, and a serious conflict was brewing. Wei Shixi ran over in a flurry shouting, "Stop! Don’t take him away! Don’t take him away!"

Wei Shixi coaxed Li Da’an and Wang Shunqing into the subcompound headquarters, saying, "If you subdue one Du Ziming, there will be plenty of others who will emerge and the army officers will make trouble sooner or later. Let us take this opportunity to hold a criticism meeting where we can condemn the Communist Party and check the prestige of the POWs. Then it won’t be too late to beat Du Ziming.

Thumping the desk, Wang Shunqing said, "Good, we will attend the meeting to help you."

After two days of meticulous preparations, Wang Shunqing came in person to preside over the criticism meeting. Du Ziming stood in front of an earthen platform, his head pushed down by two garrison team members. Li Da’an, with a cudgel in his hand as usual, along with a dagger in his belt, paced from side to side. Wei Shixi made the opening speech. Again he began with morality, "China is a nation of etiquette. Honesty and law-abiding are the ways of conducting oneself in society. You should be honest
POWs and don't be cheated by the Communist Party's agitation. . . ."

Then, in the light of previous arrangements, several persons stood on the platform denouncing the Communist Party for "sharing properties and wives." A tall, lean, crippled man climbed onto the platform, cursing "The Communist Party sent me to Korea to fill the Americans' shell pits." Then several persons pushed Du Ziming down to the ground, using whips and rods. Wei Shixi pulled them away, covered Du Ziming's body with his own and cried "No one is allowed to beat him." When he signaled several garrison team members a wink, they escorted Du Ziming away. Wei Shixi waved his arm to continue his speech:

"Fellow brothers, today we are friends in adversity. We take up the matter ourselves to maintain this organization within the POW camp to ensure everyone's safety and interests. We need to supervise each other, and report each other's offences to the authorities. Since we have laid down our arms and become POWs, guarded by other people's rifles, why persist in arguing over our different positions? You are KMT who, at one time had been taken prisoner by the Communist Party. You are Communists and now you have been taken prisoner by the United Nations Forces. If you want to be steadfast in your stand, you should have committed suicide before your capture, for suicide means unswerving loyalty. Thus, the people here have no right to talk about taking a firm stand. I hope everyone talks less about political parties and their respective beliefs. At present, as POWs, we only need to eat, sleep, and work every day, enduring this period with patience. What we desire is everyone's safety. In the future you should behave yourselves and refrain from talking about politics. I hope everyone will do as I have said." He showed
his two gold coated teeth while talking, while showering his audience with spittle.

After the meeting, Wei Shixi patted Li Da’an by the shoulder whispering, "I will leave the bastard Du Ziming at your disposal."

"You can rest assured . . ." said Li Da’an, holding up the cudgel in his hand, "I will either pull out a tendon of his or let him shed some skin."

"The Coward" Chen Jiaying
Renegade Four

One evening in July 1951, a company commander named Wang Zunming found Chen Jiaying and said, "My younger brother, for the sake of our being former schoolmates in the army academy (translator’s note: KMT Army Academy), I propose to you the option of becoming squad leader. What about it?"

"Good" Chen Jiaying said while nodding his head.

"Good, Say it with such ease? About fifty people will be under your charge. As squad leader, you won’t work as a coolie. What’s more, you can have enough to eat. You look so famished that you don’t even resemble a human being. I am trying to help you."

"Good." Chen Jiaying nodded his head again.
"You..."

It is neither a big nor small joke made by the Creator that Chen Jiaying became a soldier. Soft-spoken and inactive, he often sat there staring blankly. His complexion was fair and clear, with his hair parted in the middle. His worn-out clothes were always clean and tidy, and he resembled a dedicated scholar. He was born to a farmer’s family in Liuyang County of Hunan Province. In Chinese modern history Liuyang produced many heroes, but it also produced this little renegade. Being illiterate himself, his father somehow spent his entire savings on his son’s schooling from primary school through senior high. Upon graduation from senior high in 1948, Chen Jia-ying had no further funds to continue his education. Even with no prospects for a job, he was unwilling to work in the fields.

A letter arrived from his cousin, a chief of police on the Nanjing Railroad, suggesting that he take an examination for entrance into a public vocational school. Overjoyed, he gathered together enough money to travel to Nanjing, but upon the arrival the time of the examination had already passed. He wandered about the street in Nanjing for over a month, worrying about going home in disgrace. By accident, he came across an advertisement of an entrance examination for the KMT Army Officers’ Academy in a newspaper. The Army Academy was worried that no one would take the exam. He therefore easily passed the exam, and was
admitted into the Academy. Following the uprising of the Army Academy, he joined the Liberation Army.

After being sent to Korea with his troop, he became a cultural instructor within his regiment. During a battle, he became lost and subsequently was arrested by Syngman Rhee's troops. Lonely and depressed, he often heaved deep sighs in the POW camp. He believed if he could pass this period without suffering torture and hunger, that would suffice. Becoming a squad leader had at last fulfilled his wish. He utilized a different set of methods to govern the POWs. No one knew where on earth he obtained a few sets of mahjong pieces and playing cards, encouraging everyone to learn to play. Within a few days' time, some POWs became addicted to the game, playing for stakes. As POWs were penniless, what did they gamble with? In the beginning, they gambled with cigarettes--"POW cigarettes" distributed by the POW camp--but when their supply of cigarettes had been exhausted, they gambled with tattered clothes. Everyday, when their hard labor was over, they sat around rice straw mattresses playing and shouting, even attracting the POWs from other squads. The squad lived in peace with one another, except for the occasional quarrel and fist-fighting.

Chen Jiaying stood beside them, watching with a worried look. Time and again he tried to stop the POWs from fighting with one another,
saying, "Let it be. Let it pass so long as we can avoid being beaten and suffering from hunger. . . ."

The "peaceful and easy life" was short-lived. Soon the task assigned to him by the higher-ups to clean out the Communist Party members and CPV officers began to worry him. He had no hatred for the Communist Party. He had served in both the KMT and the Communist Party armies, and from his mind's eye, he believed the Communist Party was the more preferable of the two. He could not bear to torture them himself, so he adopted the old method, letting them freely confess their crimes. The result was predictable.

Summoned to the company headquarters, his former classmate, now a company commander, held a somber countenance, "You are a worthless wretch. . . ."

With his head down, he remained silent. "If I had not put in a good word for you, you would have already been taken to the garrison team."

He was still silent.

"Do you know the Communists in your squad have used the playing of cards to carry out secret activities?"

Shocked, he raised his head and regarded the company commander.
"Since you cannot lay your hands on them, you’d better not take this job. You will be appointed secretary of the squad tomorrow, an easy and light job, too. I will send another person to be squad leader."

So, as quickly as he was put on the stage, he was pulled off. He had been the squad leader for only thirteen days.
On August 2, 1951, Li Da'an, with a protruding abdomen, walked to the gate leading to Compound 86 of the POW Enclosures located on Koje-do. Although appearing cocky on the outside, he was weak and unsure of himself at heart. He knew quite well that his errand would be fraught with grim possibilities.

Two days earlier, a Captain named He from the Intelligence Department of the Eighth U.S. Army had summoned Li Da'an to his side. He lit a cigarette for him, smiled, and then came straight to the point, "It has been decided that you should go to work in Compound 86."

It had been one month since the founding of Compound 86. Its commander, named Wang Futian, was a renegade who had received special training from the American Army to become a spy. Its vice commander, Yang Wenhua, was a graduate from the KMT Army Academy who later became a radio operator in a unit of the CPV. Being experienced and prudent, Yang Wenhua, only twenty-two years old, was called "Elder
Brother" by many older POWs. American guards, as well as the traitors and renegades, regarded him with special respect for he had once been a student of the KMT Army Academy. Hence, he was recommended for the vice commander of Compound 86. As a result, Yang Wenhua, behind Wang Futian's back, enabled some Communist Party members and patriotic POWs to become "POW officers," who then controlled some subcompounds, companies and squads. Soon enough, the U.S. Administrative Authorities discovered that Compound 86 did not attempt to "get rid of the Party members and CPV officers," instead, they often "made trouble." Because of the secret report by Wang Futian, the U.S. Administrative Authorities decided to send Li Da'an to Compound 86.

Li Da'an was quite familiar with Compound 86. He also knew that his friend, Wang Futian, did not have a pleasant time there. Stunned by Captain He's words, he inhaled two puffs of his cigarette and said with an obsequious smile, "I may as well help you with the work in Compound 72 and let somebody else go to Compound 86!"

Assuming a grave expression, Captain He avoided answering Li Da'an directly, saying leisurely, "You know, we have negotiated with the Communist Party. Of course, this type of negotiation won't be successful. If you want freedom, go to Taiwan. We'll never send you back to the Mainland. The only way out for you is to cooperate with us. You will be
rewarded handsomely by us and the Taiwan Government if you do a good job."

Li Da’an understood the underlying message in his words. As a running dog, he could only obey. He lost no time in nodding his agreement, "I will go to Compound 86 to work and do a good job for you there."

"Very good." Grinding a butt in the ashtray, Captain He continued, "We know you and Wang Futian will cooperate. We chose you to go to Compound 86 because we trust you. Once there, you are to organize the same counter-Communist Party clique as that in Compound 72. . . ."

In order to enable Li Da’an to bring Compound 86 under control, the U.S. Administrative Authorities, under the facade of an "investigation," transferred Yang Wenhua along with ten other "die-hards" out of Compound 86 on August 1, one day ahead of Li Da’an’s arrival.

. . . All the POWs of Compound 86 were carrying out their penal servitude. It was unusually quiet on the camp premises, which made Li Da’an feel even more mysterious and dreadful. He could not help touching the dagger at his waist.

Wang Futian ran ahead to meet Li Da’an. After exchanging a few words of greeting with Li, Wang Futian told him, "In Compound 86, only
Subcompound 2 is under the complete control of my brothers." Li Da’an said, "I’d better stay at the headquarters of Subcompound 2 first."

That evening, at the "welcoming banquet" held for Li Da’an, Wang Futian drank himself into a stupor. As that was Li Da’an’s first time in Compound 86, he took care not to drink too much.

Back in the tent at the headquarters of Subcompound 2, while lowering his head to wash his face, Li Da’an suddenly became aware of the sound of something astir behind him. When he was about to turn around, suddenly a pair of hands clasped him on the waist like iron pliers, then a barrage of fists beat down upon him. Though a murderous devil, Li Da’an could not bear a beating himself. By now he was fully alert, kneeling on the ground, continuously begging for mercy, repeatedly saying, "Great uncles, please show mercy, spare my worthless life. . . ."

"Get out of here at once!" said a deep voice.

". . . Yes . . . yes . . . I will get out of Compound 86 immediately . . . get out of here immediately . . . great uncles spare my life. . . ."

The two who had given Li Da’an the severe beating were Zeng Dequan and Li Liangjun. They were led by the underground revolutionary organization in the POW camp to carry out their struggle. Zeng Dequan was from Sichuan, strong and brave, with no fear of death. Many times he had received orders from the underground revolutionary organization to
clear out renegades, carrying out face-to-face fighting against enemies. He became well-known as "Zeng the Boor" throughout the POW camp.

In order to prevent the U.S. Administrative Authorities from finding a pretext for causing bloodshed, the underground revolutionary organization instructed Zeng Dequan and Li Liangjun to beat Li Da'an to only a near-death state and spare his life. The following day, American soldiers came and carried Li Da'an, who could not rise because of the beating, back to Compound 72. Li Da'an no longer dared enter Compound 86.

By now the scramble for control inside the POW camp was visible.\(^\text{38}\) Most of the prisoners in the Pusan POW Enclosures were either slightly or seriously wounded. Because the POWs there were constantly on the move and the internal management was rather loose, many forms of progressive organizations among the CPV POWs became active. In the beginning of August 1951, the wounded CPV POWs led by Guo Zhaolin and Wang Huaying, in order to drive out the police team composed of South Koreans, waged a hunger strike.\(^\text{39}\)

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\(^\text{38}\)This is exactly recorded in *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War* which says "a struggle for power was taking place within the compounds. Two groups, non-Communist and Communist, were using extreme measures to win over majorities of the compound population" (p. 18). By the end of August 1951, "both Koje-do and Pusan were experiencing waves of unrest among the POW's" (p. 17).

\(^\text{39}\)This is again confirmed by *The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War*, which states that in August 1951, "the POW's began in earnest the first of a series of demonstrations which increased in number, intensity, and violence until May 1952 when they culminated in the kidnapping of General Dodd" (p. 17).
That day, when the lunch bell rang, the iron sheet shack in which the wounded POWs stayed resounded with the song "Valiantly and Spiritedly. . ." As the seriously wounded were lying in bed, those who were better off stood next to them shouting slogans against the police team beating the wounded and limiting the recreational activities of the POWs. South Korean guards distributed steamed rice to them, but none of them would eat. The policemen, sticks in hand, dashed in and out of various shacks. Facing the angry POWs, they dared not utter a single word.

An American fleet of tanks and armored cars arrived on the scene. Soldiers with bayonets in their hands surrounded the camp, ring upon ring. From the loud-speaker came the shouts "Don't make trouble, POWs. If you have any requests, dispatch representatives to negotiate with the United Nations Command."

A resonant voice came out of the iron sheet shack saying, "Chinese POWs welcome the UN Forces to send a representative to negotiate with us!"

Soon an American Major, accompanied by an interpreter and five bodyguards, entered the wire entanglements. The POWs of the Korean People's Army sent three representatives, the CPV POWs sent the Communist Party members Ye Zhiyin, Zhang Dianxiang, and Xu Houren. The representatives of the POWs lodged a stern protest against the police
team, claiming they racketeered, committed physical assaults on, and embezzled the grain and clothing of the wounded POWs.\textsuperscript{40} They demanded that the U.S. Administrative POW Authorities determine how many wounded POWs lacked clothes and blankets. Several American military officers came to check and discovered many seriously wounded POWs lying in bed with no clothes, while many slightly wounded POWs lacked blankets. American military officers shook their heads. The representatives of the POWs threatened, "If you don’t withdraw the police team, we’ll continue the hunger strike until we die."

The American Major said, "Don’t stir up trouble, it will be solved immediately." After a while the policemen, luggage on their backs, stood in a line. When its leader cried, "Forward march," the CPV POWs cried in unison, "Get out, get out, get out. . . ." The police team, crest fallen, in the midst of curses of the POWs, left the wire entanglements.

Compound 72 in the Koje-do POW Enclosures, closely controlled by the renegades, was called by the American Army "Model POW Camp." High-ranking American military officers visited the camp frequently. Also, some American and Taiwanese newspapers carried reports and pictures of

\textsuperscript{40}The record by \textit{The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War} goes like this: "Ostensibly, the demonstrations were held to protest various inadequacies in the prisoner ration, but CG EUSAK blamed the incidents on a small handful of trained troublemakers and agitators" (p. 18).
this POW camp. In September and October of 1951, the struggle for dominant power over the POW camp, initiated by the "Youth League Struggle Team in Enemies' Rear Area," occurred.

Its team leader was Zhang Da, a CPV POW, and its original members consisted of only two people: Ding Xianwen and Lu Jianxun. These three young men, all under the age of twenty, were from Sichuan. Being descendants of KMT military officers, they became "secretaries" in the POW camp. Among them, Ding Xianwen had previously worked as a secretary in the KMT Army for a year following graduation from junior middle school. After the uprising he joined the PLA. It was on the Korean battlefield that he was taken prisoner. Being a POW, he felt pessimistic, fiddling away his time with no idea of what to do. When the renegades learned of his "history," they began to rope him in by assigning him to be a "secretary," a job enabling him to escape hunger, hard labor, and beatings. When the "KMT June 3 Branch" was founded, the subcompound commander Meng Mingqiang forced him to join. Only then did he become aware of the struggle between the Communist Party and the KMT inside the POW camp. He must make a choice, a definite choice in a very short time.

After having repeatedly compared the New China, led by the Communist Party, with the Old China, led by the KMT, the new-type army with the old-type army, through painful and intense ideological struggle, he
determined to choose the road of the "Communist Party." He did not know who the Communist Party members in the POW camp were, but he knew his fellow villager, Zhang Da, was a Communist Youth League member.

Ding Xianwen would often speak with Zhang Da, telling him what he learned about the activities of the renegades. In the beginning, Zhang Da was on his guard against Ding Xianwen. However, through conversations, he gradually found that he had a strong love for China. Once, Ding Xianwen suggested they should organize themselves against the renegades. Zhang Da did not respond. Ding Xianwen became so anxious that he blurted out, "if you fear death, then I will do it alone." After observation, Zhang Da decided to recruit Ding Xian-wen into the Communist Youth League. That was contrary to organization formalities, but under the special circumstances in the POW camp, it had to be so.

The Communist Youth League Struggle Team in the Enemy's Rear Area, was composed of Zhang Da, Ding Xianwen and Lu Jianxun--the founders of the organization. Taking advantage of being "secretaries," they walked about the camp, secretly contacting such POWs as Wang Yunsheng, Ren Xiao, Lin Xuebu, Xie Zhibin, Han Wengui, Wang Weixian, and Zhang Huizhong. In all, they met with over twenty persons who were patriotic, progressive, and respectively held posts as "secretaries," "interpreters," and "garrison team members" in the POW camp. They believed that so long as
they could organize dozens of people who would dare to risk their lives by taking the lead in an uprising, then most of the POWs cruelly persecuted in the camp would respond to their call to wipe out the renegades and traitors, such as Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an, and to dominate life in the POW camp. They secretly worked out a plan to eliminate Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an.

Resulting from disconnection with the underground Party organization within the POW camp, and lack of experience in underground struggle, they were soon betrayed by the renegade Huang Zhengquan. After being cruelly beaten, Zhang Da and his team members were thrown into the prison in the POW camp. These young people, with little knowledge of Marxist and Leninist theory, but with a well-defined stand, declared in front of Li Da’an and Wang Shunqing, "We believe in Marxism and Leninism. We will remain Communists whether we are alive or dead. Even if we are to die we will go back to the Mainland." Late every night, Li Da’an, together with Luo Meng, the garrison squad leader, inflicted torture on them until their flesh rotted. They then beat their ankles, knee joints, arm joints, heads, etc. while the youths retained consciousness. The beating would stop for a few minutes, then resume until they lost consciousness. They cursed their victims while beating them, "We know you little red Communists want to die, but we just won’t let you die so
easily! Why did you not die on the battlefield? You want to be heroes in the POW camp, to die for the Communist bandits. The Communist Party won't know you die for them here! You will die unworthily for the Communist Party, who had killed your fathers and brothers at home in the movement for land reform and class struggle!"

These words brought more pain to these descendants of KMT members than the cruel torture. They clenched their jaws, tears running down their faces. Yet their faith in the Communist Party and their motherland would enable them to endure any torture.

Late one night, Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an reverently and respectfully escorted an over fifty-year-old Chinese man dressed in a Western suit to the POW prison. Pretending to be sorry for Zhang Da and Ding Xianwen, who were covered with cuts and bruises, he said, "I know you are descendants of KMT members. And I also know you are against President Chiang and are unwilling to go to Taiwan. You are so young, not even twenty years old yet. If you don’t follow the Communist Party, the U.N. Forces can send you to study in America, be a scholar, marry an American girl, won’t this be better? We won’t push you for an immediate reply. Think it over and let them know when you are ready," he said as he pointed to Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an who were bowing and scraping. "Bah!" the answer he got was a spit of blood.
After that, Du Gang, a chief of staff of a CPV regiment secretly organized the "General Headquarters for Struggle for Returning to the Motherland" in Compound 72. Comprised of eight "Returning-to-the-Motherland Groups," this organization enlisted over one hundred POWs. Their aim was to organize a shock brigade to take over power of Compound 72 from the renegades and traitors. Once when Li Musheng from the "Returning-to-the-Motherland Group" contacted Du Gang, they were discovered by a renegade. Wang Shunqing himself supervised the hanging and beating of Du Gang, Li Musheng, Zhao Guoxi, Shi Zhenrong and so on. Wang Shunqing also forced other POWs to watch as part of their "education." Du Gang's teeth fell and his thighs festered from the cruel torture, but still he shouted loudly, "I'm a Communist Party member! I will certainly go back to the Motherland!," thus encouraging those comrades not yet exposed to continue their struggle.

In order to revolt against the savage act of the renegades and traitors, the "Returning to the Motherland Group" in Compound 72 decided to take advantage of their hard labor outside of the wire entanglements by setting the American storehouse on Koje-do afire. Communist Party members Men Xiaofeng, Liu Shuyun, as well as CPV soldiers Zhang Guangpu and Wang Rongsheng, secretly reconnoitered the topography of the storehouse and worked out a well-conceived plan. That night, over three hundred POWs
in Compound 72 were escorted to the American storehouse to perform hard labor. This storehouse, one hundred meters from the sea and bordered with wire netting, contained military supplies piled high along with two wooden warehouses attached. After the American patrol left, the CPV POW Zhang Guangpu ran rapidly to a shadowy pile of goods, took out a small alcohol box, lit it, inserted it into the pile, and then quickly stepped back into the POW ranks. Ten minutes later the pile of goods burst into flames, which then spread to other piles by the tempestuous sea wind. The storehouse was immediately shrouded in towering flames and the sky above Koje-do shone red. Early the next morning, the POWs who had worked the night before were driven into open ground and a roll call commenced, one by one. An American Lieutenant Colonel, with five American secret service personnel, examined every POW who passed in front of them. They observed their facial expressions and manners, stopping them the instant they appeared suspicious. Even the renegades and traitors were not exempt from examination. Composedly, Zhang Guangpu passed by in front of them. However, a few hatchet men were believed to be "suspects" and were taken away by the American soldiers to be "examined."

Terrified and panic-stricken, the American POW Administrative Authorities became even more strict with the POWs. Under direct
instructions by the American and Taiwanese secret service personnel, Li Da’an, Qui Ruliang, and their followers sponsored an "Oppose-the-CPC, Resist-Russia, and Save-the-Nation Group." They forced CPV POWs to join it as a collective, registering the name list with the "American Military Police Headquarters" and the "Taiwanese Embassy in South Korea" in order to strengthen their power over the POW camp. At that moment, another incident exploded in Compound 86, namely, the POWs’ refusal to participate in the celebration of "Double Ten DAY" (translator’s note: the National Day of Taiwan).

On the morning of October 9, 1951, the American POW Administrative Authorities had the United States National Flag, the United Nations Flag, the KMT Flag and the portrait of Chiang Kai-shek sent to Compound 86, and instructed them to hand the flags and the portrait up the next morning. All the POWs were required to take part in the "Double Ten Day" celebration.

After the arrival of the three flags, the renegades Cheng Liren, Deng Songmao, and Liu Jiapei held an urgent meeting in the garrison team, making arrangements for the next day. At the meeting they distributed about seventy daggers sent by an American military clergyman, Wu Buli. In the meantime, the American Army, in order to support the renegades, began constructing single-person and machine gun fortifications surrounding the
wire entanglements. With tanks awaiting orders and a broadcasting bus proclaiming "martial law," they ordered all the POWs to cease walking around the camp at the first alarm and to enter the iron sheet huts at the second alarm; otherwise, the POWs would be killed on the spot under the authority of the law.

Upon knowing what the enemy were going to do in the POW camp, Zhang De, Cao Ming and other POWs from the underground revolutionary organization in Compound 86 met immediately to discuss countermeasures against the enemy action. At nine o'clock, under the blanket of darkness, over one hundred Communist Party members, Communist Youth League members, and patriotic and progressive POWs, with rods and stones in their hands, surrounded the garrison team. At the order, "Charge!" stones were thrown fiercely at the renegades one after another. The renegades retaliated, dashing out waving cudgels and daggers. Both sides were enmeshed in fighting. Gradually, the renegades slipped away, one by one, leaving only those most stubborn renegades in their death throes.

When the American guards outside the wire entanglements first heard fighting, they immediately turned on the searchlight and sounded the alarm. Tanks and infantrymen drove in to surround the Communist Party members and progressive POWs. When the renegades saw the American soldiers coming to their aid, they again gathered together, shouting
wire entanglements. With tanks awaiting orders and a broadcasting bus proclaiming "martial law," they ordered all the POWs to cease walking around the camp at the first alarm and to enter the iron sheet huts at the second alarm; otherwise, the POWs would be killed on the spot under the authority of the law.

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frantically, "Down with the Communist Party!" Capturing more than eighty leaders of the underground revolutionary organization, they gathered them into a small wire netting and beat them cruelly with cudgels, stones, and daggers from late night until daybreak.

The "Grand Flag Hoisting Ceremony," originally planned on the following day, became a silent, deserted celebration with only a few renegades participating. Fear of another counter-attack by the POWs soon broke up the ceremony.
Chapter Seven

Savagery and Civilization

"In the POW camp, those savage Chinese prisoners will enjoy Western civilization. . . ."

-- by an American guard

Savagery and civilization have been discussed for hundreds of years, without a clear conclusion. After several decades, people on opposite coasts of the Pacific Ocean, people once on opposing sides in a war, now came to realize the truth that "not all Chinese people are savages" and "civilization" within the POW camp was by no means "Western civilization." Yet, in the process of understanding this people paid not only with time but also with lives.

In the Name of Jesus, God and Buddha

Religion flourished in the POW camps, where hunger and savagery reigned. In early 1951, the societies of Christianity, Catholicism and Buddhism emerged in the camps, one after another. Clergymen clad in
black robes, and monks in yellow robes, travelled repeatedly in and out of
the POW camps, as if all the famous Chinese and international monks and
clergymen had gathered in the camps.

One Buddhist monk, "Master Lin," was invited from "The Buddhist
Association of Japan" by the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities through a
great deal of red tape. Indeed, it was not an easy job to find a person like
him who not only believed in Buddhism religiously, but also opposed
Communism politically, and who spoke both Chinese and English. Only a
person possessing a thorough knowledge of both Chinese and foreign
cultures could be considered qualified. The pity was that among over
twenty thousand Chinese POWs, he found only about a dozen people who
would ultimately follow him in the belief of Buddhism, though this religion
had prevailed in China since ancient times. In spite of that, Master Lin still
preached the Buddhist Sutra and kept coming and going between the KMT
secret agents and the POW camps, never showing any disheartenment.

The man clad in the black robe was Wu Boli, a Colonel pastor of the
Eighth U.S. Army. He was in his fifties, tall and thin, and spoke fluent
Mandarin. With a cross hanging on his chest, he appeared quite pious. He
was said to have been a missionary in Beijing, Qingdao, and other areas
within China for over thirty years. No one knew exactly when he joined
the U.S. Army. Accompanying him was an assistant pastor, a South Korean
named Han. Almost overnight, Pastor Wu adopted over ten thousand "sinful" disciples, a feat not only unprecedented in his missionary history, but also rare in the history of Christianity. "A choir" was set up in each subcompound and daily sermons were conducted via a broadcast at noon. In addition, all subcompounds were gathered together to listen to the sermons once or twice every week. On Sundays POWs were required to attend religious service.

Following the sounding of the whistle at nine o'clock Sunday morning, several people would yell in their rough voices, "It's time to go to the service. . . ."

Li Da'an led his men to search every tent, driving crowds of the POWs into the open ground with cudgels and daggers. Some of them were pushed forward, their arms twisted at their back, and forced to kneel down before Pastor Wu.

The service began. A psalm was sung with Pastor Wu playing the pipe organ, leading the chorus piously:

"Jesus loves me,  
I love Jesus.  
Jesus will pardon my sin."
The refrain would be repeated three times. Yet, there was only jabbering among the gathering. It's difficult to tell if they understood the words they sung.

Next, the POWs would read from the Bible after Pastor Wu. Pastor Wu would say loudly, "Take your Bible out and turn to page so-and-so." Hardly had Pastor Wu finished his speaking when many people raised their hands. Pastor Wu knew that they were requesting a copy of the Bible. Some said they had not been given one, while others forgot to bring theirs, and they were now asking for one more copy of the Bible. Pastor Wu was not a miser. He knew the more copies people asked for, the more disciples he would have. While handing out Bibles, he would place his hand on their heads, telling them with a smile, "All of you should believe in Jesus. He will bless and protect you and your family at home." He probably never realized that the POWs used the Bibles as toilet paper, which was in short supply in the camp.

Following the reading of the Bible, Pastor Wu "communicated Jesus' voice" to the gathering. He took off his hat and closed his eyes. He preached the familiar words such as "You are the sinners on Earth, may Jesus pardon you. . . ."

During the process of the rites, garrison team members strolled among the POWs, cudgels in their hands. If they saw someone leaving
ahead of time, or whispering among themselves, they would deliver a head-on blow. Thus, "the voice from Heaven" was often interrupted by horrible cries, which could only be heard in Hell.

Upon the final word "Amen," the gathering broke up in confusion.

Wu Boli was a pastor in the daytime and a butcher at night. Under the cover of his black robe, he smuggled into the camps over one hundred daggers with the two letters "U.S." carved on them. He encouraged the renegades to kill "the Communists" with the daggers, then he would proceed to pray in front of the grave of the dead. All the murders that occurred in the POW camps of the CPV were in one way or another connected to him. Perhaps he believed that his own thoughts represented those of Jesus, for he believed that he would never suffer retribution for what he had done.

Wu Boli committed an even graver crime. Zhang had been a devoted Christian prior to joining the CPV. In the POW camp, Pastor Wu seemed to show great concern for him, often telling him, "We are both servants of Jesus." Later when Zhang shouted his demand to return home from behind the wire entanglements, he was shot to death by the U.S. guards. Pastor Wu was asked by someone to see Zhang's body.

At that moment, Pastor Wu should have shown mercy and humanitarianism, acting like the real messenger of Jesus he proclaimed to
be. Yet, he displayed only malice and hatred. He ferociously kicked Zhang's head and cursed under his breath "this damned Communist."

"Sanatorium"

Sanatorium, what an elegant name. Discussing it reminds people of green lawns, gentle words, and comfortable rooms. It is not a place that any normal person would associate with POW camps. However, there were "sanatoriums" within the U.S. Army POW camps.

POW jails were set up in Pusan, Koje-do, and Cheju-do, specifically for the imprisonment of the so-called "red POWs," "die-hard Communists," and those accused of agitation for their return to Mainland China. Some U.S. guards, traitors and renegades referred to those jails as "sanatoriums." I have been wondering in what sense they actually mean by calling the POW jails sanatoriums.

The internal structure of the jails was quite unusual. As we know, once the knowledge of modern civilization is used for the purpose of savagery, its outcome is simple brutality. Since I do not know whether or...

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41 The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War does mention the existence of "UNC prison enclosures" and an "ROK prison camp" (p. 4), though there are no specific descriptions about the prison camps.
not they have applied for the patent right for the invention of the jails, I'll take the liberty to reveal a few of their secrets.

The barbed-wire cages. On the southwest side of Enclosure 3 in Pusan, a small hill was surrounded by wire entanglements, each containing small round wire cages, separated from one another by seven or eight meters. Each wire cage was one and a half meters in length and in height and one meter in width. There was neither a roof on top nor walls on the sides. The floor was the dirt of the ground. The meshed wire was one inch square with barbs pointing inwardly. Locked up, one could neither stand straight, lie down with legs out-stretched, nor lean against anything. All one could do was curl up in the center.

If a prisoner inside became a little careless, he would be tangled on the barbs, bleeding all over. During summer, people's heads would swim under the scorching sun; in winter, they would become stiff all over due to the severe cold. According to those who had been locked up in the cages, once one was released, one would emerge covered with cuts and bruises. Some could not move their limbs for over ten days, and others could not stretch their hands, legs or backs for a long period of time. Some became permanently disabled.

The water dungeon. Located on the right side of Enclosure 1 in Pusan and the northwest side of Compound 72 on koje-do, a one-story
cement building surrounded by wire entanglements, contained the water
dungeons. Each water dungeon resembled a manger. People locked inside
could not sit nor lie down comfortably. One window, seven inches square,
was built in the wall. The door was made of iron, and a straw sack was
spread on the cement floor. A night soil bucket, placed in the corner, had
not been emptied or cleaned. Excrement and urine overflowed onto the
straw sack, which was turned black with filth. Human waste also seeped
outside through the bottom of the iron door. In July 1952, Zhou Guangyu,
a CPV POW, was thrown into the water dungeon for organizing the
struggle to return to the motherland. He was thrust into the water
dungeon, his hands tied behind his back. The stench from the dungeon was
so strong that he could smell it far away. Following a beating, he was
thrown into the water dungeon by an American soldier. Excrement and
urine were everywhere. As soon as he fell upon the straw sack, he was
spattered with filth from head to toe. A white ball of maggots was wriggling
on the sack. He struggled to stand up, attempting to avoid maggots all the
while, but failed for lack of room. All he could do was inch closer to the
window to inhale some breaths of fresh air. Once the POWs were locked
up in the water dungeons, they had to remain there for ten or fifteen days.
During their sentence their flesh began to rot from the filthy water.
The CIE School

In mid-August 1951, over a dozen secret agents appeared in Compounds 72 and 86 of the Koje-do POW Enclosures, claiming to be instructors of CIE. CIE was the acronym for Civil Information and Education, run by the U.S. Army in the Far East. Thus, it appeared that the U.S. Army intended to run a school in the POW camps. Two large, iron-sheet huts were built in each compound to be used as classrooms for CIE. The lintel over the iron door displayed five large yellow characters meaning, "the Assembly Hall of Freedom."

CIE provided three class sessions each week. All POWs were required to attend the classes. The teaching content was closely related to the theme "Oppose Communism." During class, the students were often absent-minded and some even dozed off. Hence, additional garrison team members were assigned to patrol the classroom with cudgels in their hands. They instructed the POWs to sing songs before and during class to keep them alert and to shake off their drowsiness. Of course, singing was also

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42 Commander in Chief, United Nations Command, "directed the establishment of an information and education section on 3 April 1951, attaching the section to GHQ UNC and assigning to it the task of planning and implementing the expanded program. The mission of the CI&E section was to initiate, organize, and operate an orientation and education program for North Korean and Chinese Communist prisoners of war under the custody of the Commander in Chief, United Nations Command" (The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, pp. 104-105).
part of the teaching content in CIE. Such songs as "Fighting Back to the Mainland" were taught. One day, an instructor, who was a secret agent, led the POWs in singing the song "Killing the Communist Bandits" before class. He started the song several times, but few people followed him. He grew so angry that he called Chao Ming, a POW whose real name is Zhao Mingzhi, to sing on the platform. Although only twenty-one years old, Chao Ming had joined the "Great Wall Opera Troupe" in the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army ten years previously. Not only could he sing and dance, but he was also very intelligent. As he had managed many times to get his fellow prisoners to declare their determination to return to the motherland, the secret agents and renegades regarded him as a thorn in their flesh. Hence, the true purpose behind the instructor's demand for him to sing on the platform was to punish him for what he had done.

Chao Ming walked up to the stage. He pondered it for a moment, cleared his throat, then began to sing a different song: "Grandma Wang Wants Peace." He sang with such forceful rhythm and enthusiasm that the whole class joined in, forming a chorus. The garrison team members brandished their cudgels and beat the students right and left. But still they could not stop them. The garrison team members had to rush onto the stage and push Chao Ming down, "Chao Ming, why do you want to sing the Communist song?"
Chao Ming answered, "What I am singing is for peace. How can it be a Communist song? Does KMT want war?" Hearing this, the students applauded warmly.

The secret agents and renegades were flustered and exasperated, and they finally had to pull Chao Ming away. The hall was in a clamor, signalling the end of the class.

CIE instructed the POWs to hold a "discussion" of what they had learned, reviewing the anti-Communist topics taught in class. The discussions would be published in newspapers outlining the POWs' "understanding" and "thoughts," thus exerting a certain amount of psychological pressure on the POWs and making them fearful of their desire to return to China.

CIE decided to hold a "prize-awarding ceremony" to honor those POWs usually regarded as the "die-hard Communists." The prizes consisted of a certificate, a piece of green paper in which was written: "To so and so, an excellent student," and two lumps of candy.

A CPC member, Hou Guangpu, was one of the "prize-winning students." However, the CPC members firmly refused to receive the certificate and candy, protesting against CIE and its schemes to frame them politically. In spite of that, the "ceremony" went on as planned, with prizes received by their squad leaders instead. The candy went into the mouths of
the squad leaders, while the certificates were put in the "honor roll" on the wall, accompanied by the beating of drums and gongs.

That was a devastating move. Those CPC members who had refused to receive the certificates and prizes never imagined that upon their return to the motherland the certificates would be used as evidence that they had "not taken a firm stand" during their detention. For that reason, they continued to appeal to the authorities concerned for thirty years. Perhaps even the CIE instructors did not foresee such long-lasting effects of their teaching.

The POW Troupe

One evening in early November 1951, "the POW officers" above the rank of company commander in Compound 72 gathered in "the Assembly Hall of Freedom" to review a newly rehearsed play by the compound troupe.43

In the POW camp, POWs were required to form a troupe to stage plays for their fellow POWs to watch. Both the actors and the audience

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43Recreation was part of the CIE program. "Music and drama contended for first place in popularity among the POW's"; "Dramas were produced in 14 compounds" (The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, pp. 109-111).
had not enough to eat, which was one more example of "modern civilization" within the POW camp.

Few people could remember the title of the play rehearsed that day. It revolved around a PLA man, based on a prototype of a traitor among the POWs, a man who ran away and surrendered himself to the reactionary army when he could no longer tolerate the "oppression" within the PLA. Later, during his investigation by the secret agents, he took advantage of the chance to calumniate the CPC, as well as the PLA. The man who wrote the play was barely literate. He had never watched other plays except for a few Sichuan operas at home and several American films in the POW camp. However, it was after Wang Shunqing told him about his own experiences that he was compelled to write the play, and he dared not disobey the order. Thus, the first "play" ever written by him was staged on a foreign land. The "play" could not be termed a "work of art" for it consisted simply of several men in PLA and KMT army uniforms shouting abuses to one another. The words were so vulgar that even a prolific shrew shouting abuses on the street would blush.

The actors in the POW troupe were mostly the educated youths of the CPV. Many were driven onto the stage by cudgels. They usually pretended to read a few lines. That day, the POW who played the role of the PLA soldier was Lin Xuebu, a former instructor of English in the CPV
who had been a student at Sichuan University. As he enjoyed talking and joking, he was ordered by renegades to become an actor in the troupe.

In front of the stage the audience was seated in order. The renegades like Wang Shunqing, Li Da’an, and Wei Shixi were present in the first row. After a period of chaos, Li Da’an knocked vigorously on the floor with his cudgel twice to announce the beginning of the play.

During the performance, the play entered the scene in which several secret agents were interrogating the PLA man who surrendered himself. "Why did you surrender yourself to our side?" they asked. According to the script, Lin Xuebu should have answered, "I am not willing to follow these Communist bastards and be an unjust youth." But when he finished speaking the words "I'm not willing to follow . . ." he coughed on purpose, deleting the word "Communist" from the line, then continued, " . . . these bastards and be an unjust youth." Meanwhile, he pointed at the renegades in front with a contemptuous and satirical expression on his face.

Immediately the hall was thrown into a hornets' nest of confusion. The renegades jumped from their chairs, shouting abuses. Some threw stones onto the stage. The play could not go on. Li Da’an and his hatchet men rushed onto the stage with cudgels. Wang Shunqing went backstage to examine the script sentence by sentence. Later they took Lin Xuebu to the garrison team headquarters and beat him up.
The following day, Zhang Bi, a secret agent from Taiwan, learned of the event of the previous night. He pointed at Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an and said, "You are said to be so astute, yet you have left such a big loophole. You have let the enemy conduct propaganda on our stage."

Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an hung their heads and remained silent. Zhang Bi continued, "Keep your eyes on this man and have him investigated thoroughly. He has surely acted on someone’s instigation. He is not alone. You have to dig out the wire-pullers; otherwise, they will prove scourges sooner or later."

The POW troupe was temporarily dismissed. Some actors were detained by the garrison team to receive "cudgel education." On April 7, the following year, Li Da’an killed Lin Xuebu by his own hand, cutting his belly open and removing his heart.
Chapter Eight

The "Little Yan’an" on Koje-do

The Get-together of the Korean and Chinese POWs

The fall wind, along with the leaden seawater, was ruthlessly shaking "the Island of Death." Koje-do had been stripped of its green coat, emerging from the vast expanse of seawater, with its body bare.

One night towards the end of October, 1951, approximately one hundred Korean and Chinese POWs were sitting in a circle and listening to several KPA comrades singing the "March of the People’s Army" inside a large iron sheet hut of Compound 61. The hut was ablaze with light and the people were quite cheerful.

Compound 61 was a transfer post. All POWs travelling to and returning from Pusan and Koje-do were first escorted there. Two days previously, thirty-odd CPV POWs had been brought back to Koje-do after being taken to Seoul and Pusan for interrogation. They would remain at Compound 61 and not be sent back to Compound 72 until they were registered. Of these thirty-odd people, most were CPV officers, including Wei Lin, deputy
regimental chief of staff; Ma Xingwang, battalion commander; Xue Sanwa, deputy company political instructor, Liang Zongqi, platoon leader, and Zhang Changhui and Wang Xin, both cultural instructors in the CPV. In the ship returning to Koje-do, Wei Lin was informed that the majority of this group had demonstrated a firm stand following their capture. He believed that over thirty people, if united, could form a powerful fighting unit to carry out a new struggle in the POW camp. After being taken into Compound 61, they sang aloud the "Song of General Kim Il-sung" and "The East Is Red" to attract the attention of the POWs of the KPA, because they were unable to speak Korean. They then held up their thumbs, saying, "Mao Zedong is the best!" and "Kim Il-sung is the best." Next they raised their small fingers, saying, "Syngman Rhee is bad." Soon the Chinese and Korean comrades became acquainted with one another. Shaking hands and embracing one another, they decided to exchange their experiences of how to fight the enemy under the disguise of holding a "get-together."

At this gathering, Wei Lin told of his continual struggle with the enemy following his capture. Wei Lin was a veteran Red Army man who joined the revolution in 1935. He had engaged in numerous battles with his troops, and had achieved outstanding military feats. During the Fifth Campaign in Korea, his troops were broken up and he, along with several other officers, was besieged on a hill for over twenty days. He was
ultimately captured when his group became suddenly surrounded by the enemy combing the hill. At that moment, they were too weak to resist the enemy. Following his capture, he declared himself to be an army doctor, but a traitor revealed his Battalion Commander rank. During the interrogation he was repeatedly kicked and beaten, and he was rebuked for being a "disciple of Mao Zedong." Forced to kneel under the hot sun for long periods of time, he was ultimately imprisoned twice on the charge of "organizing an insurrection". . . .

After the Korean and Chinese comrades introduced themselves to one another, they began speaking of their lives within the POW camps. Before the gathering was held, the Korean comrades had brought cigarettes, hot rice and boiled water. Under the extremely hard conditions in the POW camps, these ordinarily common items became far more sumptuous than a peacetime banquet. A few KPA comrades sang in turn to disguise their words and ensure that their conversation proceeded smoothly. The Korean comrades told of how they had established a group of their own to lead against the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities, adopting the method of combining the group with the individual, the legitimate with the "illegitimate," and the overt with the covert. The Chinese comrades revealed their plan to demand the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities to establish a CPV POW Repatriation Camp instead of returning them to
Compound 72. The Korean comrades expressed both their material and moral support in the struggle of their CPV comrades.

The following day, Wei Lin, Ma Xingwang and others drew up a written protest addressed to the U.S. Commanding Colonel of the Koje-do POW Enclosures, exposing and denouncing the fascist rule in Compound 72 by the secret agents and the renegades. The POWs held in Compound 72 were beaten, berated, insulted and tattooed by force, thus their safety was not guaranteed. They demanded, according to the Geneva Convention, that the thirty-odd CPV POWs not be returned to Compound 72. Rather, a CPV POW Repatriation Camp should be established. The signature at the bottom of the protest was from "CPV POW representative: Battalion Commander Wei Lin, Major of the CPV."

The third day, Potter, squad leader of the American guards, told the CPV POWs, "The Commanding Colonel will not reply to your protest." The thirty-odd POWs submitted another joint protest, declaring they would stage a hunger strike. Once the meal was prepared, everyone hung their tableware, such as bowls, chopsticks and spoons, on the wire entanglements. The POWs lay upon their beds and refused to eat. The following night the KPA comrades expressed their support by bringing a sack of rice crust previously saved by the Korean comrades from their own meager rations.
On the third day after the POWs' hunger strike, the U.S. POW Administration sent several guards to deliver an order requiring the CPV POWs to depart Compound 61 immediately for Compound 72. The order was refused by Wei Lin. On behalf of the POWs, he told the American guards, "We refused to go to Compound 72 because some people there have betrayed our motherland, and because of your support and instigation, they have flagrantly persecuted our patriotic comrades. You are responsible for all of this, and we have the right to uphold the Geneva Convention and retain the freedom of belief."

The American guards flew into a rage, shouting to the CPV POWs, "You mean to rebel, don't you. You will be held responsible for what happens!"

"We love our own motherland. We fought for her bravely. Now we'd readily give our lives for safeguarding our national dignity. If you dare to violate the Geneva Convention and ignore the denouncement of the people all over the world, you will surely eat your own bitter fruit," Wei Lin said firmly.

The American guards left, breathless with rage.

Soon after the U.S. POW Administration deployed several guards to deliver an "ultimatum," threatening the use of force if the CPV POWs did not depart Compound 61, yet the POWs remained fearless.
At nine o'clock that night, the American Army sent out armored cars with a company of armed soldiers to launch an attack upon the CPV POWs. Rushing into the tents without a word, they began stabbing the POWs with bayonets while hitting them with the butts of their rifles. Three or four soldiers grappled with each unarmed POW as they were dragged, one by one, onto trucks. Escorted by the armored cars, the trucks carrying the POWs drove toward the coast. Upon arrival they were surrounded by American soldiers. An interpreter shouted at the top of his voice, "Who is your leader, get off!"

Wei Lin stood up and said to his fellow POWs in the truck, "Keep calm, comrades. I alone will bear the consequences." Under the bright searchlight beam, he left his fellow POWs, shaking each hand one by one. Jumping off the truck, he walked up to a group of American Army officers, escorted by several soldiers carrying bayonets. The interpreter pointed at the officer standing in the center of the group, and said, "This is the Commanding Colonel."

"Why don't you go to Compound 72?" the Colonel stated as he haughtily waved his white gloves.

"The evil officers in Compound 72 are violating the Geneva Convention, and are savagely beating and murdering the POWs. We can't stay where a dark fascist rule reigns," replied Wei Lin.
"You must return to Compound 72. I'll personally assure you of your safety, " the Colonel said.

Wei Lin then presented several requests. The Colonel promised, "I'll make sure that you will not be beaten after you enter Compound 72; and that you will be as equally well treated and free as the other POWs. I'll see to it that you will be safe there."

The CPV officers were escorted to Compound 72. Wang Shunqing, Li Da'an, Wang Youmin, Wei Shixi and the other renegades were waiting at the gate with the garrison team when the officers arrived. The POWs were escorted into the Officer POW Battalion. All at once, cudgels and leather-thonged whips rained upon their heads and bodies. They were then forced to kneel down and creep on the ground. Ultimately they were dragged into the garrison team headquarters, one by one, for interrogation. . . .

The officer POWs failed to attain their anticipated goal, but the struggle itself, in which the CPV POWs defied brute force exerted great influence in the POW camps. This event became the prelude to the establishment of the CPV Repatriation POW Camp.
Escaping from the "Model POW Camp"

Just as Wei Lin, along with other CPV POWs, were being cruelly beaten within the headquarters of the garrison team of Compound 72, a blond haired American dressed in yellow civilian clothes stepped in and called out in Chinese, "Wei Lin, Wei Lin." The renegades immediately stopped beating the POWs. "I am Wei Lin," replied Wei Lin.

"Come, follow me."

Wei Li followed the American to a tent located near the headquarters of Compound 72. The American said in fluent Chinese, "I am against what they are doing, and I disapprove of what the KMT is doing. You’ve had a hard time, and you’ve suffered a lot."

Wei Lin remained silent.

The American continued, "I’m anxious to know something about the CPC. Can you tell me anything about it?"

Wei Lin immediately realized that the American was a secret agent. He became suspicious and declared, "I am not a Communist member, so I know nothing about it."

"Pardon me," the American did not force Wei Lin to speak, "You should have a good rest."
"I am unable to rest. You saw what happened just now with your own eyes. The Commanding Colonel promised not to beat us, yet you can see injuries covering my body! My comrades are still being beaten!"

"I'll leave immediately to stop them from beating and punishing people." The American took Wei Lin into the tent and said, "Please feel at ease. You can have a good rest here." He then handed over a pencil along with several pieces of paper and said, "You can write down whatever you like."

The American proceeded to the garrison team. Ordering the renegades to stay their hands, he allowed the suffering POWs to return to their tents.

Wei Lin found that there were other POWs in the tent providing information. One of them was called Chen Jiqing, a political instructor from their former CPV division. Another was a thin little chap wearing a thick pair of glasses. He appeared to be twenty-two or twenty-three years old, and resembled a scholar. He introduced himself as Sun Zhenguan, a CPV battalion political instructor. Wei Lin had long known this name--Sun Zhenguan. Sun had joined the CPC when he was only fifteen. The following year he joined the guerrilla forces east of Zhejiang Province, led by the New Fourth Army, and later he travelled to Shanghai to participate in student movements. He was the youngest battalion political instructor in
an army of the CPV, and was referred to as a "young old officer." Among those CPV officers captured, he was the first to declare himself publicly, and to lead the others in waging their struggle. When Compound 72 was first established, the American guards were not familiar with the POWs. Sun Zhenguang took advantage of the situation by taking command of the POWs, fighting both overtly and covertly against the renegades such as Li Da'an. Consequently, within ten days Sun Zhenguang was thrown into prison by the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities. In spite of this, the name Sun Zhenguang became familiar to all in the POW camps. After the three of them introduced themselves, they shook hands with one another.

"What are you writing about?" Wei Lin asked them.

"We are providing some fictitious information," they replied with a smile.

"Can you tell me something about the American who was just here?"

"His name is Philip. He is a senior secret agent of the CIA and a Colonel. He handles the traitors and the renegades in Compound 72 with great finesse, and all are afraid of him."

After Wei Lin told of their struggle in Compound 61, they decided to form a leading group of the CPC within Compound 72. They would take advantage of the times with Philip in the tent to hold secret meetings, continuing the struggle against the control of the traitors and renegades,
and demanding the establishment of a POW Repatriation Camp. In addition, to ensure secrecy they divided the work solely among themselves.

They pretended to provide information in Philip's tent during the day, continuing this for several days. Wei Lin wrote "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," but his "progress" was surprisingly slow, writing only several words per day. Fortunately, Philip did not appear to be getting impatient. However, on November 7, the renegades suddenly entered to escort Wei Lin, Sun Zhenguang, Chen Jiqing, Ma Xingwang, Liang Zongqi and Li Zijing to the headquarters of Compound 72. They had discovered that Wei Lin and his group had organized over two hundred POWs who signed a petition in opposition to being sent to Taiwan, firmly determined in their demand to return to Mainland China.

Wang Shunqing struck the table and threatened, "You want to organize a rebellion! I'll put all of you into prison right now!"

Li Da'an swung his cudgel on them.

The six of them immediately pointed out, "While in Compound 61, we once jointly wrote to the Commanding Colonel. And he promised that we would not be beaten up in Compound 72. Now you are beating us again. We'll lodge a protest against you with the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities. . . ."
Wang Shunqing was not aware of the real situation, since he did not know of the actual conversation between them and the Commanding Colonel. Thus he assumed an amiable countenance, allowing them to write a letter which he promised to pass on to the Commanding Colonel. Soon, a letter addressed to the U.S. Army Commanding Colonel of the POW Enclosures on Koje-do was written in diplomatic language by Li Ziyin, in which the savage and cruel fascist rule of the traitors and renegades of Compound 72 was denounced, and in which they demanded the punishment of those renegades who violated the Geneva Convention and again requested the establishment of a CPV Repatriation POW Camp.

At noon the following day, Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an forced Wei Lin and Sun Zhenguan to proceed to the compound headquarters for a "talk." Comrades Ma Xingwang and Li Ziyin made a prompt decision. They moved two hundred people who had signed the petition to return home in front of the compound headquarters. Shouting slogans, they demanded to see Wei Lin and Sun Zhengu. Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an, along with the others, were terrified, rushing in and out in confusion. Martial law was enforced throughout the compound, and all POWs were ordered not to move out of the tents.

Next, the renegades asked Ma Xingwang and Li Ziyin to proceed into the compound headquarters. They then pushed the POWs gathering
outside into a large iron sheet shed. A renegade entered the shed with a knife in one hand, with the other carrying a bloody piece of flesh. Standing in front of the crowd, he shouted, "Look at this. It is the heart of a Communist! Whoever wants to return to Mainland China will meet this very end----the white knife in and the red knife out!"

Nan Yangzhen, a Communist Party member, stood up and declared in a loud voice, "I'll return to Mainland China!" Immediately, many other POWs sitting close to him also rose, including Xue Sanwa, Hao Zhigen, and others.

The renegades cried out loudly, "Pull Nan Yangzhen out!"

"There is no need for you to pull me out. Even against a mountain of swords and a sea of flames I'll dare to go by myself!" replied Nan Yangzhen. Upon leaving his comrades, he was knocked unconscious from one fierce blow.

"All of you go back at once. Don't follow the Communists!" shouted Li Da’an at the doorway. Protected by several garrison team members, Wang Youmin approached the POWs and said, "Don't follow Wei Lin and Sun Zhenguang. To follow them would bring you to grief. Now, all of you go back to the tent. We won't bother you if you do that." This was the trap the renegades and secret agents set: First they would remove the leaders,
such as Wei Lin and Ma Xingwang, disperse the crowd, then they would settle the score with the POWs one by one.

Just as some POWs were preparing to turn back, Peng Lin, assistant leader of a CPV propaganda team, stood up resolutely. At the risk of being beaten, he shouted, "Don’t go away, everyone! This is the basic freedom of belief that we are striving for. . . ."

"Shut up! No more talking!" the renegades shouted, brandishing their cudgels.

"We should stick together to the bitter end!" Peng Lin went on shouting. By now there were several garrison team members surrounding him.

"No beating! No beating!" shouted the POWs angrily.

The atmosphere in Compound 72 was becoming tense. The POWs were grouped in threes and fours, discussing events taking place in the camp. In order to prevent the situation from worsening, the American Army dispatched a large number of armored cars carrying fully armed American soldiers and military policemen with white helmets. They carried flame throwers, besides heavy and light machine guns and automatic rifles. After the solemn and just negotiations by the six POWs’ representatives, and the brave struggle by over two hundred POWs, the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities finally agreed, at 3:00 p.m., to transfer those who had
petitioned for returning home to Compound 71. The U. S. armored cars turned back, the soldiers removed their bayonets and got into the armored cars, and the flame throwers were also withdrawn.

The six representatives rushed out of the compound headquarters, and while running, cried out, "We have won the victory. . . ."

Compound 72 fell into chaos. Those POWs anxious to return home began rushing toward the gate. Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an ordered the garrison team to guard the gates of each subcompound, and that of the compound, shouting at the top of their voices, "Guard the gate. Don’t let them rush out." The POWs, on the other hand, cried out loudly, "Hurry up! Rush out of Compound 72! Hurry up! Hurry up! Rush out!" In utter confusion, only one hundred and forty-eight POWs were able to rush out. Many others were blocked at the gate by the garrison team and failed to get out.

The one hundred and forty-eight POWs arrived at Compound 71, establishing the first CPV POW Repatriation Camp. These POWs hugged one another, talking and singing from afternoon till late that night. Many were too excited to find sleep.

The following day, a CPC underground Party branch and a Communist Youth League branch were established in Compound 71. Wei
Lin was elected secretary of the Party branch, Sun Zhenguan, vice secretary, and Li Xier, security member. Nan Yangzhen was appointed propaganda and youth member, with Chen Jiqing organization member, Liu Guang and Gu Zesheng members. Among the leading members of the Youth League branch were Nan Yangzhen, Li Ziyin, He Pinggu and Ma Youjun. Additionally, two sets of administration were set up. They agreed to name Compound 71 "the July 1 Repatriation Battalion" among themselves.

*A Beacon in the Dark*

"The July 1 Repatriation Battalion" entirely broke away from under the control of the American Army, Taiwanese secret agents, and the traitors and renegades. Led by the CPC underground Party branch, the July 1 Repatriation Battalion practised equality in food, clothing, shelter, and political democracy among the group. Its establishment marked the kindling of a bright beacon, illuminating the "Island of Death." It proved to the POWs that only unified struggle could enable them to survive, and the way home was by remaining patriotic. The camp became the hope for those CPV POWs who loved their motherland, and it also became the place where those POWs longed to go.
On November 15, the U.S. POW Administration transferred eighty POWs held in prison in Compound 86 to Compound 72. Led by Cao Ming and Shi Yikui and so on, these eighty POWs handed over a letter written in their own blood to the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities, stating that they would rather die than be transferred to Compound 72. The American Army did not reply, instead it deployed soldiers to escort the POWs by force to the gate of Compound 72. These eighty POWs clung together. Regardless of how viciously the renegades hit them, they firmly refused to enter into Compound 72. As a result, the U.S. POW Administration was finally compelled to transfer them to Compound 71 to join the one hundred and forty-eight CPV POWs already present there.

On January 5, 1952, fourteen sick and wounded CPV POWs were escorted from Pusan to the Koje-do POW Enclosures. They insisted on proceeding to Compound 71. At first, the U.S. POW Administration appeared to agree to their request. However when the POWs arrived at the gate of Compound 72, four soldiers seized each POW by the arms, then dragged them into Compound 72 one by one. "You don’t want to come in here. You think that it is a bad place, then we’ll let you taste something bad here." The traitors and renegades locked up the POWs in the compound headquarters. Li Da’an personally took charge of the beating.
Hardly had Tang Naiyao been taken into the headquarters when he was hit in the chest by Li Da’an’s fist. "What nerve you have! You dare to set yourself against me. You tell me whose idea it is this time, and who is the leader?" Li Da’an demanded. Tang Naiyao only stared angrily at Li, "Well, you just see how I punish you!" With this, Li Da’an cuffed and kicked Tang till he fell to the ground. A renegade then stripped Tang to the waist as Li Da’an removed a red iron bar from a nearby stove. First, he lit a cigarette from it, then branded Tang twice on the chest. Immediately a wisp of white smoke rose, and Tang fainted from pain. When he regained consciousness, he continued to express his firm determination to his fellow sufferers, "What’s there to be afraid of about the branding? We’ll go on to Compound 71."

Zhang Da and Ding Xianwen, from "the Struggle Group of the Communist Youth League in the Enemy’s Rear Area in Compound 72, were transferred to the Koje-do POW Hospital with the help of the KPA POW doctor working there. Previously they had been in the jail of Compound 72. While in the hospital, Zhang Da and Ding Xianwen expressed their wish to the U.S. POW Administration not to return to Compound 72, but be sent instead to Compound 71. They broke a razor blade in two and each kept half of it. The two swore an oath: "We’d rather commit suicide than return to Compound 72."
However, the American soldiers wanted to return them to Compound 72 by force. Zhang Da, pretending to be mad, struck the glasses off the face of an American Second Lieutenant, and they fell upon the ground. The soldiers then bound him up and cast him into the POW jail. Ding Xianwen, on the other hand, first beat a U.S. officer in front of many Korean and Chinese POWs, then tried to kill himself by slicing open his throat with the razor blade. Seriously wounded, he then embarked on a hunger strike for two days and nights. This event reverberated throughout the Koje-do POW Hospital. Many of the Korean and Chinese POWs, avoiding the surveillance of the American Army, came to express their sympathy and solicitude for Ding Xianwen. With tears in their eyes, they raised their thumbs and said, "Mao Zedong! Chinese comrades are simply great!" "We need to be alive to fight!"

Having no alternative, the American Army took Ding Xianwen to Compound 71 as a die-hard Communist element. The comrades in Compound 71 hosted a large party to welcome him. Ding Xianwen declared in tears, "I've come back, the Party. . . ."

Through repeated negotiations, both oral and written, "The July 1 Repatriation Battalion" also managed to get the U.S. POW Administration

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44 Suicides among the POWs were reported to be quite common in the POW camps. In March 1951, there were four "suicides" (The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, p. 14), and in September 1952, there were reportedly five "suicides" (ibid. p. 46).
to transfer such leading comrades of the POWs as Zhao Zuoduan, Du Gang, and so on, to Compound 71.

The underground Party organization of the "July 1 Repatriation Battalion" succeeded in contacting the commanding group of the KPA in the POW camps of the U.S. Army----the General Guiding Committee (code name Tent 21) of the Korean Labor Party for the POW Camp Party Members. The Korean and Chinese POWs exchanged their experience, cooperated with each other and struggled together. The Liaison Office of the General Guiding Committee of the Koren Labor Party for the POW Camp Party Members was established in the Koje-do POW Hospital.45 "The July 1 Repatriation Battalion" repeatedly dispatched their staunchest Communists to contact the Korean comrades-in-arms. These men made contact at the risk of their lives, for they had to destroy their health first to gain admittance into the hospital.

Once, Nan Yangzhen, a CPC member, was given the task of delivering a message to the POW Hospital. Nan Yangzhen said to his senior officers, "You may rest assured that I'll finish the task. If I should die, please don't forget to write the three word Nan Yang-zhen on the death list given to the senior Party authorities when you return home."

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45 The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War says the same, "prison hospitals were ideal as 'message centers' for subversive activity" (p. 33).
To induce sickness, Nan Yangzhen first mixed Chinese ink with soybean sauce, and then drank a large bottle of the mixture. Immediately he felt an unbearable pain in his lungs. He also felt sick to his stomach. Nevertheless, he clenched his teeth, sealed the envelope containing the message and then squeezed it up into his anus. Following a check-up by the U.S. army doctor, an X-ray showed spots on his lungs. Thus he was immediately admitted to the POW Hospital. While staying in the hospital, Nan Yang-zhen succeeded in finishing the task. Later, he returned to Compound 71, smuggling back the message from the Korean comrades-in-arms.

"The July 1 Repatriation Battalion" continually delivered letters of protest and complaint signed by all the comrades both to the U.S. POW Administration and the International Committee of the Red Cross. They repeatedly conducted demonstrations and hunger strikes, striving for humane treatment, adequate food and clothing, and to expose the truth of the so-called "voluntary repatriation." "The July 1 Repatriation Battalion" was therefore termed "the Red POW Camp" and "the Dangerous POW Camp," becoming a thorn in the side of the KMT and American secret agents. Because neither the KMP and the American secret agents, nor the traitors and renegades of the CPV were able to control these POWs, the U.S. Administration plotted to destroy the "Little Yan’an" with Syngman
Rhee's secret agents and the traitors of the KPA by keeping "the July 1 Repatriation Battalion" in the same wire entanglements with the KPA POWs.

In June of 1952, the U.S. Administrative Authorities moved three thousand KPA POWs, then controlled by the renegades, to Compound 71. The secret agents and the traitors among the KPA POWs were continually opposing the two hundred and thirty-four CPV POWs, and made use of anything they could as a pretext for provocation. They forcibly took the revolutionary comrades among the KPA POWs to a site near the tent where the CPV POWs stayed for flogging and branding. They then purposefully dropped the dead bodies murdered by them close to the tent of the CPV POWs. The underground Party branch of "the July 1 Repatriation Battalion" decided to reciprocate against this provocation by the secret agents and traitors, not giving in one inch. Posting additional sentries, they kept a close watch over the actions of the secret agents and the traitors. They sang "the Song of General Kim Il-sung" and "March of the People's Army" in Korean everyday, not only striking back against the provocation, but also supporting their Korean comrades-in-arms who were pursuing their own struggles.

One day, the renegades held an obscene and boisterous masked demonstration where they wantonly insulted the images of Chairman Mao
Zedong and President Kim Il-sung. The CPV POWs became infuriated. As the procession passed the tent, the CPV POWs picked up bricks and pieces of clay and flung them at the masked renegades, who scurried off like frightened rats. The procession was at once thrown into confusion. In order to guard against a retaliatory attack by the renegades, the CPV POWs slept with their clothes on, their heads resting on hastily prepared whips of iron wire and tent rods for several nights.

In the end the enemy's plot failed and the KPA POWs were moved to another camp.

In this way, "the July 1 Repatriation Battalion" was able to hold on until after "the April 8 Screening" was carried out by the American Army. They ultimately joined the other five thousand-odd CPV POWs who also insisted on returning home, and formed the so-called "Red POW Camp" for "direct repatriation."
Chapter Nine

The Smile of General Matthew B. Ridgway

It was the end of November 1951. At two o’clock one afternoon ten American Army planes appeared over Koje-do. After circling the island, the planes landed on heavily guarded open ground close to a harbor.

Over twenty people alighted from the plane, including three four-star generals, one three-star general, a pastor in black carrying a walking stick in his hand, and three to four correspondents with cameras hanging from their necks. Heading the group was General Ridgway, Commanding General, U.S. Army, Far East, and Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command. Over fifty years old with a well-shaven rectangular face, he appeared quite gentle and impressive in his yellow general’s uniform. Prior to his current appointment, he held the position of Vice-Chief of Staff of the American Army. On December 23, 1950, General Walker, Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army, died in a jeep accident at the frontline of the Korean War. General Ridgway was immediately appointed to take his place. On April 11, 1951, he was again promoted to replace General
MacArthur, who was dismissed from the position of Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command. He held that position until May 12 of the following year.

In the eyes of some Americans, General Ridgway's army career was quite enviable—a number of quick promotions without any serious military reverses or setbacks. When General Ridgway retired from his military service in July 1955, General Marshall, the former U.S. Defence Secretary, sent him a telegram stating, "I formally congratulate you on your brilliant military career, which has embodied your outstanding fighting techniques and leadership capability. You have achieved numerous feats of merit to be proud of. The one deed you can feel proudest of was the surprise attack you directed against the Baltic Sea, a distinguished achievement you attained in directing the battles in Korea." Regarding his distinguished achievement in Korea, it would be fair to say that the transfer of his post enabled him to pass on to his successor, General Clark, "an unenviable honor"—the obligation to sign an armistice agreement in the absence of winning the victory, an unprecedented event in American history.

General Ridgway visited the POW camps on Koje-do accompanied by General Van Fleet, Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army. As a commander, General Ridgway never forgot his duty to deal with the POWs in the intervals between battles. As early as January 6, 1951, when he was still
Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army, he wrote to General MacArthur, then Commander of the United Nations Command, regarding the issue of POWs. General Ridgway was worried about the "safety" of the large number of POWs located near the fighting zone. In his reply, General MacArthur told General Ridgway that he had previously suggested the POWs be moved to America. However Washington did not arrive at a quick decision regarding the transfer. Later, the two decided to place the POWs in the camps on the relatively large islands along the southern Korean coast. Following Ridgway's choice, the POWs were shipped to Koje-do, where twelve POW camps were quickly erected. Koje-do became home to over 100,000 POWs, a number far exceeding the capacity of the small island's limited natural resources.

The inspection group, occupying over twenty jeeps headed by General Ridgway, proceeded directly to Compound 72. Compound 72 was called the "Model POW Camp" by the American Army, for it was under the control of such secret agents and renegades as Wang Shunqing, Li Da'an, and others.

46 According to The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, at the end of February 1951, "53,588 POW's had been transported from Pusan to Koje-do" (p. 12), on 31 March 1951, the total camp population on Koje-do "was 98,799" (p. 13), and at the end of June 1951, "Koje-do's enclosures contained slightly more than 140,000 POW's" (p. 14).
of state, waving his hand in greeting to the POWs, and pausing now and then to shake hands with the "POW officers."

General Ridgway inspected the rows of the POWs, occasionally stopping to enter the iron sheet huts and tents for a brief look. He turned back in revulsion so quickly that he did not have the patience to listen to the obsequious introduction by the humble "POW officers." He could not tolerate the odors within the structures, as he had once written, "Korea is characterized by a highly obnoxious smell. As the fields are fertilized with night soil, the air in the country is filled with a strong stench, assaulting your senses and making it hard for people to bear." It seemed he had a rather acute sense of smell. It was unbearable for him to remain inside the huts, each crowded with over two hundred POWs and filled with the mixed smells of mouldy wet straw and sweaty bodies.

A group of POWs were singing in front of a tent. Ridgway stopped and looked them up and down with great interest. Reporters were standing aside, taking snapshots of the scene. An interpreter translated the words of the song into English for Ridgway. Most of the POWs were forced to sing by the threat of cudgels, yet in reality, not all of them could actually sing. Some did not know the five-note scale, while others simply yelled. It sounded rather chaotic. The first song they sang was called "Fight back to the Mainland." The tune was borrowed from a local ditty sung in Shanxi
Province, and the words were somewhat coarse. One member of this singing group was a POW named Che Xuezhi, who later recalled in September of 1979, "American and Taiwanese secret agents forced us to sing by using cudgels. While they were singing the song 'Fighting back to the Mainland,' I sang in a low voice 'Liberate Taiwan.' When they sang 'Never forget the blood debts the Communist bandits owed us,' I sang in a low voice 'Never forget the blood debts the Chiang Kai-shek bandits owed us.' The Taiwanese secret agents found out what I was singing, and they slapped me in the face so hard that I was unable to eat with my swollen mouth for four days." Ridgway, however, did not understand the songs I was singing. He looked extremely pleased with himself while he was listening to the songs.

A row of fifty ferocious looking POWs, headed by Li Da'an, stood in front of "the Great Hall of Freedom." Ridgway had long ago heard that Li Da'an was a firm anti-Communist member, and could handle his compound with great finesse. Nevertheless, this was the first opportunity Ridgway had to meet him. When Ridgway walked up to him, all of the POWs were ordered to remove their uniforms, exposing their yellowish-black bodies to the waist. Next they turned to the right, with their left arms akimbo. Their raised arms displayed tattooed characters, such as "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia" and "Kill a Pig for its Hair" (translator's note: "Pig" being
homonymic to the surname of Zhu De, Commander-in-Chief of the PLA; and "Hair" being homonymic to that of Mao Zedong, Chairman of the CPC. Some POWs had the KMT insignia tattooed in their backs and chests. Straightening up a little, Ridgway solemnly walked among the rows of the POWs. Their emaciated bodies shivered with cold, while their gaunt faces pretended to cheer up in the cold wind. An inexplicable feeling sprang up in his heart: could it be said that these POWs were anti-Communist heroes? He tried to smile at them, but failed. Instead, he coughed twice to cover up his unaccountable mood.

At that moment, Sun Yahui, the Deputy Compound Commander, approached Ridgway with a stack of papers in his hands, accompanied by Pastor Wu. Bowing deeply to General Ridgway, he handed him a "letter written in blood" signed by the entire compound, approximately seven thousand in number. Zhang Bi, the Taiwanese secret agent, had instructed Wang Shunqing to have this letter written and signed the previous night. He said to Wang Shunqing, "General Ridgway will inspect your compound tomorrow. You need to immediately prepare a letter written in blood and hand it to him personally." Wang Shunqing summoned the subcompound commanders to make arrangements that night. The letter was a fabrication, for only a few POWs signed their names, using their thumb prints to sign for the remainder of the compound according to the muster roll. The
following morning they delivered the letter to the Taiwanese secret agent for approval, and consulted with each other over the details of how best to present it to Ridgway. However, upon presentation, instead of stretching out his hand to take it, Ridgway turned to look at the Lieutenant Colonel of the military police standing behind him. The Lieutenant Colonel stepped forward, took "the letter written in blood" from Sun Yahui, then handed it over to Ridgway. He unfolded the white paper and found a KMT insignia in the middle, with a few lines of Chinese characters appearing beneath it. Pastor Wu translated the Chinese into English, reading it aloud to Ridgway and the other generals:

"We all escaped from the iron curtain. We would rather die than return to 'Red China.' We are determined to carry through to the end the struggle of 'Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia.' We will fight to the end with the democratic countries. We pray that the UN will send us to Taiwan as soon as possible." Surrounding the words were numerous signatures crowded together, a blood thumb print covering each. Ridgway carefully inspected the letter and had the interpreter tell Sun Yahui, "You may rest assured that the United Nations Command will give serious consideration to your wishes."
Ridgway re-enterd his jeep. Once the engine started, he turned to wave to the POWs inside the wire entanglements. Only then did he smile freely.

It needs to be pointed out that an important event occurred in the Korean War prior to General Ridgway's inspection of the POW camps, namely the two belligerent sides commenced armistice talks.

Following WWII, the U.S. regarded the U.S.S.R. as her principal opponent, the strategic focal point being Europe. At that time only six U.S. divisions were stationed in Europe, while nine other divisions were trapped on the Korean battlefield. The Wall Street Journal reported on December 16, 1950, "The White House, the Pentagon, the officials of the State Department, as well as the diplomats outlined, 'We've neglected Europe, and we've already been trapped in Korea. What on earth will happen?'"

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill also told the British Parliament that he "was particularly worried that conventional defence forces of Western Europe are in imminent danger. Russia has at least eighty infantry divisions while Western Europe has only twelve; and Russia has twenty-five to thirty armored divisions while we have only two in Western Europe."

In order to extricate itself from the Korean battlefield, the U.S. had to negotiate a cease-fire. The State Department drafted President Truman's proposed statement negotiating a cease-fire with the Chinese Government.
After approval by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department consulted with the other belligerent countries on the side of the Allied Powers, and informed MacArthur on March 20, 1951. However MacArthur, without authorization to stop the negotiation, issued a threatening statement to the Chinese Government on March 24. It stated, "The enemy (translator's note: People's Republic of China), therefore, must by now be painfully aware that a decision of the United Nations to depart from its tolerant effort to contain the war to the area of Korea, through an expansion of our military operations to its (translator's note: China's) coastal areas and interior bases, would doom Red China to the risk of imminent military collapse."

Responding to MacArthur's threat, the spokesman for the Chinese General Association of Resist America and Aid Korea War responded contemptuously. On learning of MacArthur's statement, Truman became "pale with rage." President Truman felt that "This is an open defiance of the order issued by myself as President and the Supreme Commander." He believed that "actually, MacArthur's move indicates an ultimatum to threaten the enemy, namely all the armed forces of the Allied Powers are available for attacking Red China--Just as expected, such an influence has been immediately exerted on our Allies. Inquiry telegrams are pouring in from every capital throughout the world."
On April 10, President Truman instructed General Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to deliver a message to MacArthur: "I deeply regret that it becomes my duty as President and Commander-in-chief of the United States military forces to replace you as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers; Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command; Commander-in-Chief, Far East; and Commanding General, U.S. Army, Far East. You will turn over your commands, effective at once, to Lt.-Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway." MacArthur issued the following comments regarding his dismissal from his office, "At two o'clock on the morning of April 11, when one of my retinue heard the news from a broadcast, he immediately passed it on to my wife, and she, in turn, informed me of the news." He said that such a way of dismissing an officer from his post "has never been heard of in the U.S. Army, nor has it been the case in any country. Never has an office boy, an attendant, an odd-job woman or any other kind of servant been discharged so ruthlessly without consideration of their basic dignity."

On May 31, Archeson, U.S. Secretary of State, with the help of Kennan, his advisor and once ambassador to the U.S.S.R., held a personal interview with Mr. Malek, the Soviet Union's representative to the U.N., seeking the possibility of a cease-fire negotiation to the Korean War. On June 23, a radio program entitled "the Cost of Peace" presented by the U.N.
Information Department, broadcasted a speech by Malek proposing the two belligerent sides of the Korean War conduct cease-fire negotiations, and that all the foreign military troops from both sides withdraw from the Korean Peninsula. After the broadcast, General Ridgway, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command, was empowered by the American Government to invite representatives from North Korea and China for a consultation concerning the possibility of a cease-fire negotiation. On June 30, Ridgway broadcasted a statement to the Korean and Chinese armed forces:

"As Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command, I have been instructed to communicate to you the following: I am informed that you may wish a meeting to discuss an armistice providing for the cessation of hostilities and all acts of armed force in Korea, with adequate guarantees for the maintenance of such armistice.

Upon the receipt of word from you that such a meeting is desired I shall be prepared to name my representative. I propose that such a meeting could take place aboard a Danish hospital ship in Wonsan Harbor."

Responding to his proposal, Prime Minister Kim Il-sung and Commander-in-Chief Peng Dehuai issued their reply on July 1 via a radio broadcast:
"We have received your statement made on June 30 concerning the armistice talks. We are empowered to make a statement to you: We agree to hold armistice talks with your representatives in order to stop military actions and establish peace. We suggest the meeting place be in Kaesong on the 38th Parallel. If you agree, we'll have our representatives meet your representatives during the period from July 10 to July 15, 1951."

On July 8 each side presented a formal list of the representatives.

U.N. Command representatives:

Joy (Chief Negotiator), Commander and Vice Admiral of the American Far East Fleet (later, in June 1952, was replaced by Harrison, Vice Admiral)

Craigie, Major General of the U.S. Air Force

Hodes, Major General of the U.S. Army

Burke, Rear Admiral of the U.S. Navy

Paik Sun-yup, Major General of Syngman Rhee's Army

North Korean and Chinese representatives:

Nam Il, (Chief Negotiator) Senior General, Commander of the Second Army Group of the KPA

Lee Sang-cho, Major General of the KPA

Deng Hua, Vice Commander-in-Chief of the CPV
Jie Fang, Chief of Staff of the CPV.47

The armistice talks formally began in Kaesong at 11 o’clock on June 10th. The two sides exchanged their opinions concerning the topics for discussion. The representatives from North Korea and China set forward the following points:

1. Establish the 38th Parallel as a military demarcation line and create a demilitarization zone to be located within ten kilometers from the south of the 38th Parallel and ten kilometers from the north of the 38th Parallel;
2. Discuss the issue of POW repatriation;
3. Withdraw all foreign troops from Korea within a short period of time.

From the start of the armistice talks, POW repatriation became an issue for both sides. Since July 10, 1951, the Korean War had entered into an intricate period in which the two sides continued talks at the negotiation table while the fighting went on. The military action on the Korean battlefield was more or less directly related to the discussions at the negotiation table. Ridgway’s trip to the POW camps probably contributed to the dilemma at the negotiation table.

47 The fifth representative on the North Korean and Chinese side is missing here. Chang Pyong-san, Chief of Staff of the KPA I Corps also participated in the armistice talks as one of the five Communist representatives (C.F. David Rees: Korea: The Limited War, Kingsport Press, Inc., 1964, p. 290).
Regretfully, his trip to the POW camps was not mentioned in General Ridgway’s reminiscences, "Korean War," published in 1967. He probably thought it a trifle not worth mentioning. Thus, this chapter was based primarily on the recollections of the POWs. Following their recounting, I asked them, "Do you know that Ridgway once intended to take you to the Mariana Islands or Saipan Island?" They were taken aback and looked puzzled. I went on to tell them that Ridgway once stated at the Military Committee of the American Senate Meeting in 1951 that he "was for a time thinking of sending the fifty to sixty thousand diehard Communist POWs to the Mariana Islands or Saipan Island, or even to the United States." After hearing this, they became lost in thought for a long while, and then uttered, "If . . ." then they sighed deeply and fell silent once again.

Soon after General Ridgway’s inspection tour to the POW camps, both sides at the negotiation table announced population figures for the POWs in the camps.

When the two sides exchanged the lists of POWs, the Korean and Chinese side offered to the American side a list of the names written in their mother tongues, while the American side offered a list of North Korean and Chinese POWs whose names were recorded in English,
omitting their army ranks and the units they belonged to. Thus the American list was entirely unidentifiable.48

During the negotiation process, the POW repatriation became the most sensitive and disputable issue for both sides.

The North Korean and Chinese set forward the following points concerning this issue:

1. All POWs should be repatriated unconditionally;
2. The wounded and sick should be repatriated as a collective unit within a short period of time following the cease-fire;
3. The repatriation may be carried out in Panmunjom;
4. An identical number of representatives are to be appointed from both sides to the Repatriation Committee under the Cease-fire Commission.

However the United Nations Command set forward the principle of "voluntary repatriation." They found that the majority of the Chinese POWs were opposed to repatriation, or were afraid of being repatriated by force.

48Such a name list of North Korean and Chinese POWs is most probably true, but the U.S. side did not do it on purpose. What is recorded on pages 23-24 of The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War will explain, "The difficulty of translation of Korean and Chinese names into English made the few available records of little value. Existing fingerprints on official records were, for the most part, of mediocre quality, having been prepared by personnel who had little or no qualification for the task. Furthermore, POW's often utilized means to avoid positive identification, later screenings revealing that multiple identifications of single individuals frequently existed. The constant compounding of such errors made it impossible to identify many thousands of POW's with official records until complete refingerprinting and fingerprint classification was accomplished."
Thus they reasoned that repatriation had to honor the individual POW’s will.

On this point, General Mark Clark, who succeeded General Ridgway in May 1952 as Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command, issued a relatively straightforward statement: "The POW issue concerns far more than a question of those who refused to be repatriated. In the present war, or in future wars, the principle of allowing our enemy’s military personnel to seek permanent asylum in the free world will show to the several million soldiers and officers of the Korean People’s Army, Russians, and the people of its satellite countries, that they can take the safer road of refuge other than being killed, or returning to the slavery of the Communist World."

One reason the United Nations Command put forward the principle of "voluntary repatriation" included the "letter written in blood" handed to General Ridgway.

In reality, the paper given to Ridgway was the fourth "letter written in blood" submitted by Compound 72.

One evening in mid-July, 1951, three months prior to Ridgway's inspection trip to Compound 72, Wu Jiansheng, Vice-Compound Commander of Compound 72, summoned to the headquarters of Subcompound 5 over forty "POW officers" above company commander for
a meeting. The "POW officers" included Wei Shixi, Li Da’an, Qiu Ruliang, Zhao Shaozhong, Dai Shouqiong, etc. At the meeting, Qiu Ruliang and Dai Shouqiong unfolded six large sheets of paper. Painted in the middle of each sheet was a seven to eight inch long portrait of Chiang Kai-shek. Several lines of an oath were written beneath his picture. Qiu Ruliang held the paper high, while Dai Shouqiong began to read the words under the dim light.

"What we have suffered in the Communist Army in the past has been unbearable. We’ll never return to Mainland China. We’ll go to Taiwan and follow President Chiang."

Then Wu Jiansheng spoke. He said, "These six sheets of paper were given by Mr. Yao, from the Taiwanese Embassy to South Korea. Mr. Yao revealed that the CPC has been holding armistice talks with America. He wanted us to express our determination never to return to Mainland China by writing several blood letters, which he has promised to deliver to both Ridgway and Taiwan."

After several others spoke in turn, Li Da’an took the lead in shouting slogans. They then signed their names to the six sheets of paper, pricked their finger tips with needles, and then sealed their signatures with bloodied prints.
Within several days they encouraged five to six hundred additional POWs to add their names to the sheets, each accompanied by a bloody finger print. Li Da’an, Zhao Shaozhong, Wu Jiansheng and Qiu Ruliang each kept one copy, the remainder were handed over to Mr. Yao.

In mid-August, Li Da’an again ordered each subcompound to write a letter in blood. He instructed the blood letter to be handed over to Pastor Wu, who would then submit them to the Military Police Headquarters on Koje-do. From there they would be transferred to the higher authorities. From that time on they forced the POWs to sign their names and press their bloody finger prints by the use of threats and ruthless beatings.

At midnight one night, the POWs were suddenly awakened and driven out of their tents. Li Da’an led the garrison team through the POW camp. With a cudgel in his hand, he shouted, "President Chiang’s warships are already at anchor at the harbor. You can go to Taiwan immediately after signing your names. Those who refuse to do so will be killed and offered as sacrifices to the flags." This forced the POWs to press their finger prints on the blood letter. Several patriotic POWs, who would rather die than sign their names, were first struck unconscious by the renegades, then forced to press their finger prints. Han Zijian, a secretary in charge of organizational work of the CPV, recalled on October 18, 1961:
"One night, everyone had been sleeping for quite a long time when the enemy squad leader, along with some renegades, came in a hurry and urged us to get up, get dressed at once, and then go to the subcompound headquarters to sign our names. I explained to them that I was too sick to go. I was given a vicious beating by the squad leader and the renegades. I lay down on the floor and would not stand up. As a result, the renegades dragged me to the subcompound headquarters. Once I was inside, two people gripped my arms while another one pricked my finger with a needle and pressed my finger print on my alias. Afterward, I was dragged back to the tent."

The following day, Li Da’an came to remove Han Zijian and four other "Communist elements" for a vicious beating. They were put into the "model squad." Li Da’an declared in public, "Anyone can beat and curse these diehards. It will serve them right if they are beaten to death!" In the "model squad" there were always people to keep watch over them, even when they went to the toilet. They had to "report" when they wanted to turn over in bed at night. Two of the renegades who kept watch over them randomly beat them with cudgels.

Two days later, the blood letter containing over three thousand signatures was submitted to the Colonel of the American Military Police by Li Da’an and Wei Shixi, with Pastor Wu serving as interpreter. The Colonel
replied to them, "I have known of your problem. Pastor Wu has told me everything about it." The letter was soon passed on to General Ridgway. In September, Li Da'an and Wei Shixi received a printed copy of the blood letter with Ridgway's signature.

Toward the end of October, Compound 72 was engaged in a large-scale drive to attain the signatures and blood finger prints of the POWs and send the blood letters to Taiwan. This time three copies were made. Wang Shunqing declared that, "One will be sent to the U.N. by the Military Police Headquarters; another will be delivered to the Taiwanese Embassy in South Korea in Pusan by Mr. Yao; and the third one to Bieri, plenipotentiary representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross." Because Mr. Yao would leave for Tokyo by air early next morning, and a large number of POWs were working outside the camp for the American Army, Wang Shunqing, Li Da'an and others instructed several POWs to sign their names on behalf of the others of Compound 72 according to the muster roll. They then entrusted the task of pressing the finger prints on the document to each squad. Thus, a letter written in blood, signed by over seven thousand six hundred POWs, was fabricated overnight. The letter appeared in newspapers and magazines, such as "New Life," in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea. Now the secret agents and the renegades realized they could deceive the world without dragging in so many people to do the
job. From then on, more and more letters of a similar nature were produced. Finally the Taiwanese secret agents had to remind them "not to turn out too many."

The blood letter General Ridgway accepted so solemnly from Vice-compound Commander Sun Yahui was also "written" overnight in the same way.

At the end of July 1951, Li Da’an led the POWs to a dock to unload American warships. While working, a gaunt POW, bare to the waist and carrying a heavy sack of rice on his back, accidentally lost his footing and rolled down the gangway. Li Da’an went up and gave him a kick, sending him rolling to the ground. Li Da’an noticed at a glance a tattoo on his left arm. Looking closely, he saw four Chinese characters which said "Kill a Pig for Its Hair." Upon inquiry, he was told that the POW obtained the tattoo before 1949 while he was serving with the troops of Yan Xishan, a local warlord in Shanxi Province.

Several days later, Qiu Ruliang, a subcompound commander, brought Li Da’an a KMT newspaper. He pointed to a photo: a KMT soldier was tattooed with Chinese characters on his arm, meaning "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia." Xiu Ruliang said, "This was brought by an American reporter." Li Da’an told him, "All those who served in Yan Xishan’s troops
had to be tattooed with the words "Kill a Pig for Its Hair." In this way, the soldiers dared not surrender themselves to the Communist troops."

"Let us start our own tattooing drive," suggested Qiu Ruliang.

"Let's first consult with the Americans and Xiao Zhang (referring to the Taiwanese secret agent--Zhang Bi) before we start. It won't take too long," said Li Da'an.

Thus, the primitive and savage tattooing in the POWs' bodies was put into practice by Li Da'an and Qiu Ruliang, with the instruction and support of American intelligence personnel and Taiwanese secret agents.

On August 3, 1951, the first group of over two hundred POWs headed by Li Da'an had the characters "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia" tattooed on their left arms. Those POWs were the so-called "loyal elements" who were firmly opposed to the Communists. The following day, American "reporters" and Taiwanese secret agents came to take photos of the POWs. Before long several newspapers in South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and America printed these photos under the title "The POWs of the CPV swear not to return to the Mainland."

In the beginning the POWs had to apply for tattoos. Each POW had to secure two sponsors, and approval had to be given by Li Da'an or others. Those who received tattoos would be well fed and assigned less labor. They declared that, "The first batch of POWs tattooed have shown their loyalty
to the KMT, and therefore can be promoted to become high-ranking officers after reaching Taiwan." On the surface, those POWs were not only willing to be tattooed, but also had the "firm determination" of "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia." However, things were not that simple. For example, Yang Shaokui, a CPV soldier from a farmer's family, wrote in February 1954 on how he was forced to be "willing" to be tattooed:

The squad leader came to have a talk with me, threatening me to get a tattoo. I was quite afraid of being tattooed, for I was worried that I couldn't return home as a result. I refused to be tattooed the first time, and they punished me with hard labor and no food for a whole day. Then the vice squad leader came to rope me in by saying that soon everyone would be forced to be tattooed, even if they now refused. He wanted me to consider the advantages of being tattooed voluntarily. I got scared, and in order not to get the worst of it, I applied to be tattooed. The vice squad leader drafted my application, I only signed it. The application included a pledge not to return to Mainland China. The application must also express his firm determination to oppose the CPC and resist Russia, and to absolutely obey the instructions of the United Nations Command. After being tattooed, I became increasingly homesick day by day. I had no appetite for three days and as a result, I became sick.

Toward the end of October someone claiming to be an "official from the Taiwanese Embassy" to South Korea, together with a Taiwanese secret agent, came to Compound 72 to meet with Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an.

The "official" from the Embassy pointed out to Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an that, "at the present time, the Panmunjom armistice talks are going
on rather heatedly. One of the key issues is that of the POWs. You'd better start a tattooing drive in the POW camps, then prepare one more letter written in blood. I'll have it delivered to the negotiation table at Panmunjom."

The "official from the Embassy" asked Li Da'an afterward, "Are there any CPC members among those who have been tattooed?"

"Not yet," replied Li Da'an.

"You should also have the CPC members tattooed. The more that are tattooed, the weaker the enemy's side will become."

Following this, the forced tattooing of POWs increased in the camps. In Compound 72, Wang Shunqing was in overall charge of the tattooing process, while Li Da'an was responsible for supervision and inspection. They publicly declared, "Those who are unwilling to be tattooed will be punished as pro-Communists." Meanwhile, they instructed those POWs already tattooed to beat up those who refused. The latter received no food during the day, and no quilts at night. Additionally, they were forced to undergo "exhausting interrogation" for several days at a time. Many POWs, after being beaten into a semi-unconsciousness, were tattooed by force. The same day Wang Shunqing gave a mobilization talk to the entire compound, two POWs were beaten to death. Zeng Yutian was the first to be beaten semi-unconscious. His anus was cut off, and finally, after suffering in severe
pain, he died of his injuries. After Zhang Kewu was severely beaten, he spat blood from his mouth, passed bloody urine, and then died. Li Fuqing was also beaten unconscious, tied to a wooden pillar, and then forcibly tattooed. Wang Yuming, the subcompound commander, revived him by throwing cold water on him, saying, "Even if you die, you shall see the King of the Hell with the words 'Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia" tattooed on your arm."49

White terror reigned over the POW camps. Many POWs who had been forcibly tattooed cried through the night. Some POWs, withstanding great pain, tried to scrape the tattooed words from their arms by using razor blades the moment they returned to their tents. Others even hanged themselves. After the hangings occurred, the renegades removed the trouser belts of those who had been forcibly tattooed. Nevertheless, there were still quite a few POWs who committed suicide by swallowing broken pieces of glass or razor blades.

Several years, or even several decades later, when recalling this bitter period, many POWs were still filled with rage and could not help bursting into bitter tears. The following is what they recalled.

Wang Xuewen (a company cultural instructor of the CPV)

49This is confirmed by The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, which says,"a small-scale war was taking place between Communist and non-Communist elements within the compounds. Murders and atrocities became commonplace" (p. 26).
"The company commander ordered me to go to the company headquarters, and asked me if I would get tattooed. I replied that I was afraid of the pain. He came close to me and slapped my face twice. After that, two garrison team members slapped my face in turn, till it streamed with blood and my mouth was swollen. The company commander asked me again if I felt pain. I could not open my mouth to speak. He then let me go back to think it over. About three days later, he ordered me to go to the headquarters again, and wanted me to get tattooed. Still I refused to do so. Then they tied me up. I was first denounced in the squad. I was forced to confess my wrongdoings while being beaten. Afterward, they took me to the company headquarters again, where they hit me so hard with the handle of a pickaxe that I rolled about on the floor. This is how I was tattooed with the characters 'Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia' on my arm."

Zhao Nianzhi (head of a medical team of a CPV regiment)

"The enemy forced us to have the characters 'Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia' tattooed on our arms. I firmly refused to do it. I shouted in front of over fifty POWs, 'Resolutely oppose the persecution of the POWs by the U.S. imperialists!' 'I am determined not to be tattooed!' 'I am determined to return to our motherland, and I'll never go to Taiwan!' The enemy accused me of being a diehard Communist element, and of trying to organize a 'rebellion.' Therefore, they ordered each of the people present
to each beat me five times with a cudgel. I was immediately beaten unconscious. It was then that the enemy forcibly tattooed the characters on my arm."

Zhang Da(a staff officer on probation in the CPV)

"One night, Li Da’an had me brought to him. As soon as I entered the tent, Li Da’an questioned me while striking the table, "Why haven’t you got tattooed?"

"I want to return to my motherland," I replied.

"If you go back to China, the CPC will either cast you into prison or kill you. The only way out for you is to get tattooed and go to Taiwan," Li Da’an continued.

"I would rather be put into jail or killed than to have those characters tattooed on my arm," I answered.

Hardly had I finished my words when Li Da’an tore open my coat and pressed a burning cigarette butt on my chest. Immediately the smell of burnt flesh assailed my nostrils. It was so painful that I saw stars in front of my eyes.

"Do you want to get tattooed?" asked Li Da’an once again.

"No."

They then tied me to a broken iron chair and connected it to electricity. I immediately fainted. After pouring cold water over me, I
revived. They again asked me whether I would get tattooed or not. I still refused to do so. This time, they resorted to cudgeling and pouring hot pepper water into my nose. After I fainted several times under this torture, they bound me to a pillar in the tent and tattooed my arm.

When I came to, I found Pastor Wu and Pastor Han standing in front of me. They started to pray for me, "May God forgive the sinner!" "You should forsake darkness for light. Don't be chained to the CPC." My parents were both Buddhists. Under their influence I had more or less believed in Buddhism. But at that moment, I saw through the pure sham of religion. I spat at them and cursed, "You are the real sinners. . . ." With that, I fainted again.

Later, when I returned to the tent, I immediately scraped away the characters with a razor. The scar has remained on my body ever since then, and my spiritual suffering will never be forgotten."

Of the eight thousand POWs of the CPV in Compound 72, three thousand had been tattooed when General Ridgway arrived for inspection. The day after Ridgway's arrival, Wang Shunqing and Li Da'an gathered all the "POW officers" for a meeting where they declared that everyone in the compound must get tattooed. The only exceptions were to be the disabled and the fishermen (those men captured by American warships along the Chinese coast). Those who persisted in refusing would be forcibly tattooed.
Later, an American "correspondent" asked Li Da’an and Wei Shixi, "Are the characters tattooed on the arms of the Communists the same as those of the others?"

"Yes, they are," replied Wei Shixi.

"You should make a distinction between them. Then, when you go to Taiwan, people can tell at a glance a CPC member from a KMT member," the American "correspondent" said.

Afterward, those "POW officers" above the rank of squad leader had a map of China tattooed alongside the characters "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia." A picture of a pig was added to the arms of the CPC members. According to Li Da’an’s confession, this was the Taiwanese secret agent Xu De’s idea. Li Da’an himself heard Xu De state, "Have a large pig tattooed on the arms of all the Communist bandits. They should also have the characters 'Kill a Pig for Its Hair' and 'Mop up the Communist Bandits' on their arms. As for those die-hard elements, have the characters tattooed on their skulls."

In his confession in 1957, Li Da’an told of how they tattooed Zhang, a former vice-battalion commander of the CPV.

"While in the Subcompound of the Officer POWs of Compound 72, Zhang tried to set up a CPC group, which was discovered by Wang Youmin, the subcompound commander. At that time, Wang Shunqing told
me, "Buddy, you should go there for a look and give that guy a good lesson." When I arrived, I sent for Zhang. At the subcompound headquarters, Wang Youmin presented me with a cudgel, which I used to give Zhang a good beating. Wang Youmin, with the help of several others, had a large pig tattooed on Zhang's arm, on the body of which were tattooed the characters "Kill a Pig for Its Hair" and "Mop up the Communist Bandits." After that, Wang Youmin threatened Zhang, saying, "If you still do not behave yourself properly, we'll have the characters tattooed on your face."

By March, 1952, of the 8,000 POWs of the CPV in Compound 72, 6,000 had been tattooed. Many POWs in other camps had also been tattooed. Wang Shunqing and Li Da'an asked the "official" from the Taiwanese Embassy to South Korea to deliver to General Ridgway a list of the names of those who had been tattooed, along with a letter written in blood signed by seven thousand POWs, to demonstrate the determination of the CPV POWs "to go to Taiwan and never to return to Mainland China."

General Matthew B. Ridgway again smiled, gently and complacently. Yet behind his smile the POWs of the CPV were bleeding, groaning, and crying. What had been burned onto their bodies was a life-long suffering and hatred.
Chapter Ten

"Screening" Under the Death Shadow

"At the end of a war all prisoners are to be released and repatriated without delay (except those held for trial or serving sentence imposed by judicial process)."

-- On the treatment of POWs in the Geneva Convention

On December 10, 1951, the armistice talks of the Korean War entered into the third item on the agenda regarding the repatriation of the POWs. Due to past historical events, both China and Korea were artificially divided into two parts with two opposing governments. Thus, the question of POW repatriation could potentially become more complicated. On December 12, representatives of North Korea and China suggested repatriating all POWs from both sides, a concept based on both the Geneva Convention and humanist principles. However the United Nations Command did not issue a reply until three weeks later, during which time Washington adopted the following attitude in the negotiations: under no circumstances should the United Nations Command permit those POWs unwilling to return home to be repatriated to the Communist China. Thus,
the representatives of the United Nations Command put forward a program of "one to one exchange" and "voluntary repatriation" in order to attempt to retain a large number of POWs. At the beginning of February, 1952, the Korean and Chinese side again suggested that those POWs, once repatriated, should not return to the Korean War, rather they should be sent home to lead a peaceful life. This suggestion significantly advanced POW negotiations, and subsequently both sides entered into the conference of staff officers to discuss specific details of the repatriation. Yet, by the beginning of March the principles of POW repatriation remained untackled and the negotiations arrived at a stalemate.

In the Korean armistice talks, the heated debate over the POW issue was an unprecedented event in the war history of the world.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. decided to adopt the principle of "voluntary repatriation." Following this discussion, they issued an order to screen the POWs.50 General M. Ridgway, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command, issued this order to the Eighth U.S. Army, who in turn issued it to the U.S. POW Administrative Authorities in Pusan. After

50 According to The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, Operation Scatter, which was "aimed at camp reorganization and the separation of Communist from non-Communist POW's into compounds of manageable size, went into effect at Koje-do on 8 April and at Pusan on 15 April. The plans for this operation called for all prisoners to be polled to determine how many would forcibly resist repatriation to North Korea or Communist China in the event of an armistice" (p. 26).
careful preparation, the "screening" among the POWs commenced, an event labeled "humanitarian."

On April 2, 1952, Li Da'an fell ill. He suffered acutely from a stomachache, causing him to continually thrash in bed.

Pastor Wu Boli and a few KMT secret agents became worried over his condition, continually coming into and going out of Li's shed. They ultimately located a U.S. Lieutenant physician to treat him.

Pastor Wu, standing beside Li's bed, said, "I wish you would recover soon. The 'screening' policy will begin right away, and we have many things to do. We need your help. Before the 'screening' begins, we want you to conduct several speeches to warn them that we won't provide board and lodging for those who want to go back to Mainland China, nor will we send them back. You know that those POWs who believe in Christianity mostly belong to your compound. I have reported their names to the higher authorities, and have distributed Bibles to them. Those who want to go back are devils. God will not forgive them." He chattered on for a while, and finally made the sign of the cross.

Several KMT secret agents brought large packets of candies, crackers and cigarettes to Li Da'an and said to him, "The storm is coming. Darkness will exist before the dawn. In a few days 'screening' will take place among the POWs. We are planning to go away for the time being, otherwise the
Communists will argue over the negotiation table that it is we who are manipulating the POW camp. However, you can contact us through Master Lin, for it is convenient for us to carry out our work in his name. You must bring all the POWs under control, and you must not let them return to Mainland China. We hope that you will prove yourself by this test. Tell the POWs that the Americans will not send them back to Communist China, rather they plan to kill them on the warships stationed in the Pacific Ocean. Before 'screening' commences, you must dig out those POWs who insist on returning, and kill them."

Li Da’an struggled to sit up, but was gently pushed down again. He removed the dagger lying under his pillow and said, "This time I must kill a few Communists."

On the morning of April 5, the negotiations over the repatriation of the POWs in Panmunjom arrived at the fourth item. The conference of the staff officers now adjourned for two weeks, and the American Army decided to take advantage of this time to "screen" the North Korean and Chinese POWs.

That afternoon, Zhang Bi, a Taiwanese secret agent, gathered together the subcompound commanders and deputy commanders of Compound 72 for a meeting in Wang Shunqing's room. Zhang Bi took out his camera to have his picture taken with the "POW officers," then said to
them, "I am not willing to leave you. Instead, I am willing to share the hardships and difficulties with you here. But to avoid the Communists' accusation that we are manipulating you, I have to leave for the time being. Later, you can contact us through Master Lin. 'Screening' is a tough job, yet it is also a personal test for you."

Toward the end of the meeting, Pastor Wu Boli entered. He shook hands with all present, and with a smile asked them to sit down. He then said, "Compound 72 has been doing very well in the camp, and the United Nations Command trusts you fully. This time, if too many POWs want to return home, the United Nations Command will believe that you have cheated them and you will lose their trust. It won't do any good to those who have been tattooed to return home." No sooner had Pastor Wu finished his speech than Wang Shunqing and Li Da'an nodded their heads and said, "Please pass on to the United Nations Command our determination in this effort, and our pledge not to let the POWs return to Mainland China. We will take them to Taiwan."

On the morning of April 6, the spokesmen for the Supreme Headquarters of the Korean People's Army, and of the Chinese People's Volunteers' Headquarters, issued the following statement concerning repatriation of the POWs: "The Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers have always maintained that following the peaceful end
to the hostilities, the two belligerent parties are to release all POWs immediately. This proposition should not be altered simply because some of our POWs have had their arms tattooed, have written documents, or have committed similar deeds during their detention. We know quite well that they did not do such things of their own free will, thus they should not be held responsible. We warmly welcome those who are willing to return to our motherland. In the agreement with the United Nations Command, we ensure all POWs a happy family reunion following their repatriation, and we will allow them to participate in the peaceful reconstruction to lead a peaceful life." (This statement was not proclaimed by the American side among the Korean and Chinese POWs).

At one o'clock that afternoon Colonel Bell arrived at Koje-do from U.N. Headquarters in Toyko and called a meeting at the headquarters of Compound 72. He acted on behalf of General Dodd, the officer in charge of all POW affairs. Participating in the meeting were the CPV’s POW representatives from Compounds 70, 71, 72, and 86. Bell lit a cigarette, inhaling twice. Displaying an air of great solemnity, he said, "I am very sorry to inform all present that during the negotiations of Panmunjom, the Chinese Communists’ attitude was very tough. They demand the repatriation of all POWs to their homeland. The United Nations Command is considering whether to comply with this demand or not. Bell had hardly
finished his speech when a few of the renegades and prearranged secret agents stood up and cried, "We won't go back to Mainland China. We want to go to Taiwan." Some of them even raised their hands, shouting slogans around Colonel Bell.

Bell remained seated, smoking silently. He glared at Sun Zhenguang, a CPC member and representative of Compound 71. Sun speaking in English, told Bell, "The Geneva Convention has stipulated that all the POWs be repatriated. The United States put their signature to the Geneva Convention. All Korean and Chinese POWs must be repatriated unconditionally." Sun Zhenguang's words were drowned out by the renegades' clamour, but Colonel Bell had heard Sun's words.

After the renegades quieted down, Bell rose to his feet and said, "In consideration of the POWs' wishes, the United Nations Command has decided to conduct "screening" in the next few days to ensure voluntary repatriation according to each POW's individual desire."

Sun Zhenguang immediately protested that "such a 'screening' is illegal." Sun was dragged out of the headquarters of Compound 72 by the renegades.

At that time, the broadcasting car outside the wire entanglements began its job, "Attention please, POWs. The United Nations Command will carry out 'screening' among all the POWs in a couple of days. Those who
desire to return to Mainland China will be repatriated to the Mainland. Those unwilling to go back will be sent to Taiwan. This concerns your future, please consider your choice carefully. Do not tell others of your decision beforehand. Those few Communists who refuse to undergo ‘screening’ will be responsible for their actions."

That night, two hundred and fifty-six CPV POWs of Compound 71 sent an emergency message to Brigadier General Dodd. The message outlined six requests (however only 4 requests could be found in the "Notes of the Major Events in the POW Camps" recorded by the CPV POWs in October 1953): 1. Gather all the POWs, and declare the contents of the statement jointly issued by the Headquarters of the CPV and the KPA; 2. Allow the highest-ranking POW officer (the highest rank is Colonel in Compound 71) to explain the contents of the statement; 3. Examine all the POW officers in the POW camp, and conduct a 24 hour patrol and guard in and out of the camps to prevent any blood shedding; and 4. Those POWs who are critically ill (480 people in the roll) are to be transferred to Compound 71 to ensure their safety.

The broadcasting car of the American Army was still operating, outside the wire entanglements of Compound 72 at ten o’clock, April 7th. The POWs emerged from their tents to see what was going on, as the whistle sounded for a fall-in.
The POWs were driven by Li Da’an and his garrison team members to "the Great Hall of Freedom" with their cudgels. While beating the POWs, Li cried, "What is there for you to listen to? This is not an exchange of POWs. The Americans are just testing us. I'll kill anyone who dares to return to Mainland China." A scroll of scribbled characters hung in front of the hall. It read, "Oppose-the-CPC-and-Resist-Russia-Oath-Taking Rally." Beneath it was a large poster displaying two roads, one a bright road with clothes and rice appearing at the end, the other one was marked as a "death road," with cudgels and knives at the end.

Wang Shunqing stood on the platform, his hands behind his back. He cleared his voice but didn't speak. He raised his head to the subcompound commander on duty instructing him to first sing a song.

Sing first! The same old stuff. The first song was "Fighting back to Mainland China," the second was "Jesus Christ Saved Me." The hall was very noisy.

What on earth did Wang want to say? Everyone knew what the loudspeaker outside the wire entanglements was broadcasting and what people were talking about. The picture poster in front of the Hall plainly showed what they wanted to say, the "bright road" leads to Taiwan, the "death Road" leads to Mainland China.
"I just want to ask you a question," Wang Shunqing smiled maliciously.

The Hall calmed down. Wang Shunqing pointed to a POW, "You answer the question. Yes, it is you. Don't be nervous. Everyone present is from the Communist side. This question is not difficult to answer. Good, please tell us what the seventh item of the battlefield discipline of the Communist army is?"

This question was easy to answer. "I would rather die than be captured."

"Good, repeat it aloud."

"Today I want to explain this sentence. Everyone knows the discipline of the Communist Party. Being a prisoner means death, and by returning to the Mainland you will only be the target of criticism and attack. You will not be able to clear yourself for the rest of your life."

He pointed to the picture poster and stopped talking.

The Hall was so quiet that the people could distinctly hear the loudspeaker broadcasting outside.

Wang Shunqing wanted to laugh, but restrained himself. He then declared, "The meeting is over."

On the afternoon of April 7, Pastor Wu Boli was extremely busy. He travelled to every POW camp spreading the rumour: "This time it is not the
release of the POWs but separation. We want to separate the Communists from us."

Compound 72 and Compound 86 broke into companies to "discuss" Wang's speech. Each meeting was divided into two opposing sides, one with those who wanted to return to Mainland China, and those who were "unwilling" to go back. Before each meeting commenced, Wang Shunqing's instructions were presented: "Those who want to return to Mainland China stand out. We'll send you back and won't punish you." Many POWs were terrified by the brutal torture, and they dared not stand out. Only those staunch few who firmly wanted to return stood out. When the "discussion" ended, this group was confined to the toilet room of the shed.

From the night of April 7 to the morning of April 8, a terrible atmosphere enveloped the Koje-do POW Enclosures. The American soldiers surrounded the POW camps with loaded guns, while the watchtowers were fitted with the machine guns. Tanks and armored cars patrolled the camps. Searchlight beams probed the dark night sky as red tracer shells swept over the POW camps, and the police dogs howled eerily.

Within the wire entanglements, each road end and shed door was guarded by garrison team members armed with cudgels, swords, mattocks, iron spades, tent poles and daggers. All POWs were driven into the sheds except the "POW officers" wearing armbands. No one was allowed free
movement. Everywhere one could hear hysterical cries and moans from their cruel torture, accompanied by the shouting of slogans from the POWs. POW blood, both physical and mental, flowed through the night.

This night of terror commenced with the cutting of human flesh by Li Da’an.

Li Da’an rushed ferociously to the first subcompound of Compound 72 with a specially made knife—a razor tied to the handle of a toothbrush—in his hand. He pulled out Zheng Botao, a small 18 year old Volunteer. Previously Zheng had been forcibly tattooed with the words "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia" on his arm by Li Da’an. With the knife, Li Da’an cut Zheng’s arm to the bone. Emitting a bitter cry, Zheng fainted. Li barbecued a piece of his flesh on a kerosene lamp, then put it in his mouth. While chewing, he said, "The Americans say that you have lived on the United Nations Command. Leave your flesh here if you want to go back."

He then cut the flesh from the arms of a dozen men. He drew a thin piece of linen thread though each piece of flesh and held it in his hand. He cried, "Leave your flesh if you want to go home."

He proceeded to the second subcompound and gathered all the POWs to watch him cut the flesh from arms. First he cut the arm of Lin Xuepu, an English teacher in the CPV, then tore his skin downwards. Blood
ran down his arm. Lin remaind silent, his teeth clenched, as sweat streamed down fis face.

"Do you still want to go back?"

"Yes."

He drew the knife downward: "What a fellow! I'll settle with you in a little while."

Flesh was taken from the arms of more POWs until the linen thread could no longer hold it. He ordered a squad leader to carry a bowl, following him. Soon the bowl was filled with many pieces of flesh.

At 11 o'clock p.m., the former CPV propagandist Lin Mucong, along with two other soldiers, Wang Daimin and Zhou Yuze, were taken by force to the headquarters of the 20th subcompound of Compound 86. Along the way they screamed in pain as they were cudged, whipped and pinched by the renegades. Weak and innocent, they were only sixteen years old. The three had established the "Returning-to-the-Motherland Group" in the POW camp, where they encouraged one another not to commit any acts unworthy of the motherland. At first the renegades did not notice these child soldiers, but when they refused to write the "blood letter" and be tattooed with the anti-Communist words, they came to the renegades' attention.
When they were escorted into the headquarters, Li Kun, secretary-general of the subcompound, waved a tent pole maliciously and asked, "Where on earth have you decided to go?"


Bang, Bang. Wang Daimin and Zhou Yuze were knocked off their feet by two poles.

Li Kun asked Lin Mucong, "Say, why not go to Taiwan?"

Lin Mucong replied, "I think the CPC is better. . . ." Hardly had he finished his words when a tent pole struck him down. Instantly cudgels and poles rained upon the three. Rolling on the ground, they soon lost consciousness.

Thirty-four years later, on August 25, 1986, I met Lin Mucong, then a fifty-year-old man. He had come to Beijing from Kunming to attend the annual academic meeting of the ninetieth anniversary of the Chinese Stenography Association. I could hardly believe that this dark-faced man, dressed in a coarse cloth shirt, thick trousers, with hand-made thick-soled shoes, was the only son of Lin Chunhua, one of the 3rd Recruitment of Huangpu Military Academy and once secretary to Chiang Kai-shek for ten years.

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51 Huangpu Military Academy was established by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in May 1924. Chiang Kai-shek was appointed head of Huangpu Military Academy. The first recruitment of students including approximately 490 people were admitted in June 1924, and graduated six months later.
years. From an old satchel he removed several letters written in memory of his father by his stenographical friends in Japan and Taiwan. Till then, I did not know that Mr. Lin Chunhua was the first Chinese stenographer. Lin Mucong was very talkative and spoke candidly. I asked him, "Since you came from such a family, what was your motivation to join the CPV?" He answered, "It was very fashionable to join the CPV at that time." He told me his story of being captured in Korea and life within the POW camp. At that time, Lin Chunhua's good friend and former classmate in Huangpu Military Academy, Deng Wenyi, was the Defence Minister in Taiwan. Deng liked the only son of his good friend, and had once walked with the young Lin Mucong in the street. The Taiwanese secret agents in the POW camp kept inquiring about him, "Is there any descendant of Lin Chunhua here?" Once he was asked, "Are you Lin Chunhua's son?" He shook his head.

We talked about that horrible night. I asked him, "Why did you say that the CPC is better than the KMT?" He laughed, and said that at that time he was rather simple-minded. He had been a mischievous boy of fifteen when he joined the CPV. He was assigned the role of a little actor in a propaganda team. The political instructor of the team was approximately thirty years old and an "old" Party member. He had been very kind to Lin

Huangpu Military Academy lasted three years. Many KMT army generals were graduates of the Academy.
Mucong and his other comrades. During a march, he carried Lin on his back. At night, he heated water for him to wash his feet. He even woke him up to pass water. Lin was the only son of his parents and felt that the political instructor treated him both like a mother and a father. Later during a battle, when a shell shrieked toward them, the political instructor threw himself upon one of the actors, and died in a pool of blood. When Lin Mucong was captured and put into the POW camp, he witnessed the renegades with KMT badges on their caps beat, kill and oppress the POWs. They committed a number of crimes. He said, "Everyday, what these people did taught me a lot. By this simple comparison, I recognized what the Communist Party was, and what the KMT was." He laughed and said, "Believe it or not, at that time, my mind was as simple as that."

I laughed too. Yes, sometimes people recognize truth directly by instinct, which can not be explained in words. I learned that following his return to the motherland he suffered greatly. In 1954, he became a farmer in the suburbs of Chengdu. The following year he was admitted into the History Department of Sichung University but was dismissed the next year because of his political background. He became a school teacher in Chengdu. In 1959, he was again ferreted out and expelled. After his mother and grandmother died in 1960, he moved to his uncle's home in the suburbs of Kunming where he became a worker on a farm. It was not until
1985 that he was rehabilitated and became an elementary school teacher on the farm. I asked him if he regretted what he had said that year.

"Which words?" Soon he understood what I referred to.

"Today, after more than thirty years' comparison, I still believe that the Communist Party is better."

For these few words, he was cruelly beaten up for a period of three hours, falling into unconsciousness five separate times on that terrible night.

At ten o'clock that night, Wang Yumin, the third subcompound commander of Compound 72, ordered all the squad leaders to pick out those POWs who wanted to return home. More than ten POWs were escorted to the open space between the iron sheet sheds, their arms twisted behind their backs. The squad leaders and the garrison team men lined up along the two sides, cudgels in their hands. A coarse voice commanded, "Kneel down."

A CPV platoon leader, Zhang Zhentong, cried out, "Comrades, let's fight them." Hearing that, Wang Yumin ordered his men, "Hit him."

Instantly, cudgels rained upon him. Zhang Zhentong turned back. He was caught by a renegade named Yu Jiang. Zhang desperately bit at Yu's hands. Yu Jiang uttered a cry and released his hands. Zhang Zhentong ran back again, but was kicked down to the ground by the fourth company
commander Sun Haidong, who had caught up with him. They grappled together on the ground.

Wang Shunqing and Li Da’an heard the noise and ran to the spot with the garrison team. Two garrison team men held Zhang, and Zhang was beaten severely. At once, Zhang Zhentong’s body was covered with blood, but he continued to shout, "Long live the Communist Party." Li Da’an came up to Zhang Zhentong with a dagger in his hand. He plunged the dagger into Zhang’s stomach.

Zhang spat a mouthful of saliva mixed with blood upon Li Da’an’s face and said, "You renegade. You secret agent. Bastard." Li Da’an thrust the dagger twice more into his stomach, yet Zhang continued to curse him.

More than seven hundred POWs of Compound 72 were escorted to "the Great Hall of Freedom", a building usually reserved for sermons and prayers. Now it became a slaughterhouse. Seven hundred people were forced into separate groups, forbidden to raise their hands. The renegades stood in the dark hall with lethal weapons in their hands. They beat one group after another, and the floor of the hall soon became stained with thick dark blood.

Lin Xuepu, from the second subcompound, was pulled out by the renegades. Wang Shunqing personally interrogated him, "Say, where will you go?"
"Back to Mainland China; back home."

"Why?"

"I was born there, and my parents and relatives are there."

Wang Shunqing was too angry to say any more. He ordered the renegades to brutally beat him. After a rain of cudgels, Wang asked him again, "What good did the Communist Party do for you? What good can it bring you to follow the Communist Party?"

Lin Xuepu’s father, Mr. Lin Jiaogen, was a KMT senator of Leshan County of Sichuan Province, and secretary of the KMT County Committee. Lin Xuepu had eight brothers and sisters, of whom Lin was the second son. In 1948, his elder brother Lin Xing was transferred to Taiwan with an airforce school of the KMT. He had attained the rank of Colonel with the KMT Air Force when he retired. When Liberation came, Lin Xuepu was a sophomore, majoring in English at Sichuan University. In 1951, at the beginning of the Korean War, he joined the CPV to defend the motherland. At that time his father, then being reformed through labor by the government, wrote to him and supported his joining the CPV. His mother saw him off at the railway station. She herself bore the burden of raising the remaining seven children.

"The Communist Party is the hope of the Chinese people. Only by following the Communist Party will China have a bright future."
"Hit him." The renegades rushed up in a crowd and Lin Xuepu fell to the ground. He shouted, "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the Communist Party of China!"

Li Da’an heard Lin. He came over, took out his dagger, and thrust it into Lin’s chest. He asked, "Where will you go?"

"To Mainland China."

He stabbed him again, "Whom will you follow?"

"Follow the Communist Party..."

Li Da’an became so incensed that he stabbed Lin Xuepu over thirty times. Lin dropped into his own blood. He was not a Communist Party member, but a descendant of a KMT member. He died at the age of 20. His last words were "Long live the Communist Party!"

Li Da’an cut out Lin’s heart with his dagger, pierced the heart onto the end of the blade, and roared, "This is the example for those who want to go back. Who still wants to go back to Mainland China? I would like to see whether his heart is red or black."

Up to now, former POWs talked of Lin Xuepu with admiration. Considered a hero, he would sleep on foreign soil for eternity. Yet, it is a pity that his heroic deeds have been neither admitted nor honored for thirty years among the people to whom he dedicated his life, and the country where he longed to return, simply because his father was a member of the
where he longed to return, simply because his father was a member of the KMT. His mother died of starvation in her hometown in 1962. . . . However, both the Party and her own people would not forget any of her loyal sons and daughters. In June 1983, the Leshan Municipal People’s Government in Sichuan Province issued a circular to confer the title "Revolutionary Martyr" upon Lin Xuepu posthumously. However, the circular came too late. No one came to claim the hero’s martyr certificate and pension. In 1983, the name of Lin Xuepu and his deeds were recorded in the Leshan Municipal Annals, where they will be honored by future generations.

At the end of 1985, Lin Xuepu’s elder brother, Mr. Lin Xing (Following his retirement from the KMT Air Force, he travelled to the U.S. to study. He is currently a professor at an American university.) wrote from the U.S. to inquire into the whereabouts of his younger brother Lin Xuepu. Zhang Da, Lin Xuepu’s life-time comrade-in-arms, wrote back a short letter on behalf of all the life-time comrades-in-arms of Lin Xuepu’s to Lin Xing, "Your younger brother Lin Xuepu was a dauntless patriot. He died a martyr in the battle of defending our country. The Chinese Communist Party has awarded him the honor he deserves.

On that night of terror, the heart of Yang Wenhua was also cut out. He was 22 years old, a walky-talky operator for the CPV.
Lu Lu went into the crowd, grabbed Yang Wenhua, and pulled him out. Yang and Lu were both graduates of the 23rd Recruitment in the KMT Central Military Academy. Lu Lu was from Gansu Province and Yang Wenhua from Shanxi Province. At first, Lu Lu was not accustomed to living in the South and periodically fell ill. Yang Wenhua took care of him. The two were like brothers to each other. Later, they joined the CPV together and went to the Korean battlefield where they were both captured. In the POW camp, their opinions gradually grew apart, resulting from the seduction and severe torture of the American Army and the KMT secret agents. At the beginning, they advised each other, Yang Wenhua said to Lu Lu, "We are Chinese, we must go back to Mainland China." Lu Lu said to Yang, "Even though you can go back, the Communists won't forgive you. We'd better go to Taiwan." However, one could not persuade the other. After their falling out, Lu Lu followed Wang Shunqing and Li Da'an in committing evil deeds and was promoted to secretary-general of a subcompound. Yang Wenhua drew close to the Communist and patriotic POWs, resulting in frequent beatings.

"Yang Wenhua, do you still recognize me?" Lu Lu asked, an iron bar in his hand. Around him stood a gang of renegades. In the afternoon, Wang Shunqing came to mobilize the suppression of those POWs who wanted to return home, and said to Lu Lu specifically, "Yang Wenhua is your friend."
Don't show mercy on him. What you do here will be rewarded in Taiwan."

Lu Lu decided to make an example of Yang Wenhua, an example that could become the stepping stone to a promotion and the attainment of riches in Taiwan.

"Yang Wenhua, you and I are both former classmates in the KMT Military Academy, students of President Chiang Kai-shek. I can not imagine why you have insisted on returning to Mainland China."

"Mainland China is my motherland. Why can't I go back..."

Hardly had Yang Wenhua finished his sentence when Lu Lu hit him over the head with the iron bar.

Yang Wenhua showered abuses upon him, "You traitor, you renegade. People will punish you sooner or later."

Immediately Yang Wenhua was tied and hung upon the ridgepole. Several renegades beat him from head to toe with their iron bars. At first, Yang Wenhua shouted repeatedly, "Long live the Communist Party! Long live Chairman Mao! and Long live our great motherland!" He soon lost consciousness. Lu Lu sent somebody to Wang Shunqing for direction, "Is it O.K. to beat Yang to death?" Wang Shunqing answered, "As you like."

Up to now, we have yet to locate any of Yang Wenhua's relatives. I asked many POWs and they told me that during this period in the POW camp, Yang Wenhua often spoke of his old mother and his beloved fiancée,
whom he missed day and night. I don't know whether they are still alive or whether they still expect Yang Wenhua to someday suddenly appear before them. . . . If so, this news is too cruel to tell them. But I still want to tell his old mother and his beloved fiancee that I, as well as my comrades-in-arms, felt proud of having such a brother as Yang Wenhua. Please accept a cup of wine to mourn the unknown land where he was raised.

Li Da'an rushed up to cut out Yang Wenhua's heart. Then, under Li Da'an's direction, the garrison team men placed the bodies of Zhang Zhentong, Lin Xuepu and Yang Wenhua into three empty petrol drums. They dug a pit, placed the drums in it and burned them. Two hours later, they dug the three charred bodies out and laid them across the terrace in front of "the Great Hall of Freedom" to scare the other POWs.

Sad and shrill cries rose from the iron sheet shed of the POW clinic of Compound 86.

On the ground lay three POWs who wanted to return home and had been nearly beaten to death. The deputy compound commander, Ying Yongliang, grinned hideously when he saw several fire hoses at the corner of the wall. He whispered to the compound commander Wang Zenming for a moment. Wang Zenming suddenly shouted, "Come, let them drink some water."
They inserted the fire hoses into the anuses of the three POWs, causing them to cry out in pain. Cold water swelled into their abdomens which began to resemble a pot. Finally, they became too weak to cry.

They died without leaving their names.

On the morning of April 8, the red sun rose out of the sea. The POW camp on Koje-do was deadly silent. The air seemed solidified. There was no wind. This was the peace after the terrible events of the night before. The Renegades became hoarse, their throats felt tired out, and their daggers were eroded by the warm blood. During the previous night, they had applied all means of imaginable torture—the cutting out of hearts, burying people alive, hanging them upside down, the stringing of fingers, pouring kerosene into the mouth, steaming and boiling people alive—to the POWs who had resolutely wanted to return home. In Compounds 86 and 72, ninety-nine POWs were brutally killed, over three hundred suffered from flesh-cutting, over three hundred and forty were seriously injured, and over a thousand were slightly injured.

Group after group, the POWs were forced to pass by the terrace in front of "the Great Hall of Freedom." That night, none of them removed their clothes, and none found sleep. Their bloodshot eyes glistened with expressions of anger, hatred, alarm and worry. On the terrace lay the three martyrs Zhang Zhentong, Lin Xuepu and Yang Wenhua. They were
stripped of their clothes and their bodies were dismembered. Placed next to them were seven large basins containing the flesh cut from the POWs. Another two basins held two hearts, one from Lin Xuepu and the other from Yang Wenhua.

Li Da'an shouted, "Do you see clearly? This is the end of those who want to return." After the POWs left, Li Da’an gave the order to chop up the two human hearts to be used for dumpling fillings. Li Da’an, Wang Shunqing and a few others ate the "dumplings."

On April 8, the American Army erected a huge tent on the open ground in the POW camp. It was divided into ten rooms which were used for "screening." At the exit, there were two narrow lanes, one leading to the original wire entanglement for those who were not willing to be repatriated, and the other to the gate for those who wanted to return to the Mainland. The open ground was surrounded by armed men. Machine guns were set up and tanks patroled the area.

The POWs of Compound 72 gathered in front of "the Great Hall of Freedom," waiting to receive cards. People in the lines were telling each other who had been killed in this subcompound and who had been killed in that subcompound. An atmosphere of terror reigned over the entire camp. Li Da’an came before the lines and proclaimed that two murder squads were established, one to patrol inside the POW camp, the other to stand
guard at the gate. They would kill any POW who wanted to return to Mainland China. He said, "A little later in the 'screening,' you should not take the card displaying half a circle (Cards containing the letter G indicated going home, while cards displaying the letter A indicated going to Taiwan). Do you understand me?"

The POWs approached the huge tent in a queue. Squad leaders and company commanders were stationed both at the front and back of the lines. The POWs were surrounded by the garrison team men. Li Da'an, Wang Shunqing and the American guards were standing at the gate with broadswords in their hands. Beside them stood two lines of over twenty garrison team men armed with cudgels and broadswords, in addition to a squad of American military policemen. All who desired to return to Mainland China had to pass through the cudgels and broadswords.

At first, the personnel of the United Nations Command in charge of the "screening" performed the job seriously, asking each POW who entered, "Will you go to Mainland or Free China?" At that time the New China had just been founded. Many POWs had formerly been peasants and workers before joining the CPV, and did not know what "Free China" meant. When asked, they were dumbfounded, and didn't know how to reply. As a result, they were given the "A" card. Some even chose "Free China," not knowing it meant Taiwan. Zhang Jian, a CPV soldier, told me that at that time he had
never heard the words "Free China." Afraid of making a mistake, he thought for a short while and answered, "I want to go back to the People's Republic of China."

After they made their choices, those who chose the "G" cards had to dash through the line of swords and cudgels. The first POW to make the dash, Shi Zhenqing, was killed. Many POWs holding "G" cards were knocked down at the narrow gate. Gradually more and more people began rushing out. Some were stabbed, some hurt in their waist, some were stripped of their clothing, and some were knocked down and carried into the wire entanglements. The rest became frightened and returned to the camp, their heads low.

That day among more than seven thousand and seven hundred POWs, only seven hundred escaped. When they got into the trucks, the renegades, under the direction of the American guards, pelted them with stones. Through the rain of stones, they saw those POWs inside the wire entanglements who had "refused" repatriation waving their hands to them. They heard them shouting, crying. . . .

As Compound 70 was newly established, the Taiwanese secret agents, traitors and renegades did not hold the dominant position. Thus among the one thousand and five hundred POWs, one thousand and two hundred and seventy escaped torture. Yet, blood-shed did occur. In his confessions in
1954, the commander of Compound 70, Wei Shixi, confessed, "As soon as the "screening" began, some POWs shouted, "We prefer to sing 'Follow Mao Zedong.' Instantly the song could be heard in the POW camp. The American guards forbade the POWs to sing and got some people to throw stones at them. . . . One POW, hit in the stomach by an American sergeant, fell down instantly. As he was lying on the ground he was hit in the head by a large stone and died five minutes later.

That afternoon two hundred and thirty-eight POWs of Compound 71, under the control of the Communists, held both a march and a sit-in demonstration protesting the "screening." They demanded to be sent to Mainland China. They hung out the Five-Starred Red Flag, which they had made in secret, to express their support for the POWs of Compound 72 opposite to them. The American guards fired their guns to suppress them. Three people, Ren Changgui, Sun Changqin and Wu Zongxia, were wounded.

That same day, Compound 86 was also undergoing "screening." Here out of more than eight thousand four hundred POWs, only one thousand two hundred POWs escaped.

On the evening of April 9, five thousand CPV POWs who demanded to return to the Mainland were gathered in Compound 602. The first to arrive were the one thousand and two hundred POWs who had escaped
from Compound 86. Hou Guangpu, a Communist Party member, bravely became their leader. He called on the POWs to publicly proclaim the abolition of the system that allowed POW officers the privilege to eat more, while beating and abusing the POWs at will in the camp of Compound 602. The POWs, greatly affected by his touching address, moaned and sobbed.

Compound 602 was a deserted POW camp. The kitchen range had been levelled, and no tent was present. When they had left their original camp, many POWs were forbidden to bring along their worn-out blankets and clothing. It rained heavily, and they became cold and hungry. The POWs asked the American guards for food, but were ignored. The POWs leaned on the wire entanglements and shouted, "You may as well just go ahead and shoot us."

Hearing this, the American guards considered the POWs to be "rising in rebellion." They shot at the POWs inside the wire entanglements with their carbines, rifles, light and heavy machine guns and tank guns. They killed and wounded more than one hundred people.

Thereafter, Pastor Han came to Compound 72 by car, and gloatingly said, "Have you heard the shots? This is the fate of those who want to go back to Mainland China."
At dawn, on April 24, one battalion of the 27th American Infantry Regiment tightly surrounded POW Enclosure 3 in Pusan. The loudspeaker outside the wire entanglements broadcast, "The 'screening' of the POWs by the POW Administrative Authorities is a request put forward by the Chinese Communist Party in the negotiations at Panmunjom. It is also a chance to choose your future offered by the United Nations Command. We hope that you won't be taken in and die an worthy death for the diehards of the Communists."

This was the eighth day since the POWs resisted "screening" in POW Enclosure 3 in Pusan.52

On April 15, the American Army proclaimed through the loudspeaker, "Attention, please, POWs. For the sake of satisfying your desire to go to Taiwan and South Korea, the United Nations Command will begin from today on to handle individual 'screening,' starting in POW Enclosure 3." No sooner had the loudspeaker stopped than nine Five-Starred Red Flags rose from nine iron sheet sheds. This was arranged by the underground revolutionary organization—the Resist-America-and-Aid-Korea Alliance in POW Enclosure 3 in Pusan. The POWs had secretly made the

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52 This is proved by The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, which says that screening of the POWs started at Pusan "on 15 April" (p. 26), and that the screening "proceeded smoothly and with no untoward incident until an attempt was made to enter the Communist-controlled compounds. The leaders of those compounds refused to permit screening of the POW's and the operation came to a halt" (p. 27).
flags from white gauze, mercurochrome and yellow pills from the POW clinic. Approximately three hundred CPV POWs of POW Enclosure 3 lined up in three columns to march once around the wire entanglements, while singing Chinese songs and shouting slogans. They held the demonstration to protest the illegal "screening" conducted by the American Army. At the same time, they dispatched representatives to the American Army to defend their stand: "All the POWs here strongly demand to be repatriated to Mainland China and firmly object to being sent to Taiwan. There is no need to have the screening. We'll never accept such an illegal screening."

Under the authority of the Eighth U.S. Army Headquarters, the U.S. POW Administration issued orders over the loudspeaker for the POWs to lower the flags and erase the posters, otherwise, they would resort to force. At the same time, they deployed infantrymen to surround and attack POW Enclosure 3. They did not withdraw until the POWs lowered the flags.

From that day on, the American Army cut off their water and food supply.53

Three days later, a seriously wounded soldier, Shen, lost consciousness because he could not get proper treatment. His fellow POWs gathered around him, whispering his name.

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53 When the POWs were rebellious, the American Army sometimes stopped delivering food and water to the POWs as a punishment (Cf. The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, pp. 32-33).
After a long while, Shen moved his lips slightly. The inside of his mouth was dry. In his coma, he murmured, "Water . . . water . . . ."

Water, water, and water. The water supply had been stopped for three days in the POW camp. At first, the POWs crawled to the small ditches bordering the wire entanglements and scooped out the dirty water to drink. Soon, these small ditches dried up.

The lips of the POWs began to shrivel and blisters formed on them. Some were so thirsty that they were reduced to licking the moist earth on the ground. One began to drink his own urine. Because of dehydration, they passed urine which was bitter, yellow and puckery.

How could they give urine to their dying comrade-in-arms? All the utensils, such as bowls and tubs which could possibly contain water were checked, but not a drop of water was to be found. Some POWs stamped their feet with frustration and burst into tears. One POW decided to climb over the wire entanglements to seek water. Just as he had climbed over, an American soldier fired off a round of ammunition. . . .

"Water. . . ." Shen exhaled deeply. He then stopped breathing.

The POWs carried his dead body to the base of the wire entanglements, and wrote in large characters, "It is three days since the enemy stopped supplying water and food. One of our comrades-in-arms has starved to death. We appeal to the press for the redress of a wrongdoing."
This action attracted the attention of many foreign journalists. They shot numerous pictures from the other side of the wire entanglements. The U.S. POW Administration became so exasperated that they decided to resort to force.

That day, many POWs in the camp were dying of hunger and could not move, others could only walk with faltering steps. At dawn, again under the name of the Eighth U.S. Army, the U.S. POW Administration issued an ultimatum. They ordered the POWs to come out and accept the "screening" within five minutes; otherwise, they would resort to force. Five minutes passed, no one came out. The American Army again gave a five minute warning, and again no one came out. Once more five minutes were given and still no one answered... a dozen times the five minute warning was issued and no one came out.

The American Army sent an armed platoon, along with a tank, and broke into the camp from the east. They were instantly attacked by a shock team composed of some POWs. The team knocked down two American soldiers with stones and retrieved two guns. The remainder of the American soldiers fled in disarray.

An hour later, the angry American soldiers retaliated and began to massacre the POWs. They fired at the three hundred and eighty-odd CPV POWs of POW Enclosure 3, already wounded and sick, with light and
heavy machine guns for over one hour. Over two hundred were wounded or killed. Next, the Americans fired gas shells and soon the entire enclosure was enveloped with the yellow gas smog. The POWs could hardly open their eyes or breathe, and began to vomit. The American soldiers then entered the wire entanglements and forced more than one hundred and eighty POWs to open ground.

The "screening" began. This time there was no iron hut in which to conduct the process. They drew two roads in the ground in front of the iron gate using chalk. One was marked "leading to Mainland China" and was lined with American policemen armed with batons and guns. The other was marked with the words "leading to Taiwan." Many tables lined this road holding candies, tea, pastries, hot rice and new clothes. With their arms around each other for support, the one hundred and eighty odd CPV POWs came out of the iron gate and walked the road containing the batons and bayonets of the American soldiers. All the POWs selected the road leading home to their motherland.

On April 25, Li Da'an showed off his dagger to the people around him. It had recently become rusty with dark-red blood.

He said complacently, "This time, I offered the sacrifices of Yang Wenhua, Lin Xuepu and Zhang Zhentong to my dagger."
Wang Shunqing interrupted, "Don't talk too much. The Americans say that it should be voluntary repatriation."

At the end of April, the U.S. POW Administration issued the result of the "screening": of the KPA, those willing to be repatriated to their homeland were numbered—thousand,\textsuperscript{54} and of the CPV POWs, those who wanted to be repatriated to their homeland numbered only six thousand. Even the American representatives who had participated in the armistice talks in Korea were greatly surprised by this figure. The American representatives asked General Ridgway to carry out a second "screening." Ridgway transferred this request to the Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army, but the latter refused to alter the figure of ---- thousand. Therefore, on April 28, the representatives of the American side put forward the last "package" plan to resolve the POW issue in Panmunjom, and announced the figure to the public. They affirmed that this was "a firm, permanent, and unchangeable figure."

\textsuperscript{54}The exact figure is not given in the Chinese original.
POWs and Camp Guards

POWs are the products of war. While one group is placed in a POW camp, another group is charged with keeping the former in custody. The group to which one belongs is determined by a variety of factors, including chance. Both POWs and camp guards are army men, but they belong to two conflicting armies. It is difficult to say who is the better of the two. As mentioned in the first chapter of this book, things in war are rather complex. Sometimes chance not only decides the fate of an army man but it also determines the victory or defeat of an entire battle. This results in the emergence of two separate groups: POWs and camp guards.

When POWs and camp guards come together in POW camps, they no longer stand on equal footing. The latter ride high, looking down upon those who have fallen into their hands. Here POWs are not treated as free and honorable human beings, but mere prisoners. In fact, we have no reason to state that camp guards are any better than POWs in cultural and moral standards. Someone once said, "In interpersonal relations, POWs are
more human, more affectionate, more caring, and richer in creative power than camp guards." This statement realistically portrays the POWs and the camp guards in the U.S. POW camps.

However, the guards have absolute power over the POWs, including the power over their life and death. POWs are different from convicts in that they are army men who fight for their beliefs (though they are often suppressed by force for those beliefs). Of these two groups, it is the POWs who are more cruelly treated, despite the treaties and agreements drawn up concerning their welfare. Within the camps, the implementation of these agreements depends solely upon the guards.

The POW camp is a singular vantage point in war, where one can know the people of the two combating sides. Their true colors would be more fully exposed if the POWs and camp guards were to exchange places. The following is what happened in Koje-do.
On the morning of May 7, 1952, General Clark arrived at Haneda Airport in Tokyo by air in the company of his retinue staff officers, including Lieutenant Colonel Bennett. Bennett, a man standing six feet two, had served in the American Army for nearly forty years. He was to take the place of General Ridgway as Commanding General, U.S. Army, Far East and Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command. He knew that this was to be the greatest trial of his military career. Ridgway was commissioned to proceed to Europe to replace General Eisenhower, who was running for the Republican Party’s nomination for President of the U.S. To do this, he had to give up his position of the Allied Forces in Europe.

General Ridgway and Murphey, the American Ambassador to Japan, arrived at the airport to meet General Clark. They had long been friends, and exchanged greetings just as old friends do when they once again meet.

That evening, General Clark dined with Mr. and Mrs. Ridgway at the Headquarters of the U.S. Army, Far East. After a substantial dinner, the

55There is a whole section entitled "The Dodd Incident: 7 May 1952" under Chapter 1 of The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War (p. 27), describing the incident from beginning to end.

generals and their wives exchanged "Good nights." Clark then drove to the American Embassy to have a drink with Murphey before retiring for the night.

Early the following morning, General Clark hurried to the airport to fly to the Field Headquarters of the United Nations Command in South Korea, as scheduled. After taking off, Ridgway said to Clark, "We've got a little situation over in Korea. It has been reported that some POWs there have kidnapped the camp commander, General Dodd. He is now being held hostage..."

At half past one that afternoon, General Dodd, commander of the POW camps in Koje-do came to Compound 76 in an armored car. For his protection he was escorted by an American platoon of infantrymen and two heavy machine guns. The camp gate was slightly ajar. General Dodd, a corpulent man, stepped out of the armored car and arrogantly looked over the POW delegates of the KPA who were dressed in shabby uniforms. As supreme commander of the POW camps, he had the power over the life and death of thousands of POWs. However, in reality, he did not have the slightest interest in the negotiations with the POWs. But he had come anyway. It was totally beyond his imagination that he was now playing the first fiddle in the world-shaking "Dodd Incident," an event which altered the rest of his life.
It turned out that as early as April, the U.S. Army had unlawfully imposed "screening" upon the POWs, viciously slaughtered Korean and Chinese POWs, and tried to deceive world opinion with the so-called "voluntary repatriation." The KPA and CPV POWs had no alternative but to take General Dodd into custody to expose the fraud manufactured by the U.S., and to protest against the inhuman practices and violations of the Geneva Convention. To lure General Dodd into their trap, the POWs of the CPV cooperated closely. Previously, the CPV POWs went on successive hunger-strikes and demonstrations. Various military officers of the U.S. Army tried to negotiate a settlement, but failed. The POWs stated that no progress could be made unless General Dodd came in person. Arrogant and confident, General Dodd arrived in Compound 76 at the request of the POW representatives. General Clark expressed his doubt afterward, "Why did General Dodd go to the POWs instead of asking the POWs' representatives to come to his office?" The answer is that Dodd was manipulated to go there.

When the negotiations commenced, General Dodd's bodyguards stood on either side of him near the gate with tommy guns in their hands, prepared to fire at any moment. The representatives of the KPA pointed out that it was impossible to hold talks under such conditions, Dodd paid no attention to what was going on and casually beckoned the guards to step
back to the rear. Only one subordinate remained at his side holding a thick copy of the "Geneva Convention." The representatives cited one case after another of the U.S. Army’s atrocities of killing and screening the POWs, of cutting off food and water supplies, and of violating the rights of the POWs. They demanded that Dodd stop such vicious practices. At first Dodd asked Lieutenant Colonel Levin to consult the relevant articles in the Geneva Convention in an attempt to defend himself. After two hours of discussion, Dodd became impatient. He told Levin to answer the questions for him. He then produced a pair of nail clippers and proceeded to casually cut his fingernails.

At twenty past three, the camp gate was suddenly broken. Ten KPA POWs dashed over from both sides of the tents, separating Dodd from the guards. One man caught Dodd by the hands, another seized him by the waist, while two others took him by the legs. They carried the American Brigadier General into the camp, closing and bolting the gate with bars. It all took place within a minute. The guards stood dumbfounded. Dodd struggled, shouting hysterically, "Save me! Save me!" Soon a post seven meters long and two meters wide was erected at the top of the gate. On it was a sign printed in English: "We have now captured alive the camp commander, Brigadier General Dodd, whose safety is absolutely guaranteed. We will give him back to you safely after our negotiations with him. You
will be held responsible if anything undesirable happens on account of your serious military actions."

After a while, piercing sirens sounded over the camps. Tanks, armored cars, military police corps, infantrymen and Marine corps encircled Compound 76. By then, the POWs of KPA had delivered Dodd's personal order: "In order to prevent the situation from getting worse and to ensure my safety, shooting is strictly forbidden. I agree to hold a congress of the Korean and Chinese POW representatives of the whole island to negotiate a settlement. I order Colonel Colson to bring the representatives to me and withdraw the troops from Compound 76 to an appropriate distance." Van Fleet, Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army, issued another order by telegraph: "No troops are to be employed to rescue Dodd unless it is approved personally by the Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army."

So the representatives of the KPA and CPV POWs were brought to Compound 76. Representing Compound 602 were Sun Zhenguang and Zhang Zeshi. They were intended to "be repatriated directly." Thirty four years later, in early September 1986, when I met Zhang Zeshi I mentioned the "Dodd Incident." His memories were still fresh about the events that took place. The following is an account of what Zhang Zeshi told me.

"On the evening of May 7, Major James of the U.S. Army unexpectedly showed up in Compound 602 in an open jeep, looking
depressed. He asked Sun Zhenguang and me to get into his jeep immediately, saying that General Dodd was calling a meeting of the POW camp representatives. We were surprised, as well as delighted. We hurriedly got into the jeep with all the necessary documents: the protest memorandum, the memorandum of the POW camp events, and so on. The jeep raced along the road of the valley. Dark clouds, blown lower by the sea wind, were chasing us closely. The camps on both sides were filled with excitement. Many North Korean comrades-in-arms lined up behind the wire entanglements, hand-in-hand, swaying their bodies, and singing the battle song of the KPA. They seemed to have learned that something important had happened on the island. Both sides were lined with tanks, armored cars, and American soldiers who were armed to the teeth. We moved slowly through a forest of bayonets. A number of large searchlights were focused upon Compound 76. It was lit up as brightly as daytime. The square near the gate was dotted with various war vehicles and soldiers. Guns were aimed at the interior of the wire entanglements.

Our jeep arrived at the gate of Compound 76. I didn’t notice the colorful decoration until I got out. The North Korean comrades-in-arms, dressed in homemade uniforms of the KPA, formed two lines to welcome the representatives from the other camps. Every one of them carried paper-flags of North Korea and China, and wore bright ribbons. They shouted
together in broken Chinese, 'Korea-China, Kim Il-sung-Mao Zedong. A warm welcome to the Chinese comrades-in-arms.' Colorful paper bits and paper ribbons floated down on us, some of which stuck to our tear-stained faces. We could not help shouting in broken Korean, 'Salute to the heroic Korean comrades-in-arms! 'Unite and fight!' None of us cared a bit about the numerous guns directed at our backs."

By then General Dodd had just finished his dinner in a special tent in the central square of the camps. The food was brought in from the outside. The POWs allowed regular meals to be delivered, as well as two un-armed American soldiers to wait on Dodd. However, none of the American soldiers dared to come in, which greatly inconvenienced Dodd. Understandably, Dodd did not have much of an appetite that night, for it was his first time to dine under such circumstances. His tent was divided into five small rooms: a clean bedroom, a tidy office, a toilet and a lavatory. He need not have worried, as it was not his "Last Supper."

At nine o'clock that night the representatives of the KPA and CPV held the founding ceremony of the Korean and Chinese POW Delegation. Forty-three representatives from seventeen camps were present, among whom were four CPV representatives, and three women representatives. Rhee, a division chief of staff of the KPA, was elected head of the Delegation and Sun Zhenguan, a battalion political instructor of the CPV,
was elected deputy head. The ceremony was followed by entertainment. General Dodd, who had not yet recovered from his shock, was invited to watch the performances. Zhang Zeshi continued:

"On May 8, a mass rally was held to condemn the crimes of persecuting and massacring the POWs committed by the U.S. Army Administrative Authorities. Though plainly arranged, the platform, consisting of five tables pushed together with an army blanket laid over the top, looked solemn in the newly-erected tent. Two rows of benches were placed around the platform. Having declared the meeting open, the chairman said to Dodd, 'You are allowed to defend yourself. But you must respect the facts.' The Korean representatives rose in turn to speak. They cited numerous instances of American persecution, murder and intimidation of the POWs to betray their own countries. . . . The more they condemned, the more indignant they became. They were filled with tears. Anger and hatred were burning in my heart while Dodd dropped his head, his hands trembling on the table. Several times the Korean comrades-in-arms pounded the table with their fists, asking Dodd, 'Are these all facts?' Dodd fearfully rose to his feet saying, 'Yes, Yes. They are all facts.' He did not dare to sit down. The chairman told him to sit. 'We are Communists. We don't want to treat you the way you treat your POWs.
We respect your personal dignity and will never insult you. You should have the courage to admit facts.'

Dodd appeared a bit excited. He nodded his head profoundly and sat down."

Tension had been building up outside the camps.

On the morning of May 8, Ridgway commissioned General Doyle Hickey, Chief of Staff of United Nations Command, to call a morning meeting of the staff officers to discuss the situation. Following the meeting, Ridgway flew from Tokyo to Pusan with General Clark. Infuriated by the "Dodd Incident," Ridgway had decided to resort to force at the cost of Dodd's life. He remarked, "In war, a general's life is by no means more precious than that of an ordinary soldier." In his eyes, it was an embarrassment to the U.S. Army for an American general to be captured bare-handedly by the POWs. He could not tolerate leaving his United Nations Command position like that. So when Van Fleet, Dodd's friend and Commander of the Eighth U.S. Army, told him that he was going to negotiate Dodd's release with the POWs, Ridgway replied, "This means that the settlement will be delayed for at least forty-eight hours. To me, any delay equals failure. Therefore, it is totally unacceptable." Ridgway and Clark again flew to Seoul to talk with Joy, Chief Delegate of the United Nations Command and a Full Admiral in the U.S. Navy. The "Dodd
Incident" had put Joy into a sorry plight. He stated, "I'll surely be strongly attacked because of this incident on the negotiation table."

Ridgway wrote to Van Fleet instructing him to resort to any and all military means, including tanks, to "restore order in the camps immediately." At that time, there were eleven thousand officers and soldiers of America and Syngman Rhee on Koje-do. That very day, Van Fleet ordered a tank battalion from the American 3rd Division to set out at once. At the same time, he also ordered reinforcement troops to leave Pusan for Koje-do. He appointed Charles Colson, a camp commander, to replace Dodd, who was dismissed thereafter.

Another well-lit night passed.

On the morning of May 9, the POW representatives of the CPV made condemning speeches which lasted for three hours. The U.S. Army sent for Li Ziyin, a CPV officer who used to be a student of Chinese literature at Sichuan University. He drafted the majority of the protests and notes of complaint against the American authorities. That afternoon, the representatives of Korean and Chinese POWs drafted the "Note of Complaint to the World People by the Korean and Chinese POWs." At the same time, they issued four conditions for the release of Dodd in the name of the Korean and Chinese POW Delegation:
"1. Immediate cessation from your army's brutal atrocities of insulting, torturing and coercing the POWs into writing petitions in blood, and of threatening, imprisoning and killing the POWs in large numbers with machine-guns, gas, bacteriological and atomic weapons. The human rights and safety of the POWs should be guaranteed in accordance with international laws.

2. Immediate cessation from the unlawful practices of the so-called voluntary repatriation.

3. Immediate cessation from coercive 'screening' of several thousand Korean and Chinese POWs who are enslaved by force.

4. Immediate recognition of the Korean and Chinese POWs Delegation and close cooperation with it.

The Delegation will not extradite Dodd to you until it has received a satisfactory written reply to the above conditions. We look forward to an enthusiastic and sincere reply from you."

In order to entice the American side to sign quickly, the Korean and Chinese POWs decided to conduct a sit-in demonstration the following day.

The POW camps had been a boiling pot, bubbling with action for two days. Numerous POWs had been busy singing, dancing, shouting slogans, staging performances, and holding military parades to express their support for their comrades-in-arms. In Compound 602, several CPV POWs
able to speak Korean persuaded a South Korean soldier then keeping guard outside the wire entanglements to defect from Syngman Rhee's army. The soldier surrendered his rifle and bullets to the POWs. He then ran away under the cover of darkness.

On the morning of May 9, Ridgway and Clark flew low round Koje-do to inspect the lay of the land. It appeared calm and peaceful from above.

On the Morning of May 10, the four conditions advanced by the POW Delegation were delivered to General Colson, the newly-appointed camp commander. The conditions were shortly transferred to the Headquarters of the United Nations Command. At this, Ridgway went wild with anger. He immediately sent a radio message to General Van Fleet instructing him to prevent Colson from giving his consent to the POWs, so as to "avoid grave setbacks for the United Nations Command." He also raised the question to Van Fleet as to why his "May 8th order of reestablishing order in the camps by all necessary military means" had not been carried out."

That morning, the Headquarters of the United Nations Command in Tokyo sent Portner, Assistant Commander of the American Second Division, to Koje-do. He immediately contacted Dodd by telephone.
"Hello, this is General Portner speaking. Can I speak to General Dodd please?"

Dodd picked up the receiver: "This is Dodd. Your instructions, please." He looked around himself as he spoke, and his facial expressions became rather complicated.

"Hello, General Dodd."

"Hello, General Portner."

"I have brought your wife from Tokyo. She wants to say 'Hello' to you. She's crying."

"Tell her not to worry about me. I am quite all right here."

"General, please tell me if it is true that they have not insulted you?"

"Please believe that what I am telling you is true. I once doubted whether they respected my personal dignity. But now I am fully convinced of that by my own experience."

"Good. God bless you. It is something unimaginable though. How long are they planning to detain you? What can I do for you?"

"I have no idea. Perhaps they will set me free after the congress. How you can help me is to make sure the congress ends smoothly. Please don't press them."

"All right. I will be near the telephone and be ready to act on your command."
Somehow, Van Fleet did not carry out Ridgway's order of immediate military actions. (Van Fleet later paid dearly for this. He was dismissed at the beginning of the following year and forced into early retirement. It is said that he shamed America for his role in the "Dodd Incident." ) On the morning of May 10, Colson drafted a reply to the POW Delegation of the KPA and CPV, greatly annoying Ridgway. Following his release, Dodd commented:

"Early on May 10, the four conditions were transferred to General Colson. Delayed by translation, they did not receive General Colson's reply until several hours later.

The POWs held a discussion of the reply until noon. Then they told me that they would not accept it. In fact, General Colson had agreed to the POWs' demands. The misunderstanding lay in the inaccurate translation. I revised General Colson's letter in accordance with the demands of the POWs. I then asked them if they were pleased with it. After they replied, "Yes, General Colson signed the revised statement, which was then officially presented to the POWs."

Zhang Zeshi gave a vivid account of how Dodd signed the paper.

"... General Dodd put on his glasses and produced his pen. He then read the paper carefully again. At one point, he stopped to look away from the paper, sinking deep into thought. One could see that a fierce
battle was going on in his mind, although he had prepared for it. Of course, he was fully aware of the shameful consequences it would bring upon his government, and more, was fully aware of what it meant to his own future and destiny. He had to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of signing the paper. At last, he straightened himself up and leaned back against the armchair, his eyes gazing ahead. Again, he took off his glasses, rubbed them and lost himself in thought. The delegates looked at him in silence. Indeed, it was so quiet in the tent that Dodd’s heavy breathing could be heard. Outside the tent sat more than seven thousand POWs of the KPA, who also remained silent.

Eventually, Dodd put on his glasses again, moved his pen to where he was going to sign, and then paused a bit so as to sign his full name quickly and perfectly. Then he put down his pen and leaned back, as if he had suddenly been relieved of a heavy burden. He closed his eyes, his face being stained with tiny drops of sweat.

At that moment, all the representatives present rose to their feet, clapping for the success of the congress. Dodd stood up and clapped his hands together modestly. The head and deputy head of the Korean and Chinese Delegation, along with the other representatives, shook hands with Dodd in turn. When my turn came I saw that his eyes were wet. I suddenly noticed new wrinkles on his face, which showed he had something
in common with mankind. I could not but hold his hands tightly. I wished he could have understood the character of the Communists, and the feelings of the Chinese people. Now, thundering cheers were heard from outside the tent. The sound of cheering was conveyed from one camp to another, like a spring thunder sweeping across the desolate Koje-do, dashing into the ocean."

The following is the content of the final paper signed by Generals Colson and Dodd:

"1. Regarding the first condition in your letter, I do admit there have been cases of bloodshed in which many POWs have been killed or wounded by the United Nations Command. I can assure you that in the future the POWs can expect humane treatment in the camps according to the principles of international laws. I will do my best to eliminate further violence and bloodshed. If such incidents happen in the future, I will be held responsible.

2. As for the second condition, the problem of voluntary repatriation of the KPA and the CPV is under discussion in Panmunjom. I have no power to shape the decisions reached at the negotiations.

3. Regarding the third condition pertaining to the compulsive screening, I can inform you that after General Dodd's safe release there will be no more of that."
4. Regarding the fourth condition, General Dodd and I approve of establishing the POW Delegation of the KPA and the CPV."

The above statement was soon made known to the world by the Korean and Chinese side in Panmunjom, the news of which shook the world. The British "Leynor News" published an article stating, "The 'Dodd Incident' did make the American claims and their screening methods notorious. After the Dodd and Colson Incident, people will no longer believe the American claims that the POWs are reluctant to return to their own countries." The spokesman of the American Government admitted that "this incident made America lose face in the entire Orient at a crucial moment."

At half past nine on the afternoon of May 11, the Korean and Chinese POWs released General Dodd. The POW representatives stood at the camp gate, shaking hands with Dodd. General Portner helped him into the car. Dodd waved to the POWs after the car had started off.

At ten a.m. on the following day, Ridgway entrusted his commandership to General Clark. At three that afternoon, Ridgway arrived at Haneda Airport with his wife and his two-year-old son. While viewing the farewell parade, Clark told him that he thought it necessary to make a statement concerning the "Dodd Incident." Not having recovered from his anger and fury, Ridgway silently marched forward amid the martial music.
The plane took off. A few minutes later, Clark received a telegram from Ridgway in the plane, stating his agreement to Clark’s proposal.

Clark’s statement tore to shreds the agreement signed between the POWs on the one side and General Dodd on the other. The statement declared, "General Colson’s reply to the Communist POWs was made while General Dodd’s life was in jeopardy. The Communist demands were pure blackmail. Whatever promises Colson had made must be interpreted as such. It was obvious that the previous demonstrations held by the POWs were meant to disrupt the negotiations. It was equally true that violence that occurred had been the result of deliberate and planned machinations of the Communist leaders. . . ."

That night, at the Headquarters of the Eighth U.S. Army in Seoul, General Dodd gave a press conference, dwelling on the process of his being a "POW of the POWs." He then issued a statement claiming that "the demands of the POWs were rather unjust. Therefore, the concessions made by the U.S. POW Administration were of no significance."

"The Dodd Incident" shook the entire world, and caused America to suffer embarrassment. Pace, Secretary of the American Army, Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other important personages in Washington called for necessary actions, demanding severe punishment to those responsible for the incident and even the death penalty to the guilty.
General Clark now issued an order for Portner to replace Colson as commander of the POW camps. Portner immediately ordered that all the representatives, excluding the three females, should be detained in Compound 76. Additionally, he ordered all Korean civilians to leave Koje-do. Portner also reorganized the management structure within the POW camps. The corps of engineers was commissioned to reconstruct the camps so that no camp could house more than 500 POWs at any one time. Clark sent reinforcement troops to Portner from Japan by air, that is, No. 187 Mixed Combat Corps.

On June 10, several thousand armed soldiers, along with tanks and armored cars, massacred the POWs in Compound 76. The tanks broke into the camp while flame throwers burned down the tents. Machine guns and tommy guns rattled madly. The POWs retaliated and charged at the tanks with flaming gasoline bottles, shouting, "Long live our motherland!" Portner stood on a hill nearby watching the slaughtering scene. He kept repeating, "Good, Good." Within half an hour, the camp was reduced to ashes. More than 150 POWs were killed or wounded. All the Korean and Chinese POWs were placed in a "special prison" as "war criminals" on Koje-do.

Binson, the former Governor of Minnesota, pointed out in anger, "Top American military officers like Clark, Van Fleet, and Portner issued
barbarous orders like the Nazi's, without any fear of being condemned. Where is the conscience of the Americans?"

"The Dodd Incident" resulted in a great tragedy. People will never forget its historical significance. Ten years later, Ridgway commented, "The shame and harm this incident had brought us is no less than any defeat in bloody battles."

The Human Aspect of the Camp Guards

I have already discussed the inhumane practices of the camp guards. Because they are human beings, and because they are a group of people, they cannot merely belong to one type or one category. Even within the camps, a guard is embodied with a humane side. Now, I would like to outline this side of their character.

The "Interrogators" Who Care for the New China"

The Intelligence Department of the American Army, Far East, erected a special tent in the POW hospital for the individual investigation of Korean and Chinese POWs. Several Chinese American college students were employed to work as "interrogators" for the Intelligence Department.
In March 1951, Sun Zhenguang, a political instructor of the CPV, was brought to the tent for interrogation. Since Sun came from Zhejiang Province, he recognized at once from the accent that his interrogator came from Shanghai. Thus Sun purposefully answered his questions in the Shanghai dialect.

This "trick" indeed worked well. The interrogator asked the questions in Shanghai dialect. After a few words, he was delighted to accept Sun as a fellow townsman. Later, he called over several other "interrogators," and they sat round talking enthusiastically. When an American came in, he thought the interrogators were asking for "military information of the Chinese Communist Party." So he nodded his head and left.

"Mr. Sun," the "interrogator" called Sun Zhenguang politely. "It has been said that after the PLA entered into Shanghai, the civilians began to lack food and water. Shanghai was paralyzed. Is that true?"

Sun Zhenguang told them that once Shanghai was liberated, the People's Government soon reestablished the social order, recovered industry and agriculture, and checked inflation, thus the living standards of the people steadily improved. Great changes had taken place as compared to the past. Meanwhile, he explained to them the Communist Party's policies toward the overseas Chinese and the Chinese capitalists.
The "interrogators" listened to Sun with great interest. They said, "We overseas Chinese hope that our motherland will become powerful. During the Second World War, America and China were allies. But in reality, to the eyes of the Westerners, the Chinese were inferior even to the Germans. This tells us Chiang Kai-shek's China was too corrupt, and looked down upon by foreigners. . . ."

"Only the Communist Party can lead China to power and prosperity," Sun Zhenguan put in. He told them something more about the Chinese Communist Party.

Another "interrogator" said, "American generals say that Communists practise killing, burning and sharing property and wives. However, you tell us that the Communists are good. We don't care about all this. We only hope that our motherland will become powerful. American generals say China invades Korea, and you say America invades Korea and threatens China. But now that you are here fighting in Korea, it shows that China is a great deal stronger than before, even if it is invasion. . . ."

While talking, one young "interrogator" asked, "Will the Communists put me to death if I return to the Mainland, because I have served in the American Army?"

"If it is through proper channels, and not for espionage activities, the Communists won't do you any harm."
Upon hearing this, the "interrogators" broke out laughing.

An American Soldier Who Salutes to the POWs

In June 1952, the POWs of the CPV were being transferred from Koje-do to Cheju-do. One day, the POWs stood in a long line at the gate of the "nonrepatriates." They were getting onto the trucks, around which were the renegades armed with cudgels and bayonets. A little farther away, American troops were standing on guard. Suddenly, a short POW ran away from the line shouting, "I'll go back home! I'll go back home!"

A large stone hit him in the back, but he continued to stagger along, desperately trying to reach the "Repatriation Camp."

"Stop!" cried the renegades. The squad leader Xiao Qiqiang threw his cudgel onto the ground and caught up with the prisoner. As they began to wrestle, other POWs behind the wire entanglements shouted in support, "Go back home. Go back home." At last, the prisoner rose up from the ground and continued running, shouting, "I want to go back home." He had been wounded in the head, blood dripping from the corner of his mouth.

Taking out his knife, Xiao Qiqiang started chasing him again. He had stabbed more than one man with this knife. Now with heavy breaths and
bloody eyes that glinted as cold and ominous as his knife, he took several long steps. Clenching his teeth, he violently charged with his knife. "Ping"-the knife hit a metal piece, causing sparks to fly. An American soldier with a carbine had blocked his way.

"Hello!" Xiao Qiqiang immediately gave a smile. The American soldier was tall and white-skinned, wearing a pair of gold-framed glasses. He had witnessed all this. The short prisoner might have aroused something in his mind: he might have thought of his aged parents, or of his girl friend, or of the sweet scent of a meadow in his home town . . .

"Hello" the American soldier raised his chin.

"He is a Communist bandit, a red element. . . ." Xiao Qiqiang said with a smile.

"Go back!" the American soldier pointed to the opposite direction with his gun.

Xiao Qiqiang had no alternative and walked back resentfully. The short prisoner then followed the "repatriation" procession. When he passed by, the American soldier stood at attention and raised his right hand to his cap, presenting a military salute to another soldier.
KMT Secret Agents Who Resigned

In October 1952, an American Corporal took two hundred POWs of the CPV from Compound 1 to a warehouse at the Cheju-do Airport to carry goods.

The POWs worked the entire day without rest. Before quitting, the American Corporal counted off the number of POWs present. He found one missing, and at once started a search. When he found the missing prisoner squatting on the other side relieving himself, the Corporal went over and caught him by the ear, pushed his head down and forced him to eat his stool.

The POWs became indignant. They protested to the U.S. POW Administration. However, the only reply they received was cudgels and bayonets.

As Chinese, the secret agents sent from Taiwan to the "CIE School" in the camps also became angry. "The American soldiers are going too far in humiliating the Chinese." Several KMT secret agents handed in their resignations to the Colonel Commander of the U.S. Military Police.

Thus in late October, all the KMT secret agents in the "CIE School" on Cheju-do were transferred back to Taiwan, where another group was recruited. Before their departure, the "POW officers" in the camps held a
farewell party. They told the renegades Wang Yaoting and Wang Futian, "We come here not to make dollars but to work for the KMT."

**An American Camp Guard Who Had Been a POW**

Whenever he saw the Chinese POWs he would hold up his thumb, saying, "The Chinese people are very good! Mao Zedong is very good!"

He had once been a prisoner of the CPV. During one battle, he and several other wounded American soldiers were captured by the CPV. He had heard his superior state, "The rear service of the Chinese Communist Army is rather poor." He had seen with his own eyes how the CPV soldiers, their lips dry, prepared a last meal from the final drops of water in their canteens and with the last of the rice left in their grain bags, and how they fed him and other American soldiers spoonful by spoonful. He, along with the other American soldiers, shed tears. Once captured, they never believed they could escape death. It was beyond their imagination that the CPV would have been so kind and lenient. Because of changes occurring in the battlefield, the CPV had to retreat immediately. The CPV bound up their wounds and laid them by the side of the road with a stretcher, leaving them their precious water and rice... Thus they were treated in an
American field hospital. Following their recovery, they became the camp
guards of the POWs.

Two thorough examinations were conducted each week in the camps
during which each article was examined. When the POWs were at a loss as
to where to hide their newly drafted protests against the atrocities
perpetrated by the U.S. POW Administration, he would offer to keep the
"inconvenient stuff" for them. At first, the POWs didn’t trust him. He
pointed at his heart, indicating his own sense of conscience. The POWs
gave him several false pieces of paper as a test. After the examination, he
returned them intact. From then on, the POWs entrusted their materials to
him during the examinations. The American Army officers never dreamt
that what they were searching for was being hidden by their own soldiers.
Chapter Twelve

The Red POW Camp

An Undestroyable Entirety of Iron and Steel

Following the April 8th Screening by the U.S. Army, the 6,000 CPV POWs who elected to return to their motherland were concentrated in Compound 602 of the Koje-do POW Enclosures. The Communists in Compound 602 had learned from the lack of unified organization and leadership in their previous struggles, uniting the current 7 relatively large underground progressive organizations in the Koje-do POW Enclosures of the U.S. Army, such as "the May 1st and July 1st Patriotic Leagues," "the Patriotic League," "the Disgrace-removing Association," "the Fraternity," "the Returning-to-Motherland Group," "the Temporary Party and the Youth League Branch" and "the Lianchuan Headquarters," into one underground revolutionary organization named "the Communist Union of Unity." The main leaders were all members of the Communist Party, with Zhao Zuoduan as General Secretary of the Committee, and Sun Zhenguang, Wei Lin and Du Gang as its deputy secretaries. Guarding against sabotage and
treachery, "the Communist Union of Unity" established a strict organizational system. To recruit a new member into the Union, the group was to first examine the circumstances of his capture and his behavior upon becoming a POW; after which he would be presented to the Party Branch for further examination. Following this process the POW could be targeted for education, where he would be aided by a specifically appointed individual. During his 2 to 3 month probation period, those who could work actively, struggle hard and bravely, and unite the masses would be allowed to complete the registration forms. The application would be examined by the Party group, discussed by the Party branch and ratified by the Party committee, after which the POW would be notified of his acceptance. The primary organizational talk often took place deep in the night after the POWs fell asleep. The leaders of the Party committee introduced both the characteristics and tasks of the organization to the new members, put forward the members' regular work, and instructed the new members to keep strict security by not talking of their activities to anyone except liaison men. At the end of their induction, they made their vow by raising their hands. Meanwhile, American soldiers carrying guns patrolled outside the wire entanglements, searchlights sweeping about as the comrades kept a watchful eye from a covering. . . . When many of the former POWs recall this scene, they cannot help becoming very exited.
From then on, the power within Compound 602 was firmly controlled by "the Communist Union of Unity." Meanwhile the Union set up two systems of administrative organization for both internal and external requirements. The General Committee of "the Communist Union of Unity" issued an appeal of "Unite, Study and Struggle" to the 6,000 CPV POWs. They carried out frequent struggles against maltreatment, persecution, slaughter, and the demand to return home, which filled them with hope and strength.

From June and early July 1952, the U.S. Army escorted all CPV POWs from Koje-do to Cheju-do, imprisoning them in Compounds 1, 2, 6, 8. In Compounds 1, 2, and 6, there were over ten thousand CPV POWs "unwilling to return to Mainland China." They were called the "Nonrepatriate POW Camps" by the U.S. Army. Within Compound 8, roughly six thousand CPV POWs firmly demanded to return home. The American Army referred to Compound 8 as the "Repatriate POW Camp," or the "Red POW Camp."

Compound 8 was located in the western suburbs of Cheju city, at the northern foot of Hannu Mountains bordered by the Cheju Channel. The compound was originally established by the U.S. Army, taking advantage of a deserted airport. Lines of wire entanglements surrounded the compound. Along one side, six lines of wire entanglements were
erected and a barricade made of iron punctured wire was placed in the center. Numerous large and small watchtowers equipped with searchlights encompassed the compound. The interior structure of the main compound was divided into an eastern and western side by six lines of wire entanglements, with two passageway doors. The eastern subcompound was further divided into four smaller camps, and the western subcompound into six smaller ones. The distance between the eastern and the western camps was 200 meters, and between each smaller camp, 100 meters. Each smaller camp was enclosed by a double circle of wire entanglements. The method of a single large camp for several thousand POWs in Pusan and Koje-do was thus changed, to incarcerate only around 500 POWs in each smaller camp.

In order to destroy the plot to "divide and rule" by the POW Administrative Authorities of the U.S. Army, "the Communist Union of Unity" immediately established a systematic organization within the 10 small camps, which were referred to by the POWs as ten brigades. Starting with the first brigade, their code names were respectively: Youth, Vanguard, Glory, Soldier, Bravery, Advance, Iron & Steel, Warrior, Invincibility, and Hero. Each brigade contained its own branch of "the Communist Union of Unity" with the main leadership adopted by members of the Communist Party. In addition, 40 smaller branches at the grass-roots level of "the Communist Union of Unity" were established. Administratively, a
"Returning-to-the-Motherland Detachment" was established, consisting of ten brigades. Each brigade consisted of four companies and each company comprised four squads along with an affiliated squad (including a cooking team, a cultural recreation team, and a team of pickets). A confidential group was in charge of communication, and a writing group was responsible for compiling cultural text-books, both attached to the brigade. The administrative organization in the camp was under the leadership of "the Communist Union of Unity." Externally, each small camp had its brigade commander, a representative of the POWs, and an interpreter. "The Communist Union of Unity" had provided three sets of cadres, each level containing deputies to ensure the continuous communication and order of the organization under any circumstances.

Under the separate control of the U.S. Army, which had set up the concentrated guard points and multi-stranded wire entanglements, it was essential to have a strong network of communication if the plot to "divide and rule" by the POW Administrative Authorities of the U.S. Army was to be undermined. "The Communist Union of Unity" gave Comrade Tang Naiyao along with several other Communists the task of inventing a "general cipher and working out a communicating method." Before becoming POWs, these comrades had been telegraph operators and members of cultural troupes. They combined the modern knowledge of
science and technology with their highly artistic imagination to create a
method of "gesture communication," "field personnel communication,"
"stone-throwing communication," etc. guaranteeing unified leadership in the
camp, and delivery of confidential documents and study materials. On July
14, 1952, the underground communication network set up by Compound 8
adopted the use of cipher for communication, enabling the entire
compound to begin collective action within an hour of its receipt, even
though its 6,000 members were imprisoned in ten separate camps. The U.S.
Army was at first amazed by such a feat, but later became irritated. In
January 1953, a "general cipher" book edited by the POWs was discovered
by the American Army, and experts were at once sent to study the code.
But Tang Naiyao and his comrades soon made improvements upon the
cipher, inventing three separate sets of cipher to assure a continued
communication within the camps. General Clark, Commander of the
American Army, Far East and United Nations Command, wrote the
following concerning underground communication in the POW camps:

"The liaison methods of the 'Communist Prisoners' included flag
signals, gestures, whistles, songs, and throwing stones with messages
fastened to them. Documents could be concealed in grain, bedclothes and
supplies which were sent to each camp. They took advantage of every item
which could be employed for communication. For example, once some prisoners fastened a message on the body of a large dragonfly."

In September 1986, when I interviewed Zhang Da, a confidential member in No.3 small camp of Compound 8 of the Cheju-do POW Enclosures, he showed me the methods of "small gesture communication" and "large gesture communication," gestures which were simple, practical, flexible and clear. I was amazed by his demonstration, which could be worthy of the name of a "marvelous spectacle" in the communication history of our army.

"Small gesture communication" could be used directly under the eyes of the U.S. sentries or guards without their knowledge. This method was adopted in emergency situations because it required minimal action difficult to discover, but it was a slow way of sending out the message. The method included:

- Right hand feels chest to mean 1;
- Left hand feels chest to be 2;
- Both hands feel chest to be 3;
- Right arm akimbo means 4;
- Left arm akimbo means 5;
- Both arms akimbo means 6;
- Right hand touches ear to mean 7;
Left hand touches ear to mean 8;
Both hands touches ears to mean 9;
Both hands feel face to mean 0.

When each ciphered message was completed, both hands would hang down naturally. When mistakes occurred, the individual would kick his leg to repeat the message.

The "large gesture communication" resembled arm exercises:
Left arm stretching to right arm means 1;
Right arm stretching forward means 2;
Right arm raising up means 3;
Left arm stretching to left means 4;
Left arm stretching forward means 5;
Left arm raising up means 6;
Both arms stretching right and left respectively means 7;
Both arms stretching forward means 8;
Both arms raising up means 9;
Both hands pressing shoulders means 0.
Standing with arms akimbo meant that the cipher had been transmitted. When mistakes occurred, the individual would swing both hands to repeat it.

Starting from July 1952, the POW Administrative Authorities of the U.S. Army escorted in succession the leaders--Zhao Zuoduan, Wei Lin, Du Gang, etc. to the "POW Jail" located 1,000 meters from Compound 8. He Pinggu, a confidential liaison member in No. 5 small camp was also sent there. He Pinggu was able to transmit a cipher by moving in front of the window under the glare from the searchlights focused upon the jail. He transmitted the "Wang Fang Code," based on the "Morse Code." "di(.)" meant the person transmitting the message was on the left side of the window, "da(-)" meant he was on the right side of the window. "(,)" indicated 1, " .." meant 2, " ..-" meant 3. . . . After each group of the cipher ended, the person squatted down at the window. This method established the contacts with one another in the camps, thus the leaders in the 'POW Jail' could continue to command the struggle within the camps.

I was amazed at the wisdom and art of struggle from the POWs. This was a fighting body which could never be broken up nor beaten. The U.S. Army even had to admit, "It is very tough to deal with the Communists."
"You are the lighthouse,
Shining upon the sea before dawn.
You are the helmsman,
Guarding the direction in forging ahead.
Young Chinese Communists,
You are the core, you are the strength. . . ."

A large number of the POWs dressed in rags were singing joyfully in a loud voice under the searchlights. From the watchtowers surrounding the wire entanglements. The soldiers of the U.S. Army were watching them, leaning on the wire entanglements despite prohibition from their officers. The songs flew across the sky, and the inhabitants of Koje-do emerged from their doors, watching the lights from the POW camps far away and listening to their songs. . . .

It was August 15, 1952. In order to celebrate the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the POWs of Compound 8 held a singing contest. In Compound 8, the POWs staged not only the singing contest, but also an art show as well as theatrical performances, including modern drama and operas, and sporting events. Although the POW Administrative Authorities repeatedly issued orders to ban their singing and performances, and threatened them by cutting off their food and water supplies; and
although the traitors and renegades tried to destroy their activities by throwing stones at them, nothing could prevent them from participating.

Within the wire entanglements the POWs could not be assured of essential items, much less recreational and sports materials. Thus the POWs used petrol drums covered with rain cloth as drums, a useless steel pipe became a bugle, empty cans covered with mouse skin became Huqin,\(^5\) broken cloth tied with rope was used as a painting pen, pieces of hardened cement became chessmen of Chinese chess and Junqi, another Chinese board game. . . . Continually the American soldiers destroyed their self-made musical instruments and entertainment materials, yet they again sought out new materials to fashion into instruments.

A song and dance ensemble, consisting of more than 30 members in each small camp of Compound 8 was established. They included not only actors, but also writers and directors. But the participants in the performances comprised others as well. According to the estimate by reporters of the Xinhua News Agency at the end of 1953, during one calendar year in Koje-do, more than 960 POWs of Compound 8 participated in the performances, while more than 300 persons learned to

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\(^{5}\) Huqin is a general term for certain two-stringed bowed instruments, such as Erhu and Jinghu.
play Huqin. They performed more than 1,700 programs in all. Based on their recollections, they reorganized many programs such as the modern drama "Iron Soldiers," the opera "Liu Hulan, The Story of the White-Haired Girl," and the Beijing opera "Dayu Shajia." They also produced 1,040 original programs, such as "Backbones," "Life-and-Death Friends," "Happy Spring Festival," and "The Dream of a Wall Street Boss."

The most active POWs were from the No.9 small camp. Here approximately 600 POWs were imprisoned, most of whom were maimed with broken arms or legs. When the song and dance ensemble was established, more than 100 signed up, some of them crawled across the ground to register. Those watching the procession could not but cry. The writer and director of the song and dance ensemble was Gao Hualong, a member of the Anti-Japanese Youth Expedition Army who had served as director in a CPV Art Troupe after graduating from a Chinese university. Mo Fei was a music teacher as well as a director in the ensemble. After he became wounded and taken prisoner in a battle, one of his legs was cut off by a U.S. Army doctor, yet the fire of life in his heart did not die out. He worked with Go Hualong and Wu Chunsheng, and produced a number of songs which spread throughout the POW camps.
Adhering to the three principles of "Unity, Study and Struggle" put forward by "the Communist Union of Unity," they produced "a three principles song":

Unity, Study and Struggle  
are our common direction,  
We unite under the banner of Mao Zedong  
As firmly as iron and steel;  
We study Marxism-Leninism,  
Always march forward to win the war;  
We struggle bravely and firmly,  
Throw the enemy into panic. . . ."

In order to increase the propaganda among the POWs, the POW Administrative Authorities of the U.S. Army erected a microphone upon each wire entanglement. During its broadcast, the POWs would sing songs loudly together "Don't listen to it!" The U.S. Army soldiers' shouting could not drown out the songs:

"There is a big microphone on the wire pole,  
which creates trouble and tells lies.  
Its schemes and intrigues are seen  
through by us at once.  
Nobody will listen to it. . . ."

The Administrative Authorities of the U.S. Army, along with the traitors and secret agents, lured and forced the POWs to betray their own motherland to go to Taiwan or overseas. They composed the song "Our
Beloved Motherland" to inspire their comrades to struggle both overtly and covertly against the enemies:

"Return Resolutely
Return home resolutely,
Never change mind even to die,
Don't act as a slave of the enemy
Don't betray our ancestors..."
We are not prisoners, but prisoners of war."

When the U.S. Army forced several people to declare themselves as war criminals or dangerous elements for U.S. political needs, they would sing a song to tell the enemy:

"We are prisoners of war in battle,
But not prisoners who have committed crimes.
What crimes did we commit
When we protected our homes and defended our country?"

The singing of songs became a weapon for the empty-handed POWs. Just as the famous Russian poet Mayakovsky said," both songs and poems are bombs and flags." One POW told me that they continued to sing songs almost unceasingly in the camps. It was the time when we sang the most songs of our life, and some sang songs when they fell down under fire from machine-guns and flame throwers. . . . The singing stimulated the fighting spirit of the POWs, who, for the songs, paid with their lives. They sang the songs faithfully while their mouths bled. . . .
The "Painting Exhibition" organized by Compound 8 began at the end of 1952. The pictures were painted on "drawing boards," framed with wood or tent poles, and then plastered with box paper and cement bag paper. The dyes were made from leftover ash from cooking pans, lime, red clay, and grass. . . . Most pictures were portrait-paintings of the people in and out of the camps. There was a satirical drawing called "Such a Priest." It portrayed a priest wearing a mask, and saying, "Amen," with a Bible in his hand, but a lethal weapon emerged from his black dress and his white gloves were stained with fresh blood. The propaganda picture "We Love Our Motherland" depicted POWs shouting, "Long live the Motherland," standing in front of a butcher's knife. The painting "Iron Soldiers" showed the POWs angrily rebuking the enemies while upholding justice during their interrogation. . . . These paintings were filled with the POWs' yearning for a new life, love for the motherland, and hatred for the enemies. The paintings were first displayed within the camps, and then hung on the wire entanglements facing outside. This enabled the American soldiers to view them and allowed reporters from various countries to take their pictures. The officers of the U.S. Army were enraged and demanded the POWs to take them down, but the POWs stood firmly. When the soldiers entered into the wire entanglements to confiscate them, the POWs stood ready in
full battle formation while the reporters raised their cameras. The officers were forced to allow the POWs' "Painting Exhibition" to continue.

One evening during the weekend, the POWs sat in front of the wire entanglements to watch the programs performed by the cultural troupe. The members of the cultural troupe used the ground as their stage, with the stars, the moon, and the wire entanglements as their backdrop. The searchlights from the towers substituted for stage lights, while hardboard and cans were used as stage props. Both the actors and the audience were POWs living through thick and thin together. Such a feeling (blending and harmonious) could not be found in any other theatre in the world. Actors often emerged from the audience, once again becoming the audience when their role had ended. Here they need not sit in an assigned seat. "No Smoking" or "No Speaking" did not exist. No one stood up to leave while the play was in progress. All forgot the machine guns aimed towards them from above. The POWs were either cheerful, or shared tears with the characters in the play. . . . When a brilliant role was performed, it won the admiration of the American soldiers stationed outside the entanglements when they shouted their praise, "OK! OK!"
Study for the Motherland

Many POWs said they learned to read in the POW camps. At that time, among the 6,000 POWs of Compound 8, more than 3,700 POWs were illiterate or semi-illiterate. Most were workers and peasants' sons who had suffered great hardship and felt deep hatred, while others had been "blind men with open eyes" for generations. The New China called these her own sons and daughters.

From January 1953, the POWs had carried on activities for the "Study for the Motherland." They needed to defeat not only the armed enemies, but also their own ignorance. The camp was their "classroom." Within a tent, rows of students sat upon the ground. Some students were blind, others were disabled from losing an arm or leg, and some were the wounded whose heads were encased in bandages. . . . Here there were no textbooks, no platform, and no desks. A piece of broken raincoat was draped upon the tent wall to use as a blackboard. A small brush stained with tooth powder water bound by a rope was used as a piece of chalk; pens were made from cans and ink was colored water produced by heating bits of broken colored cloth and extracting the dye of wild plants; exercise books were pieces of broken paper collected from the garbage cans in the U.S. Army's barracks . . . . During each lesson, they stationed a sentry
outside the tent. Yet American soldiers frequently rushed into the classroom to destroy their materials and catch those POWs who were studying.

A committee of culture and study was established to direct the studying in each of the ten small camps of Compound 8. The POWs were divided into five classes, along with one Korean class, according to their educational level. The major courses were Chinese, mathematics, general knowledge, geology, and history. Discussions were held every evening, and tests were assigned each week or month. A rough scarred hand held up a pen. They showed their love for the motherland through the strokes they made. When paper was not available, they used a small stick to write words in the ground. To memorize the new words, some would write them on their arms or legs, and they took their textbooks with them wherever they went. The blind learned their lessons by heart, memorizing the rivers and mountains of the motherland. . . . By June 1953, 3,700 illiterate men who had known fewer than 500 words had been "reduced" by 2,400. Forty were awarded "the excellent study models," and 240 were awarded the "first grade study models" and the "second grade study models." All were awarded a medal comprised of a painting on a piece of iron in the graduating ceremony secretly held in the camps.
The POWs took advantage of the period when the U.S. soldiers napped to carry out political studies. Their greatest difficulty was the lack of textbooks. Because the POWs were locked up in the camps separated from the world, they knew almost nothing about society, particularly the accelerating changes taking place in the New China. Thus news concerning the motherland was vital to them. In the spring of 1953 a POW was repairing the road in the U.S. Army's barracks. Here he found a tract discussing the controlling of the Huai River and a lecture about the motherland's situation delivered by Fu Zuoyi, the then minister of Water and Electricity. He hid the tract inside his trousers and returned to camp. Everyone tried to read it before the others. Some hid in the camps at night to read it under the searchlight, others stayed until dawn to study it more. Afterwards, they tore off the pages and adopted it as a textbook of the motherland's situation, and it passed throughout the ten small camps.

In September 1953, the Xinhua News Agency reporter, Xiang Ming, recorded and narrated how the POWs spread a single copy of the "Liberation Daily" among themselves:

"In the spring of this year (1953) when the POWs were doing hard work outside camps, they picked up a copy of the "Liberation Daily," dated February 16, 1953, out of the garbage can. It was the only newspaper from the motherland that they could see in the camps. They were excited to
read of their relatives, whom they had not seen for a long time. They cut it carefully down the middle, and divided it into two sections. Using the most ingenious way, they smuggled it into each camp. The comrades in charge of the studies took notes from editorials and articles and read them to everyone. Although they instructed the POWs to "be careful and don't damage it" and "loving it is like loving our motherland," it became so worn out that it no longer resembled a newspaper because everyone wanted to look at it and touch it, and it passed through many hands. A returned POW, Jing Pu, still recalls the entire contents of the newspaper, and could recite several sentences from the articles.

Up until the eve of their return to the motherland, the POWs studied in earnest. They wanted to use their new found knowledge to help their beloved motherland.

Unyielding Man

"The Communist POWs--These are the people whom one cannot make bend."

-- by a U.S. soldier

The traitors and renegades, forcing the CPV POWs to betray their motherland, employed coercive measures to tattoo on their bodies characters such as "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia" and "Kill a Pig for
its Hair." Of the 6,000 CPV POWs in Compound 8, 2,000 were tattooed. These POWs condemned the enemy’s persecution displaying the insulting characters which they were forced to wear on their bodies. They made the decision to peel off their skin where the characters were tattooed against their will.

Since neither instruments used for surgical operations nor anaesthesia were allowed in the POW camps, they were forced to use a razor to cut out the tattooed skin, which averaged in size an area approximately six centimetres long and two centimetres wide. Great pain was endured causing some to sweat all over their body. Some POWs fainted from the pain, but when they regained consciousness they asked that the cutting process be continued.

Soon, without exception, the 2,000 POWs who had been tattooed had all cut the characters from their bodies.

On July 26, 1952, Deweya, Commanding Colonel of Compound 8, ordered the chief representative of the POWs, Wei Lin, along with ten additional representatives from the small camps, to attend a meeting where he would declare the rules issued by the U.S. POW Administration. Nems, a U.S. Army Major, had informed Wei Lin in advance that when the Commanding Colonel entered the hall, both the chief representative and the other representatives must stand up to greet the Commanding Colonel.
That day, the U.S. Army carefully prepared to subdue the POWs. A large number of armed soldiers guarded the gate and windows of the meeting hall. According to the arrangements made by the General Committee of "the Communist Union of Unity," Wei Lin pretended to be sick and was to be supported by others into the hall. Several minutes later, Deweya entered in slowly and approached the platform. A junior officer shouted loudly, "Stand up!" and the American soldiers rose to their feet. The POW representatives, under the leadership of Wei Lin, deliberately ignored him, and continued to remain in their seats. A U.S. Army officer approached Wei Lin, opening up his two hands to order him to stand. The POW representatives also ignored him. This demonstration greatly embarrassed the army officers as they could not believe that their armed soldiers could not cope with a dozen of empty-handed Chinese POWs.

Deweya angrily stepped onto the platform and started to curse, "The Chinese POWs attempted to organize a military rising and sabotage the Geneva Convention. It is you who are responsible for the serious consequences caused by your actions." He continued shouting, "You must obey the orders of the United Nations Command!" At that moment, the POW interpreter Gao Hualong deliberately interpreted "United Nations Command" into "the U.S. Army," which all the more irritated the Colonel. Meanwhile, the ten POW representatives refuted Colonel Deweya, "It is the
POW Administrative Authorities of the U.S. Army, not the Chinese POWs, that have sabotaged the Geneva Convention. . . ." Colonel Deweya had no words to respond and retreated from the hall.

At that moment, the 6,000 POWs, according to previous arrangements, acted together by demonstrating, shouting slogans and singing songs within the wire entanglements. In the meeting hall, Wei Lin asked to be treated in the hospital while the representatives demanded to return to their camps and protested against the U.S. Army. Under pressure from the POWs, Deweya had to allow them to return. The 6,000 POWs stood in two lines, applauding and welcoming the returning representatives.

In the camps, the U.S. Army Administrative Authorities ordered the check of POW numbers each morning and evening. Upon dismissal, the POWs would shout loudly, "Sha!" (kill) to keep up the spirit of the Chinese soldiers. The U.S. Army guards continually ordered a ban to the shouting, but their efforts failed each time. On November 15, 1952, a U.S. Captain compelled the POWs in the No. 9 small camp to obey the order, stating viciously, "If you disobey the order, I shall take away your blankets and straw covers and stop your food for two weeks." When he finished and ordered the dismissal, a loud shout of "sha!" rose to the sky. Angrily he ordered the POWs to dismiss, yet after three attempts the shout of "sha!" was heard. The officer’s face turned pale and as punishment he ordered the
POWs to smash stones for half a day. He removed Du Rongguang, Zheng Xuanming and several others for two days of punishment, threatening the POWs, "Whoever shouts again, they are his example!" When the meeting was dismissed, the shout of "Sha!" again resounded, a shout that would continue until the POWs returned to the motherland.  

57n Chinese Communist prisoners made comparatively little contribution to incidents of violence during the first 2 years of fighting in Korea. Late in August 1952 . . . however, they began a campaign of violence which did not end until their repatriation" (The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War, p. 45).
The morning of October 1, 1952.

In Beijing, the capital of the New China, people holding flowers and dressed in their holiday best poured into Tian'an Men Square prepared to celebrate the third birthday of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Compound 8 of the Cheju-do POW Enclosures was completely silent. Yet it would not be difficult for a careful observer to find many unusual precautions. The American Army had posted more sentries; the tanks were idling; the guns on the warships in the distance had been uncovered. Within the POW camps, alert eyes peered out from every tent door. The POWs in the tents were tearfully holding the bright Five-Starred Red Flags. They were waiting.

Following the "Dodd Incident," the two sides at the cease-fire negotiation table in Korea arrived at an impasse. The American side continued to insist on the so-called principle of "voluntary repatriation,"
whereas the Chinese side reiterated the demand of "total repatriation" according to the Geneva Convention concerning POWs. As the talks between the two hostile sides at the negotiation table became more and more heated, the struggle between persecution and anti-persecution within the POW camps became more and more intense.

In early July, the six thousand CPV POWs who demanded to return home were moved to Compound 8 of the POW camps on Cheju-do. The U.S. POW Administrative Authorities appointed Colonel Deweya, General Commanding General of Compound 8, Lt. Colonel Sharros and Major Nems Commanders, and Captain Brooks as their assistant. While only one American Colonel was assigned to the several thousand Korean and Chinese POWs in the Koje-do POW Enclosures, the American Army dispatched numerous army officers to the six thousand CPV POWs. Two additional lines of live wire entanglements and watchtowers had been erected. At night, the sky over the camps was lit up so brightly the POWs were able to read inside their tents.

In Mid-July, the American Army sprayed poisonous gas and sulfuric acid in the No.7 POW camp of Compound 8, wounding approximately a dozen of POWs. Through negotiations, the POWs in Compound 8 were allowed to raise their flags on August 1 to celebrate the Chinese People's Army Day. But that afternoon, the American Army forced the POWs to
lower the flags and proceeded to destroy the flagpoles without stating a reason for their actions.

On August 20, the POWs engaged in slave labor, outside camps stole the minutes of a meeting from the office of the POW Administrative Authorities of the American Army. The minutes contained statements made by Brigadier General Portner, Commanding General of the POW camps, and Major General Helen, Commander of the Korean Communications Zone of the American Army. The statements outlined the excuses for the butchering of POWs made at the meeting of the U.S. Army officers of the POW camps above the rank of Second Lieutenant.

Toward the end of August, more than two hundred and forty POWs engaged in slave labor outside the No.3 POW camp were detained in an open-air pit to prevent them from going on strike. Food and water supplies were cut off for thirty-two hours and three of the POWs were wounded by the American soldiers.

Toward the end of September, the American Army wounded fifty-four POWs of Compound 8 within a week, and conducted body searches under the scorching sun. The POWs were whipped one by one, and forced to salute the American soldiers.

On September 25, the General Committee of "the Communist Union of Unity" issued a directive to all the POW camps of Compound 8. The
directive instructed the POWs to "fight back the enemy on October 1 to celebrate the National Day. If the American Army interfered, they were to safeguard the National Flags at any cost, even with their lives.

The previous week, the CPV POWs had written to Commanding General Deweya of Compound 8 concerning the raising of the National Flags on October 1 to celebrate the National Day, but they received no reply. Previously Brigadier General Portner had declared in his June 2 memorandum to the CPV POWs, "...Your national flags can be flown on your National Day. . . ."

On September 30, the POW camps of Compound 8 held oath-taking rallies and organized shock teams, reserve forces and first-aid groups. Written requests for fighting assignments, applications, written pledges and letters written in blood were handed to the leading comrades of "the Communist Union of Unity." The POWs wrote on any scraps of paper they could find, such as cigarette-wrapping paper and the margins of the newspaper.

"I will repay the kindness of the Party and Chairman Mao with my life, and I'll let the enemy know that no one can deprive us of our patriotic right."

"We'll let the people of our motherland know that we are always loyal to her!"
"We won't feel regretful even if we die. We only wish that the people of our motherland could understand and forgive us!"

"We'll repay the kindness of our motherland with our lives, and we won't bear any grudge even if we die!"

The comrades who were selected for the job undertook an oath in front of the National Flag. All of them left wills, hoping their comrades-in-arms would be able to pass them on to their relatives. In their words, their lives had been sacrificed for the safeguarding of the national flags, and for the vindication of the national honour. They would feel no regret, even if they died. Their only wish was for the people of the motherland to understand and forgive them.

At seven o'clock in the morning, the American Army began serving breakfast. At the sound of a whistle, the CPV POWs of Compound 8 filed out of their tents. Ten solemn Five-Starred Red Flags were slowly raised against the rising sun attached to the musical instruments made by the POWs themselves. All the POWs lined up to salute the National Flags, their hands raised.58

The POWs were in tears as they looked up at the Red Flags. As they saw the Red Flags waving in the dark POW camps over the foreign soil,

58This is also recorded in The Handling of Prisoners War During the Korean War, which says that on the morning of October 1, 1952, "Chinese Communist flags were raised in all compounds" to celebrate the anniversary of the Communist Chinese regime" (p. 47).
they felt as if they had seen their own motherland and relatives. The National Flags had been dyed red from the blood of the POWs. While constructing the National Flags, they were short of red dye. The POWs cut open their arms and beat upon their noses with their own fists. Thus the red dye was their own blood.


At that moment, a rumbling sound emerged from the distance. The American Army had dispatched eleven tanks to surround Compound 8. The trucks, mounted with flame throwers, mortars and light and heavy machine guns, brought nearly one thousand armed soldiers wearing gas masks. Several fighter planes flew overhead. Captain Brooks, from the Intelligence Department of the Headquarters of the Eighth U.S. Army, came up to the gate of the No. 7 POW camp, escorted by a large crowd of soldiers carrying loaded guns. He shook the gate's iron railings, shouting, "Representative, representative . . ." The traitors and renegades called Brooks "old China hand," whereas the POWs yelled "cursed captain." He
had come to the CPV POWs as early as the end of 1950. Thus, many POWs had had dealings with him before.

Brooks brandished his pistol and shouted ferociously to the POW representative of the No. 7 POW camp who was approaching the gate, "You must lower the flag within five minutes, otherwise, you'll be held responsible for any consequences!"

"According to the Geneva Convention, the POWs have the right to celebrate their own National Day. Would you please pass the word on to the Commanding General? Please ask him to annul his unreasonable decision," the POW representative answered calmly.

"This is an order. You must carry it out!"

"We won't carry out such an order of yours which is going against a legitimate right of the POWs!"

The POWs continued to sing aloud "Five-Starred Red Flag is fluttering in the wind. . . ." Brooks, flustered and exasperated, proceeded to the gates of the No.1, No. 2, and several other POW camps, and found that not a single red flag had been lowered upon his order. He then returned to the No. 7 POW camp and again shouted viciously to the POWs inside, "I'm ordering you to lower the flag within five minutes or you'll be killed. No one shall be left alive."
The POW representative immediately protested, "We only raise the red flags and sing songs to celebrate our National Day. Why do you muster so many tanks and troops? What reason do you have to kill all the POWs? None of us are afraid of your brutal threat!"

The POWs were unable to restrain their fury and shouted in chorus, "We are not afraid of death! We've had enough of your half bowls of rice! You damned captain, if you dare to come in, we'll break your neck!"

Brooks reddened and then paled with anger. Donning his gas mask, he waved his hand and white smoke suddenly rose all around. The American Army had begun firing gas shells.

At that moment, the fifty-two shock team members who had stayed behind the cement wall of the kitchen put on their gauze masks. They were the warriors selected from the over six hundred POWs of the camp, whose task was to repulse the enemy's attack and safeguard the red flags. They looked through the white smoke of the gas shells at the Five-Starred Red Flags fluttering in the wind, and their eyes were filled with tears. Led by the team leader Li Weiwen, they swore an oath with raised hands, "We are the guards of the National Flag. We are determined to die for safeguarding the Flag!"

Suddenly, hand grenades exploded in the trench, tanks ran over the wire entanglements, and the American soldiers charged inside with carbines
in their hands. Over ten shock team members rushed into the trench in front of the gate. Upon the order "Go!" given by LI Weiwen, stones rained upon the American soldiers, who were left to stagger along. Tongues of fire spurted out from the light and heavy machine guns located in the watchtowers and tanks strafed the POWs frenziedly.

"Down with the U.S. Imperialists!"

"Commanding General is the murderer!"

"The damned Captain is the slaughterer!"

"Salute to the comrades-in-arms of the No.7 POW camp!"

In the midst of whistling bullets, the CPV POWs in the other wire entanglements shouted slogans in chorus supporting their comrades-in-arms in the No. 7 POW camp.

The General Committee of "the Communist Union of Unity" in the neighboring No. 8 POW camp sent by way of gesture a "message" to their comrades in the No.7 POW camp: "On behalf of all the other comrades-in-arms, the General Committee salute the heroic comrades-in-arms in the No.7 POW camp!"

Hardly had the machine guns of the American soldiers ceased fire when first-aid groups, composed of the POWs, began binding up the wounded POWs and carrying away the remains of the martyrs. Following
closely were several more shock team members who quickly jumped into the trench.

The flame throwers of the American soldiers fired at the trench and the kitchen. Some POWs were wounded. While rolling about on the ground, they shouted, "Long Live our motherland!" Some POWs were burned to death, still clutching stones in their hands.

One shock team member named Gao Yong rushed out of the kitchen, from which dense smoke rose, and cried loudly, "Please tell the people of our motherland that I love the Party and the motherland!"

He then picked up a wooden stick and charged at the American soldiers who were advancing toward him. An evil volley of carbine fire pierced his young chest. He used his last bit of strength to throw the wooden stick at an American soldier.

Ma Rulong jumped up from the trench and grappled with an American soldier who was shooting. Another American soldier came up from behind and stabbed him with a bayonet, once, twice, three times.

The shock team members held out against three successive attacks by the American soldiers. The American soldiers then fired their rifles to block the passage between the shock team and their reserve forces. Zhao Guoxi looked at his comrades-in-arms, stained with blood, and shouted, "Comrades, of the fifty-two shock team members, only a few of us are now
left alive. We should learn from the martyrs, safeguard the red flag, and fight to the bitter end!" Hardly had he finished speaking when an explosion came, and he fell into a pool of blood. The remaining five shock team members took up their blades made of iron sheets from the petrol drums, jumped out of the trench, and charged at the fully armed enemy under a hail of bullets, shouting, "Long live our motherland!" and "Long live the Communist Party of China!"

The other POWs joined arm in arm and formed a circle of protection around the Red Flag. Their clothes had been burned, their faces stained with blood, and their eyes were full of tears. They sang aloud, "The fine sons and daughters of China, be united as one. . . ." When the comrades-in-arms at the front fell, those standing behind them went forward to replace them. Thus the POWs formed a wall with their chests and defended the solemn Five-Starred Red Flag with their blood and their lives.

In the No.1 POW camp, three to four hundred American soldiers armed with their carbines surrounded over five hundred POWs sitting around the Red Flag. An American Army officer ordered the POWs to lower the Flag, but the only reply he received was the song "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation. . . ." The American soldiers rushed into the lines of the POWs, who tried to block the cold muzzles of the carbines with their bodies.
Wei Shanhong, a CPV decoder in charge of raising the flag, was pulled from the crowd. An American soldier went up and stabbed him in the waist. He turned around and seized the enemy's carbine, shouting, "Comrades, let's get up and fight! We can lose our lives and blood, but we can't lose our Five-Starred Red Flag!"

A fierce fight began. Because the two sides jostled closely together, the American soldiers dared not shoot and only stabbed at random with their bayonets. One POW grabbed the bayonet of an American soldier, the soldier lifted the bayonet with great force and as a result, the fingers of the POW were severed, yet he immediately seized the American soldier by the throat with his broken-fingered hands. Another POW was stabbed in the face. Blood streamed down from his cheeks to his chest, but still he held the American soldier tightly. Soon the POWs, were able to wrest seven or eight carbines from the American soldiers. Frightened the American soldiers and officers withdrew from the wire entanglements in haste.

An American Army officer demanded an immediate return of the guns from the POW representatives. The latter issued a stern demand for the wounded POWs to be treated, and a memorial meeting held for the dead if the guns were to be returned.

In No. 2 . . .

In No. 3 . . .
In all the other POW camps. . . .

The ten Five-Starred Red Flags continued to flutter high in the Cheju-do POW Enclosures under the protection of a great wall built from the bodies of the sons and daughters of China. To safeguard the National Flags, 56 POWs sacrificed their lives, and one hundred and nine POWs were seriously wounded.\textsuperscript{59} Two hours later, the POWs in the NO.8 POW camp lowered their National Flag of their own accord. According to the prearranged plan, the other POW camps followed. The American soldiers rushed into the No.7 POW camp in an attempt to remove the National Flag, but it had already been burned by the POWs. The enemy gained nothing, and had to withdraw from the wire entanglements, carrying with them their wounded soldiers.

The following day, the chief negotiator of the Korean and Chinese delegation, General Nam II, lodged a stern protest against the United Nations Command. The protest was as follows:

Lieutenant General Harrison

Chief Negotiator

Delegation of the United Nations Command:

\textsuperscript{59}The figures here are slightly different from those kept by \textit{The Handling of Prisoners of War During the Korean War}. The latter says, "56 POW's were dead, 91 hospitalized, and 9 slightly injured. Nine UNC personnel had suffered minor cuts or bruises" (p. 47).
On October 1, your men shot the bare-handed CPV POWs in Cheju-do POW Enclosures. Fifty-six of our POWs were killed, and one hundred and thirteen were wounded. From this savage and mean bloody incident, I am entrusted to lodge a serious protest against your side. This notorious bloody incident exposes all the deceptive excuses of your side for refusing to repatriate the POWs, and indicates that your side has the intention of sabotaging the cease-fire negotiation in Korea. Once again this proves that your side, having committed monstrous war crimes, is determined to oppose the peoples of Asia and the world as well. Your side must assume total responsibility for all the consequences resulting from this serious incident.

On the evening of October 2, General Helen, Commander of the Korean Communications Zone of the American Army and in charge of the POW Administration, held a press conference. He described the incident of the CPV POWs celebrating the National Day as a successful suppression of "a large-scale rebellion by the Chinese Communist Army POWs." He declared that his forces "have crushed the plot of the 5,884 Chinese Communist Army POWs detained on Cheju-do to run away."

From October 2 on, major newspapers throughout the world began to carry dispatches and commentaries on the incident of the American Army killing the CPV POWs.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Cheju-do on October 3, the massacring incident did not result from a "POW rebellion" at all, but rather from a plot on the part of the American Army which had been
formulated the previous month. Through the "intelligence personnel" planted among the POWs, they received information concerning the CPV POWs’ celebration of the National Day on October 1, "thus the second bloody day in the POW camps of the United Nations Command was arranged."

Yielding under pressure from international public opinion, Captain Brooks informed the CPV POW representative of Compound 8 that the POW Administration of the American Army had agreed to hold a memorial meeting for those who died protecting their National Flag, and allowed the representatives from the POW camps to lay wreaths upon the graves of the martyrs.

At eight o’clock the following morning, the 6,000 POWs gathered in the wire entanglements to conduct a memorial meeting for the martyrs. They staged a send-off for the ten representatives, who marched out of the gate of Compound 8 carrying several dozen wreaths. A solemn and stirring song rose into the sky:

"The Red Flags on October 1 are fluttering high,
The Chinese Communists record in blood the bloody crimes of the American Army,
The more brutal the enemy is, the more staunch we are
Our fists fight off the bayonets, the stones ward off the
machine guns,
Arm in arm, our chests form an iron wall,
To defend the Five-Starred Red Flag, and crack down on
the enemy's frenzy..."

A line of motor vehicles was parked outside the wire entanglements. Captain Brooks, representative of the American Army, occupied the jeep at the front of the line. It was he who shot to death four CPV POWs on October 1. Directly behind the jeep were several trucks, mounted with machine-guns. The middle truck carried the ten POW representatives, wearing black gauze on their sleeves and white paper flowers on their chests. A banner hung upon the front of the truck proclaiming, "Mourn over the martyrs of October 1." A large elegiac couplet was draped over each side stating, "Staunch and indomitable patriots, shedding all their blood for the fluttering of the Red Flag." The truck was loaded full of wreaths, and a large slogan displayed the words "Hold a memorial ceremony for our comrades-in-arms with tears, and make the enemy pay their blood debt." At the rear of the truck a banner proclaiming, "Eternal glory to the spirit of safeguarding the National Flag."

The motorcade headed for the seaside and halted in a valley at the graveyard of the Chinese and Korean POWs. Tiny rows of boards were erected on the surrounding mountain slopes recording the names, serial
numbers and dates of the dead POWs. Wreaths and elegiac couplets were laid in front of the graves. Standing abreast in front of the graves, the POW representatives and the American Captain first bared their heads and mourned in silence, and then made three bows to the martyrs. After that, one of the POW representatives conducted a memorial speech. In an atmosphere both respectful and solemn, the POW representatives sang an elegy composed by the POWs in commemoration of Wang Shaoqi who died in October 9, 1951. From that time on, POWs would sing this elegy at all memorial meetings to express their grief:

In a place without sunshine,
In the days of misery,
Your blood dyed red the foreign land.
In order to seek the light and hold firmly to truth,
You would rather die than surrender
under the threat of the enemy’s bayonets.
... May our dear comrades-in-arms rest in peace,
Our motherland and her people will remember you forever.

Captain Brooks then presented a wreath on behalf of the Commanding Colonel while the American soldiers bared their heads and stood at attention. The Captain coldly read, "Mandated by the Commanding Colonel, I pay my respects to the Chinese POWs who died on October 1 from an unfortunate incident. We admire greatly your patriotic spirit. Our Commanding Colonel guarantees that occurrence of a similar nature will never happen again."
Lastly, the POW representatives walked around the graves to convey their respects to the martyrs, reading to themselves the names of each of the heroes. History should remember their names: They are: Gao Yong, Deng Mingbin, Ma Rulong, Chen Jianhua, Li Daqian, Ma Heqing, Wang Baoyuan, Li Yuxiang, Liu Jinshi, Ren Xin, Yue Yunwu, Zhang Shusheng, Guo Baochang, and Li Zongxian.

The heroes have been dead and buried in the foreign land for thirty-four years; yet, none has been posthumously recognized as a martyr!

These men died in the defence of their National Flag, dying it red from their own blood. They did not ask for anything before their death, only praying that the people of their motherland would "understand and forgive" them. I have been puzzled by the words "understand and forgive." Did this mean that they should be understood and forgiven because they were unfortunately taken prisoner for defending their country and home towns, or because they died bare-handed under the National Flag? It is because of the words "understand and forgive" that I am unable to determine the true feelings of these martyrs when they died. This is a feeling beyond the description of such epithets as solemn and stirring, excited and indignant, ardent and righteous, or looking death calmly in the face.

How can we record such a page in history?
This did not conclude the October 1 Incident.

The following month, a Major of the American Army summoned Li Ming, a POW representative from the No.4 POW camp, to his office. Ensuring that twenty-year-old Li Ming was both young and inexperienced, he began discussing such matters as the international conventions etc. He then produced a paper previously drawn up for Li Ming to sign, entitled "The sanguinary incident of Compound 8 was brought about by a POW rebellion. The POWs themselves are responsible for that." Having had limited experience in the struggle, Li Ming signed without asking what the paper was about.

When Zhang Heshun, No. 4 branch committee secretary of "the Communist Union of Unity," learned of what had happened, he immediately called a branch committee meeting and decided to detain the American Major in return for the signed copy of the document.

The following day, Li Ming went to see the American Major and asked him to inspect the No. 4 POW camp. To reduce the enemy's vigilance, the POWs thoroughly cleaned the campsite to welcome the Major's arrival. An American Sergeant happily pronounced happily, "I'll ensure that the Major will come over to see how you've prepared for his welcome."
On November 5, at half past nine in the morning, the American Major arrived at the No. 4 POW camp in a jeep accompanied by a Second Lieutenant. Cao You, a representative of the POWs, along with an interpreter, was standing in front of the half-open gate to welcome them. Just as the American Major and the Second Lieutenant approached the gate, two CPV POWs who had been keeping watch on either side of the gate suddenly rushed out, grabbed the Major. They dragged him into the camp tent and demanded the signed copy of the document.

A fully armed American company arrived and surrounded the No. 4 POW camp. Inside the tent, the POWs ordered the Major to remove his troops immediately, otherwise they would not assume responsibility for his safety. Additionally, the POWs instructed the Major to send for two more people for the negotiation. The Major emerged from the tent and ordered the troops to withdraw at once. Soon a First and a Second Lieutenant arrived to join the Major in the negotiation with the POWs.

The POWs argued strongly, and on just grounds. The American Major asked the Second Lieutenant to go to his office and return with the signed copy. Accompanied by the warm applause of all the POWs, the three American Army officers watched dejectedly as the signed document burned to ashes.

On December 12, the American Army once again issued reprisals.
That afternoon, outside the No.5 POW camp, four trucks and a jeep containing American soldiers arrived. Commanded by an American Major and a First Lieutenant, a platoon of American soldiers rushed into the No.5 POW camp and drove the POWs, one by one, onto an area of open ground.

As previously arranged, they conducted a sudden search, and soon a Five-Starred Red Flag was discovered. The American Major smiled maliciously. He had finally secured the Red Flag that he was unable to remove on October 1.

The American Major ordered that the Five-Starred Red Flag be laid along the road leading to the camp. A line of American soldiers bordered each side of the flag. Holding gleaming bayonets while standing face-to-face with each other, the Major stood upon the truck and fiddled with a camera in his hands.

What a shameless scheme! The enemy attempted to force the POWs to step upon the Five-Starred Red Flag as they returned to the camp.

The No. 5 branch committee of "the Communist Union of Unity" gathered to discuss the matter, hiding themselves among the POWs. They decided to form a "seizing-the-flag" team consisting of Li Ziyiing, Fan Jie, Sun Fengqi, etc. The team was to retrieve the Red Flag from the enemy's bayonets at any cost, and vindicate their national honor.
Escorted by the American soldiers, the five hundred POWs walked with heavy steps up to the camp. Those who were assigned the task of taking back the Red Flag marched at the front of the procession. The First Lieutenant of the American Army ordered the procession to halt in front of the first line of the wire entanglements while the Major raised his camera.

Suddenly Zhong Junhua and He Pinggu leapt out from the procession like an arrow and quickly rushed into the guarded passageway, lifting up the Red Flag. Closely following them were the twenty members of the "seizing-the-flag" team. Their actions occurred so quickly that the American soldiers did not become aware of what was going on until Zhong Junhua, He Pinggu and Li Ziying had dashed into the camp. Inside the camp, the American Sergeant First Class ordered the gate sentries to close the gate of the second line of the wire entanglements. Thus, the members of the "seizing-the-flag" team, together with two lines of American soldiers following closely behind, were trapped within the passage between the two lines of the wire entanglements. The POWs outside crowded toward the gate.

Only three POWs and one American Sergeant First Class were inside the camp. The three POWs run around an iron sheet shed, and the American Sergeant, carrying his pistol, chased after them.
At one corner, Zhong Junhua dodged into the iron sheet shed. The other two POWs continued circling with the American Sergeant First Class in pursuit.

Zhong Junhua dashed through the iron sheet shed and into the kitchen. The Red Flag burnt into bright flames, reflected in the glistening teardrops on Zhong Junhua’s face.

The POWs hailed their victory cheerfully!

The Major spat and shouted coarsely, "No one shall leave without being punished." Immediately thirty-three POWs, including Li Ziying and Zhong Junhua, were taken to a nearby abandoned airplane shelter. That night, the First Lieutenant, together with several other American soldiers, arrived to remove by force the three "chief culprits" who led in seizing the Red Flag.

The wind rose from the sea. The dark night seemed boundless, the cold wind blowing hard. The remaining thirty POWs huddled closely together and began to sing sonorously:

The Red Flag, our motherland,
The Red Flag, our mother,
To live, we’ll fight for you,
To die, we’ll give our lives for you...
Beneath the searchlight beams, the American soldiers fired into the crowd. The sound of whistling machine guns was carried far away by the piercingly bitter wind.
Chapter Fourteen

Another Type of POW

Imprisoned in Compounds 1, 2, and 6 of the Cheju-do POW Enclosures were over ten thousand so called POWs of the CPV who were "unwilling to be repatriated." Under the direct control of the POW Administration of the U.S. Army, along with the renegades and secret agents such as Wang Shunqing, Li Da'an, Wei Shixi, these POWs were ultimately forced to settle in Taiwan except for four hundred and forty who returned to their motherland.

A brief analysis concerning the over ten thousand POWs of the CPV was given: "The three compounds for 'indirect repatriation' were each divided into five subcompounds, each of which fell into three companies. Each company was further divided into squads. The 'POW officers' holding rank over the squad leaders, the garrison team members, the administrative personnel, and so on, altogether amounted to approximately 2,800 people. This comprised approximately twenty percent of the over ten thousand POWs. If we assume that these people were unwilling to be
repatriated to their homeland, then the remaining eighty percent would 'not dare to return home,' even if they wished to."

Those who did not "dare to return home" had three fears.

First, they were afraid that the secret agents from Taiwan and the renegades would murder them in the name of repatriation. They had become so frightened by the wanton murdering and beating on the part of the secret agents and the renegades that they could not believe the enemy would let them return home. Therefore, they did not dare to express their wish to return to their motherland.

Second, they were afraid that they would not have the understanding and acceptance of the people of their motherland and the Party organizations, for these over ten thousand POWs had been forcibly tattooed with the characters "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia" and had joined the "Alliance of Opposing the CPC and Resisting Russia," signing the letter of their allegiance in blood. A statement had been released by the spokesman of the Korean and Chinese Headquarters on the issue of the repatriation of the POWs on April 6, 1952. Instead of passing on this declaration to the POWs, the U.S. POW Administration often spread distorted propaganda among them concerning the battlefield disciplines of the PLA.

Third, they felt too ashamed to face their elders and relatives again. The Chinese considered a soldier's capture in battle to be shameful. Such
concepts "You should die for a just cause if you lose the battle" and "You should show your loyalty with death" have been ingrained upon the minds of the Chinese people. The POWs were no exception to this underlying law.

The tide continued to ebb and flow, the sea rolled day and night. Not far away, just across the water, lay their dear motherland where their ancestors lived. There was the land that held their warm homes, their parents, wives and children whom they had missed so much, the roads they had walked on, with the bridges they had crossed over. But now they could no longer return to the place of their birth, the country they belonged to. The rolling seas would carry them to another island removed from the shore of their motherland to serve as coolies or cannon fodder. . . . Their mental anguish was too intense to put down in writing. In the Cheju-do POW Enclosures, people would often witness the heartbreaking sight of stark-naked, mentally destitute POWs, crying out loudly while clutching and drawing at the wire entanglements. Some POWs ended their lives by their own hands. . . .

We can certainly state that many heroes emerged from among the POWs, but several renegades rose as well. Heroes and renegades existed simultaneously in sharp contrast to one another. Yet there was another type of POW, neither heroes nor renegades, and a description of them is difficult
to portray. We hold a deep respect for the heroes while bitterly hating the renegades. But what about the others? Do we show sympathy and feel sorrow for them? Yes. . . . And with such complicated feelings I write this chapter.

They Became Mad

In October 1952, Compound 3 of the Cheju-do POW Enclosures "was haunted." It was rumored that the "ghost" was "red-headed, red-bodied and red-haired." At nightfall, no one dared to move about the camp, and the American soldiers would not dare to stand sentry alone. Wang Shunqing ordered the subcompounds to catch the "ghost," and Li Da’an was no longer so arrogant during the nighttime hours.

Several nights later, the American soldiers shot to death a CPV POW, claiming that he was shouting and screaming madly while clutching at the wire entanglements. When the men approached his body in the morning, they found the middle of his forehead scratched open. The blood had coagulated and the upper part of his body was stripped to the waist, bruised and scratched. Through the encrusted blood, the men were able to see the KMT insignia tattooed in the middle of his forehead.
Later it was discovered that after he was taken to the POW camp "unwilling to be repatriated" by trickery, he continued to state, "I want to go home." He kept repeating this while the renegades threatened and beat him. Several renegades then tattooed the KMT insignia on his forehead. "We dare him to say that again!"

He was next tied to the tent pole at the subcompound headquarters. A renegade came up and drew a large circle on his forehead with a color brush. He then painted the inside of the circle, one stroke after another. From time to time he took a few steps backward to make sure that the design was centered in the middle of his forehead. It seemed as if he was painting a fresco. Wang Shunqing, standing aside, said to the prisoner, "The blood letter with your signature has been published in the newspaper, and now you have been tattooed. Even if I allowed you to go home, the CPC would certainly cut off your head."

The prisoner cried loudly and bitterly. First he cursed, then begged for mercy, and then cursed again. But this was to no avail. He had been tattooed with the KMT insignia.

He was untied, and he rushed out of the tent like a frightened deer.

For several days he could not be found. Some said he was near the lavatory, while others said he was by the kitchen. . . . As soon as he saw
people, he quickly ran away, shouting and screaming madly. He scratched himself so brutally that his body was covered with blood.

He became mad.

He died.

He covered the KMT insignia tattooed on his forehead with his own blood.

What did he want to tell the people?

In the POW camps, many of the POWs were driven to madness, while the cranial nervous systems of many other POWs were seriously damaged by electric shocks. Under these inhuman circumstances, normal people became abnormal. As the Austrian psychologist Sigmund Freud said, "On the one hand, hysteria is a form of insanity. On the other hand, the fact exists that there are people with extraordinary intelligence, the greatest willpower, the noblest character and the strongest power of judgment, among the sufferers of hysteria."

Of those who suffered from hysteria, only one hundred and fourteen were repatriated home. The remainder were beaten to death, or disappeared after they were sent to the POW hospital. Of those who eventually returned home, they were first transferred to the No. 18 hospital of the former Northeast Military Command for treatment. What are these
people doing now? Did they eventually recover from their illness? I do not know, for I have not searched for them.

They Have Committed Suicide

He was called Little Li. A boy of sixteen, he possessed a plump build, protruding eyes, and two little dimples creased on his cheeks. Although life in the POW camps was very hard, he remained as plump and cheerful as ever. He was born into a poor farmer’s family in the Northeast. Being the youngest of six brothers he had not attended school, but after he joined the CPV as a regimental messenger he was able to learn a few characters. He served as a messenger in the POW camps. The renegades at the subcompound headquarters kept close watch over him. They tattooed him on his arm, and did not let go of him during the "screening." Although he worried and cried at first, he returned to his usual behavior within a few days—he was after all still a child.

He was short for his age. Even the smallest size of the POW uniform was much too large for him. His trouser legs had to be rolled up several turns, and his coat was so long that it hung past his hips. Dressed this way he delivered messages to all the companies and squads, and everyone called him "Little Li" wherever he went. Not giving any verbal response, he would
reply by narrowing his eyes into a smile. All the POWs liked to tease him, and even the American soldiers gave him a rare smile when they saw him.

It was Little Li who ended his own young life with a piece of rope one night in December, 1952.

The POWs became indignant, and demanded a thorough investigation as to why Little Li killed himself. It was strange that the renegades who used to bully and oppress the POWs kept silent that time. As a matter of fact, everyone clearly knew the cause of Little Li's death. It happened that one of the administrative personnel at the subcompound headquarters, a man with a pockmarked face began to display evil intentions towards Little Li. One night he forcibly badgered him, and continued to pester him in the days that followed. Little Li suddenly changed. He no longer smiled or spoke to the people he met in the camps, and he often wept in private.

One afternoon, a black corporal of the American Army drew his dagger and viciously threatened to tattoo the three letters "POW" on Little Li's back. That night, Little Li committed suicide.

The man with the pockmarked face, at the age of over forty, had pockmarks all over his face and showed a full mouth of yellow teeth. He smelled of halitosis when he talked. When the POWs called him to account, he pretended to be greatly surprised and gave them a flat denial,
while that American Corporal said that he was only "making a little joke"
with Little Li.

He died with an empty stomach.

Zhang Li came from Sichuan Province. He was only twenty-two
years old the year he was captured, and he was imprisoned in the No. 8
wire entanglement of the No. 4 company of Subcompound 2 in Compound
3 on Cheju-do.

Zhang Li was an introverted, timid, and overcautious man. Afraid of
being murdered by the secret agents and renegades, he was placed into the
POW camp for "indirect repatriation."

Toward the end of December 1952, Zhang Li accompanied several
hundred POWs to unload provisions from the American warships. The
POWs, sallow and emaciated with hunger, had to carry large gunnysacks
weighing fifty kilograms from the warships. If they walked too slowly, the
American soldiers would immediately beat them with guns. Several were
struck into the sea and drowned. At the end of the day they were forced to
line up. Before they were allowed to return to camp, the American soldiers
would search them one by one, preventing the hungry POWs from
smuggling even a handful of provisions back with them.

One day the American soldiers found roughly two handfuls of peas
hidden on the body of a POW. The man was immediately pulled out from
the line. In front of all the POWs, the American soldiers threw the peas into the sea. With one kick they knocked the POW to the ground, then beat him with guns and cudgels. As the POW cried out, they slashed his face with a bayonet, saying it was a "souvenir" for him. An American Major, standing nearby, smiled and said, "OK! OK!" The soldiers on the warships whistled loudly, to express their support. Zhang Li and the Chinese POWs lowered their heads, they could not bear to look at the heart-rending scene.

That evening, Zhang Li offered his own meal to two of his fellow townsmen, both of whom were hungry. They did not ask why Zhang Li did this, but simply wolfed down the food as soon as it was offered. Zhang Li was neatly dressed and sat there blankly, talking to himself, "How have we gotten into such a situation? It is worse than hell. When can we possibly get out of here?" He heaved a deep sigh, and tears fell down his slightly closed eyes. After the others had gone to sleep, he hanged himself.

We wish him to enjoy good food and a decent meal when he reached the nether world--no matter whether heaven or hell.
He was illiterate, yet, characters were tattooed on his body. He would never have thought that one of his pockets would contain his "holographic" will.

The day the Americans carried out the "screening," the squad leader had asked him in private beforehand, "Do you want to go home?" "Yes," he nodded. "Then you must take the piece of paper with the letter A, not the paper with the letter G." He did what the squad leader told him. As a result, he became one of the POWs who was "unwilling to be repatriated."

He hated the squad leader, and himself as well. Later, the secret agents and the renegades conducted periodic false screenings to bring the POWs under control and prevent them from returning home. They would first ask those who wished to return home to stand out, stating, "We’ll guarantee not to beat you, or to berate you. And we’ll let you go home." Those who stood out were then beaten viciously and returned to their tents. Such repeated "screenings" made the POWs unable to sort out the true from the false. Many people no longer believed they would be sent home, thus, fewer and fewer people stood out. But he would always stand out, and he was deceived and beaten. Nevertheless, he firmly believed in the two characters: "Return Home."

The name is not revealed in Jin Daying’s book.
He missed home badly, and his home town meant everything to him. He wanted to return, for there were his dreams and laughters . . . .

Once, Wang Shunqing said sneeringly to him, "Don’t you know where you are? This is the POW camp that would not be repatriated? The Americans will soon take us to Taiwan. You’d better drop the idea of going back home. Only if you die can your soul fly back home."

He bore in mind this last sentence. He wanted his soul to fly back to his beloved home town. From that time on, he thought about killing himself.

His first attempt to take his life failed, for he was brought back to life by his fellow POWs. He wept bitterly and said, "Why not let me die?" The squad leader reported this to Wang Shunqing. He was then taken to the garrison team for beating and was placed in confinement.

The day after his release from the guard room, he died as he had wished.

When Wang Shunqing heard of his death, he laughed and told the subcompound secretary Wang Zhushan to write a "holographic will" to be put immediately into his pocket. The "holographic will" was dictated by Wang Shunqing, "I fear the exchange of the POWs. I am unwilling to be repatriated to Mainland China. I am determined to go to Taiwan."
Both the Americans and the KMT secret agents arrived on the scene. His body was laid out in the sunshine, his "holographic will" placed unfolded on top of him. Photos were taken. His death became one more proof that the CPV POWs "would rather die than be repatriated to Mainland China."

Has his soul flown across the waters back to his home town?

They Lived and Died in Humiliation

He is still living now, though he is already old, and what life was left to him is a series of humiliating recollections.

The POWs in the camps were forced to carry stones to build camp housing for the American Army. He was lying on the ground exhausted, and beside him was a 100-pound stone. Compared to the stone, he appeared much lighter and smaller. An American soldier walked towards him with a carbine in his hand. He was tall and fat with a big nose, a blood-red mouth, and blue eyes which peered out above his thick whiskers. The American soldier kicked him with his leather boot. The prisoner, lying upon the ground, opened his eyes and forced a slight smile. He pointed to his shrivelled stomach, telling the American soldier that he was hungry—indeed very hungry. To sustain such hard physical labor, he, along with the
other POWs, was fed only 0.3 kilograms of coarse food every day. The so-called vegetables consisted solely of grape leaves. Of the two, hunger was a more serious problem than fatigue.

The American soldier turned back, took a couple of steps and lifted a pile of human excrement to the POW's mouth. A crafty and malicious smile glistened in his blue eyes. "Hello, eat . . . eat." He said in broken Chinese, while holding his bayonet against the prisoner's chest.

O, God! What kind of "food" was this? A layer of frost-like white mould had grown on it, and it was still sticky due to the damp sea air. The prisoner ate it. Although feeling nauseated, he swallowed it whole with closed eyes, unable to chew it.

The expression on his face was undoubtedly one of the most indescribable ones in mankind. Even the American soldier watched it openmouthed in astonishment.

As the prisoner rose to his feet, he patted the dust from his clothes and bowed to the American soldier. The soldier laughed heartily and kicked him in the belly. All at once, the "food" he had just swallowed was thrown up.

Through repeated investigation, I was finally able to track down his name and his file. He had returned to Mainland China. During his examination in the Neutral Zone he chose to return home because "two
CPC members had educated me"—Following his return, he first studied in the Administrative Office in Charge of the Returned POWs. During his study the Party officials issued a verdict that he was "honest and tolerant."
After completing his study, he returned to his home town to become a farmer. During the following years he was treated unjustly and suffered numerous hardships. When I met him in the winter of 1983, he was clad in worn-out cotton-padded clothes (described by one writer as white butterflies flying all over his body----what a cruel metaphor!) and supported himself with a wooden stick. His face was wrinkled, his hair had turned grey, and he was only skin and bone. He appeared senile and very sad. I did not have the courage to mention that humiliating incident which occurred back in the early 1950s, as I believed that he would not last long in this world. In his letter of appeal handed to me (it seems that it was written for him by an individual who was not well educated, for there were many misused words) he tells of the various types of humiliations he has suffered since his return to Mainland China. The following is what he experienced during the "Cultural Revolution," recorded by himself.

In June 1968, during the "ten year great calamity," the Commune Revolutionary Committee and the People's Militia Company tied me up, beat me viciously, and stripped me to the skin. I had a black placard printed with the characters "traitor to our motherland" hanging from my
neck. I walked around the commune for about three hours while being
denounced. I entered into the office of the Commune Revolutionary
Committee, half walking and half crawling. I explained to Director Li that
I was taken prisoner after I became wounded. Director Li would not listen
to reason, instead he shouted abuses and hit me with his fist. All five
members of my family knelt in front of Director Li, piteously entreating
him not to take me out for further punishment. He not only turned a deaf
ear, but beat me more viciously. I could not remember how many times I
wept, and how many times I went to kneel before Director Li. . . .

How I wish to contradict myself, declaring that I have mistaken the
name, or confused two namesakes, or that the one who brought this letter
of appeal is not the same person as the one who ate that pile of "food. . . ."

These two POWs were also well-known honest men in the POW
camps. Even the American soldiers knew of their honesty and willingness
to do any type of hard work. Therefore, the American soldiers singled
them out to haul the sewage and night soil. As time passed, only a single
driver accompanied them to haul the sewage and night soil, the other
guards having been dismissed. One day, an American soldier drove them in
a minitruck to dump the night soil at the seaside. The sky that day was
clear and the American soldier was in a good mood, whistling as the truck sped along. The island highway was rough, causing the truck to bump along the way. The night soil splashed out of the buckets, gradually seeping into the open driver's cab. It found its way onto the clothes of the American soldier.

When the American soldier smelled the foul odor and found drops of the night soil spattered onto his clothes, he flew into a rage and drove the truck into the bush, shouting wildly. Both POWs became so frightened that they were at a loss as to what to do. The American soldier flung off his soiled clothes and threw them into their faces. He then seized them by their hair, one in each hand, and pushed their heads into the buckets...

Following their punishment they got back into the truck, night soil dripping from their faces. At the seaside, they emptied the dozen buckets, then cleaned them and the truck. Then the final scene occurred: the American soldier drew his pistol and shot them. They fell to the ground next to the night soil they just had emptied.

At this moment, I can't help thinking of a story an editor once told me about how a comrade-in-arms of his escaped death on the Korean battlefield: As he was taken prisoner by an American soldier, the latter held a gun against him with one hand while searching his pockets with the other. Inside one of his pockets was a Swiss watch. The American soldier found it
and held it against his ear to see whether it was working. The editor's comrade-in-arms took advantage of that split second to put his hands around the American soldier's neck and choked him to death. Thus from being a prisoner he became a hero. If one of the two POWs just mentioned could have acted as the editor's comrade-in-arms did, their history would have to be rewritten. However, what I have recorded here is history, which allows no imaginative recreation.
Chapter Fifteen

The End of the Renegades

At two o’clock in the morning on the February 19, 1952, at the K16 Airport in South Korea, a C-46 type military transport airplane took off, soon disappearing into the dark night. A tall, fat technical Sergeant of the U.S. Army sat in the cabin. He was paratrooper Sergeant Harrison of the "Far East Command Liaison Brigade" of the U.S. Secret Service. That night he received his order from the Secret Service to drop three CPV POW groups of agents, whose code names were G, H, and I respectively. Before getting into the aircraft, Harrison ordered Group G to get off the truck, among whom were two Chinese, one tall, the other short. They were both dressed in CPV uniform, carrying rifles and hand grenades, and a bag filled with rice. At half past two, as the aircraft flew over Gushan County East of Chorwon in North Korea, Harrison ordered Group G to stand up and prepare to parachute. The short Chinese asked to parachute out after the tall one, and Harrison agreed. At twenty to three, they began their jump. As the short Chinese jumped, he threw a hand grenade back into the cabin.
The grenade exploded, and the aircraft soon filled with smoke. Harrison rushed to the cabin door and jumped out. The aircraft fell from the sky and exploded.

The short Chinese who had thrown the grenade was Zhang Wenrong, a CPV telegraph operator on probation. He had been captured in a battle in May 1951, and was imprisoned in Subcompound 4 of Compound 86 in the Kejo-do POW Enclosures. On December 13, 1951, Wang Shunqing, Commander of Compound 72, suddenly ordered him and the other four POWs to immediately carry their luggage to the headquarters of the compound. He offered no explanation and did not give them the opportunity to say good-bye to the others. They were then escorted by ship to Pusan and sent to the U.S. secret agent academy in Tokyo. Here they received brief secret agent training before returning to parachute into North Korea as secret agents. After Zhang Wenrong landed on the ground, he immediately contacted the CPV unit and Harrison was soon captured. Thus, the secret was exposed that the U.S. Army was forcing CPV POWs to act as secret agents.

The U.S. Army had begun forcing the CPV POWs to receive secret agent training from as early as August, 1951. At that time, the Korean War had entered into a stage of strategic defence. Although the CPV gained an important victory throughout the Five Campaigns, it appeared that the
Chinese would be unable to carry out one more campaign to eliminate the main forces of the enemy due to the large gap in armaments between the CPV and that of the enemy's. Korea is a long and narrow peninsula, the U.S. Army could take advantage of their superior Air Force and Navy to attack and interfere with the CPV from both the flank and rear. They could effectively land and attack the CPV, and damage the CPV's transport lines. This not only limited CPV's mobile fighting, but also checked a large number of CPV's forces from organizing the defence of the seacoast from both the east and west. Therefore, the CPV had to turn the mobile warfare into "protracted operation and active defense." The U.S. Army and Syngman Rhee's Army suffered from heavy attacks by the CPV and KPA. If they wanted to fight with the Chinese and North Korean Armies which possessed larger armed forces, rich with fighting experience and brave and tenacious spirit, they could not win by depending only on their superior Air Force and Navy and armaments. Because they had the disadvantages of weak spirited soldiers and sharp contradictions in strategy, they had to develop a strategic defense. The military confrontation lasted over two years, with the two sides equally matched. At that time the two sides carried on unusually sharp and complete struggles both on the battlefield and at the negotiation table. In August 1951, the U.S. Army began to wage the "Operation Strangle" and "Bacteria Warfare." They attempted to cut off
the transportation and supplies of the CPV, and to create disease areas. Meanwhile, they began to send in large numbers of agents to collect military secrets, and engage in sabotage activities to collaborate with their frontal offensive and break the strategic defense of the CPV. By May 1953, the Korean Detachment (Code name T.L.O.) of the U.S. Far East Intelligence Agency selected 179 Chinese POWs from the camps. These POWs were trained in a short period in nine groups, and then sent into North Korea to engage in sabotage activities. They primarily chose three types of persons (POWs): traitors in the CPV; former officers of the KMT Army or students from the KMT military academies; and renegades in the POW camps. These men became accomplices of the POW Administrative Authorities, suppressing and slaughtering the POWs. In addition, they also chose those who possessed expertise in radio techniques, such as Zhang Wenrong. Excluding the radio technicians, these POWs were called "the loyalists" by the T.L.O.. They included top men among the traitors and renegades, such as Li Da'an, Wei Shixi, Li Yurong, Lu Lu, Tang Jusheng, etc. Among them, except for several POWs who were shot to death or voluntarily surrendered in fighting with the CPV or the KPA, most were captured and received the punishment they deserved.

By half past nine in the evening on September 28, 1952, the CPV POWs of Compound 3 in the Cheju-do POW Enclosures had gone to bed.
Sun Zhonggen, a squad leader of Subcompound 4, was awakened by a messenger. When he arrived at the subcompound headquarters, he saw Wei Shixi, Li Yurong and another seven or eight people already sitting there. All were then escorted to the headquarters of the American Military Police, where they found additional POWs from other subcompounds present. Most present were "POW officers," and they knew one another. Several American soldiers kept a watchful eye on them, and did not allow them to speak. Because this had happened so suddenly, they were all puzzled. Anxiously, they made contact with one another through their eyes as they smoked cigarettes, one by one. What concerned them most was the possible interference of the POW Administration of the U.S. Army in the quarrels among the traitors and the renegades.

Earlier, when they were in Compounds 72 and 86 in the Koje-do POWs Enclosures, these traitors and renegades roped in some people to increase their own forces under the excuse of fellow townsmen or classmates. Wang Jiadi represented those who came from the military academies of the KMT; Wang Youming represented those who came from the KMT Army; Wang Shunqing was head of the Shandong Gang; Li Da’an was head of the Northeast Gang, and there were additional gangs such as the Yunnan Gang, the Sichuan Gang, the Blue Gang, the Red Gang, etc. In September 1953, Wang Wei, a secret agent of the KMT, arrived at the
POWs camps, and organized a gang of the "Third Force," shouting openly "Down with Jiang Kai-shek and fight against the CPC," while flaunting a flag supporting Li Zongren. Some became sworn brothers, while others formed alliances by either burning joss sticks or taking a blood oath.

The gangs plotted against one another and guarded their ground jealously. At the end of 1951, forty to fifty people who had come from the military academies of the KMT gathered together to struggle against Wang Youming, who came from the KMT Army. They opposed Wang Youming's hitting the POWs, considering this treatment a poor method to drive the POWs to protest against the Communists. Wang Youming admitted his errors on the spot, yet he continued in his practices. He abused the gang of the military academies for not being good at fighting, only good at showing off their cleverness. "When we were defeated on the Mainland," he stated, "why didn't you fight firmly with the Communists?"

When Wang Shunqing was in the Koje-do POW Enclosures, he pretended to be "a good man." He did not personally hit the POWs, but always sent Li Da'an to do it. When Li Da'an was transferred to another compound, his fierce face emerged in the Cheju-do POW Enclosures. After

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61Li Zongren (1891-1969) was elected vice-president of the KMT in 1948 and was acting president of the KMT in 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek retired temporarily from his political arena. Li Zongren lived in the United States of America for approximately 16 years. He returned to the People's Republic of China in July 1965 and lived in Beijing until his death in January 1969.
he entered the Cheju-do POW Enclosures, the POWs' life became more odious than before. Seventy percent of the food they ate was wheat, and the only vegetable included was radish leaf, without any oil. Hard labor became more intense than before. And because their dream of going to Taiwan could not be realized, some "POW officers" were getting more resentful day by day. In order to suppress this resentfulness, Wang Shunqing acted more imperiously, strictly, and fiercely to control the POWs. He said, "These thousands of people would be my capital when I arrived in Taiwan." In addition, the internal struggle among the traitors and renegades was intensifying. Li Mingde, one of Wang Shunqing's trusted hatchet men, tried to commit suicide by swallowing gold after he turned hostile towards Wang for unknown reasons. When he failed in his attempt, he organized dozens of men to assassinate Wang. Wang was aware of his plan, so he made an appointment with Li. But Wang was almost killed on the spot by Li with a pair of long scissors. It was fortunate that Wang was prepared. He suddenly grabbed Li's hand and shouted loudly, "Come on, everybody!" Li turned back and ran away. When he got to the gate the guards used large sticks to knock him down, and he was carried out of the wire entanglements. Li's ten accomplices were placed into confinement for punishment. Subcompound Commander Li Yourong and
"Life here is very hard in the camp and we don't know when we can be free."

"Would you like to serve the United Nations?"

"Yes, I would like to."

"If the U.N. sent you to do a risky job, are you willing to go?"

"Yes, I am."

The U.S. Army Captain stood up, patted Sun’s shoulder and shook his hand. Sun Zhonggen had passed the examination.

That evening, these twenty-odd people were locked up in a separate room for confinement. Up to that time, it had been unclear what the American Army wanted from them. The following morning, they were sent to the Cheju-do Airport, and then on to Pusan before arriving at a POW enclosure. In a registration office of the POW Administrative Authorities of the U.S. Army, their registration cards were presented. Several cards were destroyed, while the others were entered on a list of casualties. From then on, these people’s names disappeared from the official POW registration lists. Not long ago, on July 17, in a letter which declared, "in order to express the sincerity of both sides," Harrison, chief American delegate of the armistice talks, informed the Koreans and Chinese of the list of names of those who had escaped. The list included the name Zhang Wenrong, along with others who were transferred out to receive secret agent training.
Afterwards they were again sent to Seoul. They left Inchon in a ship and headed towards a small island located of the south coast of Korea. The island contained a secret agent training academy of the T.L.O. where the POWs of the CPV and KPA were forced to receive secret agent training. The previous five groups of the CPV POWs forced to become secret agents had been trained in a T.L.O. secret agent school in Tokyo. Beginning with the sixth group, the POWs were transferred for training to the Korean Peninsula. Facilities at the secret agent academy were very crude, for little equipment was provided. The school was comprised of five rows of one-story houses. The POWs receiving training, together with the guards from Syngman Rhee's Army, shared one large house. Here they received a month long period of training, learning how to recognize terrain, the use of weapons, parachuting, certificate forging, and how to disguise themselves, all skills required of an secret agent. The head of the secret agent academy was an American Army Captain. In the "opening ceremony," he declared, "From this time on, you are no longer POWs, but secret agents of the United Nations. Starting today, you will be paid by the United Nations. You should do your best for the United Nations." He also reminded them of their POW identifications and their positions. If they were reluctant to be trained, or did not show an effort while being trained, they would put their own lives in jeopardy.
When the truth came out, these POWs suffered from both mixed and complicated feelings. Wei Shixi and Li Yourong had committed numerous evil deeds, and had long ago decided to fight the Communists to the bitter end. But when they were asked to become secret agents or place their lives in danger, they grew frightened. Several plucked up their courage and asked if they could do other work. But once they arrived on the island, they had no choice. In 1955, a secret agent named Yu Changzhi, in his confession to the military court, told the following:

Headed by Wang Zhongyin, we asked for Li, the interpreter, for help, telling him that we were not willing to go to North Korea to work as secret agents because of our lack of ability. That afternoon Mr. Li, the interpreter, brought a First Lieutenant of the U.S. Army to interrogate all eight of us. Ordering us to stand in line at attention, he questioned us one by one, "Why don't you want to go?" We answered, "We all came from the army. We are unable to do secret agent work, for we are all illiterate. However, we are willing to go to the front to catch sentinels." The First Lieutenant of the U.S. Army became very angry and cursed us, waving his hand, "You are all scoundrels! I'll kill you all!" A moment later, he issued a three-minute deadline for us to think over our choice and decide. Those willing to go to North Korea as secret agents were asked to move one step back, those unwilling were told to stand still. The eight of us traitors
stood at attention, with our legs trembling. I stepped back first, then the others followed suit.

In the fifth chapter of this book, I mentioned that a squad leader, Chen Jiaying, was transferred to be trained by the American Army. On June 24, 1952, he was sent to Wonsan in North Korea to find out the effect of the spreading of bacteria by the U.S. Army. Immediately after landing in Wonsan, he surrendered himself to the CPV. The military court did not lodge a suit against him, and he was set free and returned home. The "coward" Chen Jiaying and his like suffered from an intense mental struggle. In early 1953, he wrote:

Everyday I lay alone on my bed after training. I often said to myself, "Oh, my parents, you should not have given birth to me. Now I have not only become an ashamed traitor, but also a secret agent who was hated by everyone." I thought of the fact that in my family tree not another person existed like myself! I also remember my mother in tears saying to me when I left home, "No matter you study or work outside the home, you should be loyal and sincere, and do things kindheartedly. In so doing, God will protect you!" But, "a secret agent" was not a loyal or sincere man. As I thought of this, I used to jump up from my bed. I said in a solemn and stirring tone, "To live is to struggle!" The people sitting by my side thought that I must have gone mad...

In actuality, the American espionage agency treated the traitors very cruelly. Boiled peas were the only food served at every meal. Several times those traitors made trouble by throwing away the food and leaving the table
in a great mess. They cursed loudly, "In the camp you let us starve to death. You want us to be secret agents, but you only give us such things to eat!" They wore second-hand uniforms which had previously been worn by the U.S. soldiers. Not until after they graduated from the secret agent academy were they each given one apple and five pieces of candy. The traitors began to realize that the Americans had regarded them as worthless people. The traitors felt bitter, although this kind of feeling was despicable.

In 1955, one secret agent, Shi Huaichao, wrote:

The Americans did not offer us any special treatment and there was no education, but they had a way to control us. Although most of us were KMT members, the rest were neither Communist members nor KMT members. Anyhow, everyone knew that we had done things which were not worthy of the motherland or the people, and we were also cheated by our enemies. We did not dare to return to our motherland, but in fact we wanted to return home very much. We felt very painful. The Americans said that we were desperados, and that we were like those who only counted each day they lived. On the one hand, we dared not return home, on the other hand, we feared that we would either be shot to death for performing secret agent activities for the U.S. soldiers, or again be placed in confinement if we did not. The Americans seized upon our weak point. They just kept us alive. . . . The Americans told us that as secret agents we should obey orders; otherwise, we might be counter agents sent by the Communists. . . .

The POWs who refused to engage in espionage activities were either secretly executed or locked up by the American secret agency. Early in October 1951, Guo Baotong, a POW of Compound 72 in the Koje-do
POW Enclosures, was forced to receive secret agent training. He was sent back to the CPV to collect military information. Guo Baotong lay upon a small hill at the front for one night, and the following day he returned to the secret agency in Seoul. During that time Guo said that he was not willing to be an secret agent betraying his own motherland. Meanwhile, he cursed Kim, a South Korean officer in the secret agency in Seoul, "Wasn't it enough for you to be a conquered nation of Japan? You are now again willing to be conquered by the Americans?" After Guo refused to be a secret agent for a second time, he was summoned for a talk by Wang, a section chief of the secret agency in Seoul. Wang said, "If you are not willing to do secret agent work for the United Nations, you will see consequences of that choice in a couple of days." Later, Guo was escorted into a jeep and secretly shot to death. Afterward, the secret agency of the U.S. often used Guo as an example to threaten those POWs not wanting to become secret agents. They said, "If you don't like to do secret agent work for the United Nations, you will enter here alive, and exit dead."

Additionally they spread the rumor: "The Communists have built a large water dungeon in Andong used specially for people like you. If you return to the Communists, you will surely end up dead."

A cave, located mid-way on the Seoul road, was used to imprison the Chinese and North Korean POWs who did not want to become secret
agents. Ma Xinglong and the other eight CPV POWs were imprisoned here until they agreed to do secret agent work.

The mission ordered by the American secret agency was very simple. The POW secret agents would first be disguised as both CPV officers and soldiers. Armed with weapons and various false certificates, they were to secretly enter into North Korea. They were then to return and report what they had seen along the way. Before they set off, the Americans told them that "After each of you accomplishes five missions, we will offer you a South Korean girl and send you to Taiwan to spend the rest of your life."

In reality, few secret agents were able to return after completing five missions before being arrested or killed. The secret agency of the U.S. Army considered it "a success even if only one percent of the secret agents accomplish their missions." Considering that the secret agents were trained in so short a time, and that there was so large a number of people involved in such a simple task, the U.S. secret agency could not have taken seriously those traitors among the CPV POWs. Their sole purpose in so doing might have been to weed out those "qualified" people.

Li Da'an was one of those who was considered "qualified" by the American secret agency. His hands had been stained with the Communists' and the POWs' blood, and he could well be regarded as the one who had committed the most heinous crimes. He himself selected twenty renegades
from the Cheju-do POW Enclosures for the U.S. secret agency. These renegades, after being trained, were sent to the CPV occupied area to conduct espionage activities. At the end of November 1952, Li Da'an was transferred for training to the secret agent school on the Korean Peninsula. After graduation, he was sent to the dispatch troop of the Headquarters of the American Army, Far East. Here Li was ordered to organize a "special intelligence group," and to personally select its members. Li Da’an then went on to the Cheju-do POW Enclosures with Fakes, an American secret agent. Li transferred his trusted followers Wang Zhushan, Wang Qin, Liu Fei, and Wang Huaili to Seoul. After they received two months' training in the collection of information and radio operation, they were assigned secret agent tasks: to parachute into the mountains of North Korea and develop this area as a base for a secret agent network; and to collect information concerning China's military, political and economic developments. They drew up a working program for Li Da’an's "special intelligence group, "where they listed in detail what they needed, such as information regarding the Chinese armed forces, politics and economics; the methods and procedures of secret agent operations; the methods and measures of setting up liaison stations; the solutions to emergency situations, etc. Before their departure, everyone was assigned a code name: Peng Fei for Li Da’an, Shen

On the night of April 22, 1953, Li Da’an, together with Wang Qin, parachuted out of a U.S. transport aircraft into the mountains of North Korea. Each carried with them a rifle and a hand gun, forged documents and letters, a telegram code book, money, and other tools used for espionage activities. Three days later, Li Da’an and Wang Qin were captured by the KPA and transferred to the CPV. On June 15, 1958, the Military Procuratorate of the Beijing Military Area Command, after repeated investigations, instituted proceedings in the Beijing Military Court against Li Da’an. His crimes included betrayal of the motherland, slaughtering fellow POWs, and taking part in U.S. spy activities, causing harm to his country’s security. The Military Procuratorate recommended severe punishment to the Military Court. On June 21, Li Da’an was publicly prosecuted in the lockup of the Beijing Military Area Command. Li Da’an, once a vicious and cruel slaughterer, appeared pale and was escorted to the defendant’s seat under the angry eyes of the public. He fully admitted to each crime listed in the indictment by the Military Procuratorate of the Beijing Military Area Command. On June 24, 1958, Li Da’an was sentenced to death by the Military Court of the Beijing Military Area Command.
Li Da’an did not agree with the court verdict, and lodged an appeal to a higher court. The Military Court of the Supreme People’s Court tried his case and declared, "It is judged that the original verdict is correct, and the appeal was overruled." On July 7, the order to execute Li Da’an was signed by Dong Biwu, then Head of the Supreme People’s Court.

At half past four on the afternoon of July 10, 1958, a single bullet ended the criminal life of Li Da’an somewhere on the outskirts of Beijing.

Within the POW camps of the U.S. Army, both the Communists and other POWs who loved their motherland waged a life-and-death struggle against the traitors and renegades. "The Communist Union of Unity" and other revolutionary organizations organized the POWs to kill those traitors who had committed the crime of murdering their fellow POWs. Many POWs devoted their lives to the task of killing the traitors.

In order to kill the traitor Li Xiaoguang, who had previously betrayed and killed many POWs, Duan Xingwei had been killed by him. Comrade Tao Junshan took the opportunity during a sanitation inspection to fight against a Second Lieutenant of the U.S. Army. In retaliation for his action, he was beaten up and sent to jail. While being let out for exercise, he approached Li Xiaoguang, who had come to interrogate the POWs, and knocked him down, but Li Xiaoguang was saved by the American soldiers. Later, Liang Guohua again tried to kill Li Xiaoguang while he was going
out to do labor, but instead he himself was shot. In total, five people were injured or killed in their attempt to kill Li Xiaoguang.

During the last ten days of September 1952, when the CPV POWs in the No. 8 camp in the Cheju-do POW Enclosures were preparing to celebrate the National Day and wage the struggle of raising the flag, a traitor appeared in the No. 9 POW camp. This traitor tried to escape from the camp while the Americans were delivering grain. While holding the hand of an American Sergeant First Class, he said that he had information to report to the Americans. The officer could not understand him. The POW interpreter Zhang Jiliang approached and said to the American officer, "He is against you, and said that you gave too little food and he is hungry." When he heard these words, the Sergeant cursed and kicked him down. After he fell, several POWs pulled him back into the wire entanglement. During the night, the General Committee of "the Communist Union of Unity" instructed the traitor to be killed and his body to be buried two meters deep under the tent. The following day, the U.S. Army noticed that something was amiss and conducted a general examination of the No. 9 camp. After checking the numbers and finger-prints of the POWs, they discovered one missing. The POW interpreter Zhang Jiliang

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62 Such things did occur in the POW camps. In November 1951 alone, "15 anti-Communist POW's had been executed inside a compound after a midnight trial by fellow POW's" (The Handling of POW's During the Korean War, p. 23).
told the U.S. officers that the man could no longer stand his hunger and had escaped the previous night. The U.S. soldiers staged a search around the camp, but failed to find him.

The traitors and renegades, such as Wang Shunqing, went to Taiwan when the Korean War came to an end. Yet wherever they went, they would be nailed to the shameful pole of history and spit upon by later generations of the Chinese people.
Chapter Sixteen

The Road Leading to the Motherland

The Arms of the Motherland

It was New Year's Day 1953. The sky was clear over the Korean Peninsula. The warm rays of the sun shone upon the POW camps both to the south and to the north of the 38th Parallel.

In Compound 8 of the Cheju-do POW Enclosures of the American Army, located south of the 38th Parallel, six thousand CPV POWs were lining up in the ten POW camps to celebrate the New Year's Day. The POWs in each camp greeted one another shouting across the wire entanglements, "Happy New Year!" A jubilant atmosphere prevailed. "Wish you an early return to our motherland!" and "See you at home next New Year!" "May you have an early reunion with your family!" The General Committee of "the Communist Union of Unity" assigned to all POWs a new mission in 1953: "Deepen our hatred for the enemy, enhance our morale, strengthen unity, solidify internal affairs, and prepare to welcome our victory. The American POW Administration distributed
cream crackers to the POWs as New Year presents. Because of embezzlement at all levels, each POW eventually received only a single piece of cracker. Some POWs hung the crackers from a piece of thread. Puzzled, an American guard asked, "You don't like cream crackers, do you?" "We like it very much," answered the POWs. "But if we ate it, we would not see it any longer. Therefore, we would rather hang it up." The American guard felt rather embarrassed. He watched the hunger-stricken POWs giving their recreational performances, while other POWs cheered. Once again, he shrugged his shoulders in bewilderment. . . .

An atmosphere of enjoyment and relaxation emanated from a Chinese POW camp located north of the 38th Parallel. Some POWs played card games and chess in groups of threes and fours, engaged in a happy and peaceful "struggle," while others read the latest wall newspaper. What interested them most was the discussion over peace and morality, ideals far above their level of existence. Several chatted about the fall sports meeting and Christmas evening. An American officer dwelled on his experiences in the heavy weight boxing contest; an English soldier claimed that he was writing a report for the Worker's Daily about the sports meeting; an American officer who had once suffered in Hitler's concentration camps said, "The Germans believed in the Roman Catholic Church and Christianity. However, they not only prevented us from celebrating
Christmas, but also maltreated us. The Chinese are not Christians. Nevertheless, they arranged for us to have a grand Christmas celebration and treated us very kindly. I deeply believe that China is one of the most civilized nations on earth."

At that time, no one could be certain regarding the destiny of the POWs of the two warring sides, and the prospects of the Korean War.

On October 8, 1952, Harrison, chief delegate on the American side for the armistice talks, unilaterally declared an indefinite suspension to the talks in Panmunjom, and the negotiation concerning the issue of repatriation once again reached an impasse.

Under such circumstances, the CPV POWs were secretly prepared for an armed rebellion.

One evening in November, two hundred Chinese POWs from Compound 8 were taken to the dock to unload American ships.

The night was bitterly cold and everything became frozen from a piercing wind. An American officer stamped his feet to and fro, his overcoat drawn over his head. The handgun at his back twinkled in the dim light. He took out a cigarette and struck two matches in succession, but the sea wind blew out the flames. Just then, Wang Xiwen, a CPV POW, approached the officer with a smile and volunteered to light his cigarette. When the cigarette was lit, the intoxicating smell of tobacco
caused the officer to close his eyes in contentment. When he opened his eyes, the CPV POW had returned to the procession carrying sacks. . . .

The following day, the American officer found his pistol missing. A group of armed American soldiers drove the POWs who had worked on the dock the previous day into an open field, where they were stripped of all their clothes and thoroughly searched in the bitter cold. The tents in the POW camps were turned upside down. After a full day of searching, the American soldiers left empty-handed.

The missing handgun had been buried that very day. By then, the POWs had secretly collected more than thirty gallons of gas, several hundred automatic rifle cartridges, four detonators, and three small explosives. In addition, the POWs had constructed one hundred daggers and two hundred knives out of gas barrels. Previously, they had dispatched two CPV soldiers of Korean nationality, Yoon Keun-pae and Kim Sung-hyeon. Under the cover of darkness, they risked their lives to climb over the wire entanglements to search for the Hannu Mountains guerrilla forces in Cheju-do. They planned their rebellion by collaborating with the forces outside. But unfortunately, both Yoon Keun-pae and Kim Sung-hyeon were captured by the American soldiers in Hannu Mountains and returned to the POW camps. Although their first attempt ended in failure, the POWs continued to prepare for an armed rebellion. They decided that once
negotiations broke down completely, they would prepare for a last-ditch stand with their own lives.

On November 5, 1952, the results of the U.S. presidential campaign were announced. Eisenhower, the Republican nominee, was elected President, ending the more than 20 year control of the Democratic Party. The Korean War was a major heated topic of debate during the election. Even General Clark, Commander of the American Army, Far East and United Nations Command, admitted that the Korean War "is one of the most unpopular wars in American history, and the American people have explicitly expressed their wish to end this war." In a speech on October 24, the polling day of the general election, Eisenhower promised the voters that if he was elected President, he would plan "to go to Korea to end the war." His address enabled him to win over large numbers of voters. The "Washington Star" reported, "All women hate war in Korea or any other place. Mothers seize on a promise, and try to prevent their sons from entering the war." Ex-president Truman sent an ironic message following the outcome of the general election to Eisenhower: ". . . If you still want to go to Korea, the Independence is at your disposal." "The Independence" was President Truman's private plane. Eisenhower replied the same day, "I am extremely grateful to you for your generous and kind message sent to me. . . . What makes me feel most indebted is your offer to me to use 'the
Independence.' However, you may rest assured that a proper transport
plane provided by any one of the three armed services will meet the needs
of my trip to Korea, already listed in my plan."

On November 29, 1952, Eisenhower flew to Seoul from New York
accompanied by many high-ranking army officers. After deplaning, the first
words he uttered were, "Where is John?" John was his son who was serving
as a Major in the Third Division of the American Army.

During his six days in Korea, Eisenhower was kept busy listening to
reports concerning the Korean battlefield (including reports on the POWs
camps). Through numerous talks, the high-ranking military officers of the
American Army came to realize that what Eisenhower sought was an
"honorable armistice," one that was to exert "high military pressure" upon
both the Koreans and Chinese to make concessions on issues such as the
repatriation of the POWs at the negotiation table.

Eisenhower had commanded the landing operations at Normandy
during WWII. After he was elected President, he busily prepared a similar
landing operation on the northern coast of Korea. However, the CPV and
the KPA forces stood in readiness. In December 1952, the CPV established
command posts on both the western and the eastern coasts, thus expanding
their defensive positions in depth. Circular defensive works were
constructed atop every hill. On the western coast, over two hundred
kilometers of additional tunnels were dug. Under such circumstances, the American Army was compelled to abandon its amphibious operations.

Eisenhower then attempted to use nuclear weapons. However, the American Joint Chiefs of Staff meeting doubted that the use of nuclear weapons would be effective, since the "Chinese Army, allied with the KPA Army, were hidden deep in the tunnels."

Having no other alternatives, the American side signaled their willingness to resume negotiations in Panmunjom. On February 22, 1953, Clark, Commander of the United Nations Command, wrote to Kim Il-Sung and General Peng Dehuai, proposing an exchange of the sick and wounded POWs between the two sides.

On March 18, after Clark had retired for the night at his Maeda Residence at United Nations Command General Headquarters in Tokyo, his adjutant woke him up and handed him Kim Il-sung and Peng De-huai’s reply. Clark rose immediately and began to carefully read the letter under the light of his bedside lamp:

... As for the issue of giving priority to the repatriation of the seriously sick and wounded POWs of the two sides, the armistice negotiators of the two sides had actually reached an agreement according to the principle of humanitarianism. (See article No. 53 of the draft armistice agreement.) This article, having agreed upon by the two sides, has not yet been put into effect simply because of the suspension of the negotiations. ...
Now that you have once again expressed your wish to exchange the sick and wounded POWs of the two sides in imprisonment according to the Geneva Convention, we fully agree to your proposal to exchange the sick and wounded POWs of the two sides in the process of the War. . . . Meanwhile, we hold the view that the solution to the above issue should bring about a smooth settlement of the entire issue of the POWs, thus resulting in a truce in Korea for which people all over the world are longing. Therefore, we suggest that the armistice negotiators of the two sides resume their talks in Panmunjom immediately.

General Clark pondered their reply. Kim Il-sung and Peng Dehuai did not mention the condition put forward by the American side, that only after "the principle of the voluntary repatriation" had been agreed upon, could the two sides resume armistice talks. Now it was the Americans who had to make concessions. The following day Clark issued a reply to Kim Il-sung and Peng Dehuai: "I will order our liaison group to meet with yours to arrange for the negotiators of the two sides to resume armistice talks."

On March 30, Zhou Enlai, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Chinese Government, issued a lengthy statement concerning the armistice issue in Korea. On the issue of the repatriation of the POWs, Premier Zhou Enlai pointed out:

The government of the People's Republic of China, and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, propose that following the cease-fire, the two sides participating in the war repatriate immediately those POWs imprisoned by each side, who insist on returning home, and
hand over the remainder of the POWs to the Neutral Nations to ensure a fair settlement of the repatriation issue.

The following day, Prime Minister Kim Il-sung issued a formal statement fully supporting Premier Zhou Enlai.

On April 6, General Lee Sang-cho, Major General in the Korean People’s Army and Liaison Officer to the Korean and Chinese side, and Admiral Daniel, Rear Admiral of the American Army and Liaison Officer for United Nations Command, held talks over the issue of the repatriation of the sick and wounded POWs. On April 7, the two sides presented to each other the estimated number of the sick and wounded POWs who were to be repatriated. On April 11, the two sides arrived at an agreement. The entire process took a mere five days and set an unprecedented record in the armistice talks.

Early in April, the CPV POWs of Compound 8 in the Cheju-do POW Enclosures learned from the American newspapers that Premier Zhou Enlai had issued a statement. Through secret channels they immediately passed on this news to the sick and wounded CPV POWs in the Pusan POW Enclosures of the American Army. Here, the sick and wounded CPV POWs secretly formed an advance party of a returning-to-the-motherland detachment, headed by Guo Zhaolin, Wang Huaying and Chen Jinghua.
On April 14, seven hundred and sixty sick and wounded CPV POWs of Compound 8 in the Cheju-do POW Enclosures began to prepare for the exchange of POWs. The remaining POWs gave them a warm send-off behind their wire entanglements. The POWs said, "Take care!" to one another again and again, and then parted in tears. Before departure, the sick and wounded POWs demanded to send a representative to say goodbye to their leading comrades, such as Zhao Zuoduan, who were still imprisoned in the POW camps, or they would refuse to board the trucks. The American Army could not but agree to their demand.

The next day, the 760 sick and wounded CPV POWs departing from Cheju-do arrived at the Pusan POW Enclosures joining the sick and wounded CPV POWs already there. In order to ensure that Wu Chengde, currently imprisoned in a cell in the "Prisoner Jail" in Pusan would not be killed by the American soldiers and to prevent the American Army from spreading bacteria among the POWs returning home, the sick and wounded POW representatives put forward three demands to the POW Administrative Authorities of the American Army: "First, Wu Chengde was to be set free and repatriated home with the sick and wounded POWs; second, the POWs would personally prepare their own meals, and not eat any food prepared by other people; third, all sick and wounded POWs were to be repatriated home without exception." The POW Administrative
Authorities of the American Army did not reply to their demands, thus the sick and wounded POWs decided to stage a three day hunger strike.

On April 19, all the sick and wounded CPV POWs in Pusan held an oath-taking rally for returning home.

On April 20, the two belligerent parties of the Korean War began the exchange of the sick and wounded POWs. By April 27, the American side had repatriated 1,030 CPV and 5,640 KPA sick and wounded POWs. The Korean and Chinese side repatriated 634 sick and wounded POWs from American, British and Syngman Rhee’s troops.

The exchange was a scene of sorrow. Taking place in open ground in Panmunjom, a white line drawn with lime powder ran down the middle of the field. Guards from the two belligerent sides stood on either side of the line, accompanied by rows of ambulances with painted red crosses. Reporters clustered into favorable positions to raise their cameras and snap photos of the scene. Numerous people occupied the open ground, but it was surprisingly quiet. People stared fixedly and anxiously at the movement on the opposite side of the open ground.

Finally, the Korean and Chinese personnel spotted the approaching motorcade of American ambulances and covered trucks. The motorcade came to a halt in front of the white line. When the door of the first truck opened, a POW emerged waving a bright Five-Starred Red Flag.
The angry sick and wounded CPV POWs took off their American Army uniforms and threw them at the feet of the American guards. They then emerged from the trucks wearing only their shorts.

The scene was one of sad weeping. The POWs cried out bitterly in the arms of the people from the motherland. The medical personnel also wept while they watched the tragic procession of returning POWs.

The sallow and emaciated POWs who were slightly wounded staggered over supported by wooden sticks.

The seriously wounded POWs who had lost their arms and legs were carried over.

The POWs who had lost the sight of both eyes were led over.

The POWs who suffered from mental disorders walked over, supported by the hands of others.

Many wounded POWs' bodies showed marks of scars, either bulged or sunken. Some of the scars had recently healed over with pink tender flesh. Several wounds were still bleeding, drops of blood seeping through the white bandages. Their wounds were proof of the violence within the POW camps.

Many of the POWs in their twenties had become bald, and some had gone mad. This would become their life-long suffering from the electric torture in the POW camps.
Twenty-eight disabled POWs were carried over. When they were first taken prisoner, they were only slightly wounded. Yet over forty legs were cut off in the POW camps. These twenty-eight POWs had only twelve legs left among them.

Pointing to the characters "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia" tattooed on his arm, one blind POW denounced the evil acts in the POW camps while tears streamed from his sunken eyes.

When one POW, who had lost both of his arms, was carried across the white line, he tumbled from the stretcher and kissed the black soil with his cheeks, his lips, and his soul.

The senior officers of the CPV welcomed the POWs at the collecting point. Members of a song and dance ensemble came to salute them. These actors and actresses who were professionals in singing and dancing lost complete control of their emotions as they watched the POWs who had been terribly tortured. Hardly had they uttered the word "Motherland . . ." when they were overcome with sobs.

April 26 was a Sunday. The armistice talks in Korea had resumed at last after being suspended for six months. During the days when the armistice talks had resumed, news of the Korean cease-fire spread quickly from Panmunjom to Washington D.C. European and American reporters from all types of newspapers and magazines flew to the Korean Peninsula,
anxious to gather news on the spot about how the war was to end. The little village of Panmunjom became crowded with reporters from all over the world, among whom the most noticeable one was a "Pravda" reporter from the U.S.S.R. who showed his face in public for the first time in Korea.

General Nam II, chief negotiator of the Korean and Chinese side, put forward six proposals for resolving the issue of the repatriation of the POWs, the only remaining undecided issue in the armistice talks. General Nam II's proposals were rejected by Harrison, chief negotiator of the United Nations Command. Thus the talks had not progressed by May 6. Once again, the armistice talks in Korea fell into an impasse.

On May 7, the Korean and Chinese side again put forward eight proposals to solve the issue of POW repatriation. These proposals included: all those POWs who insisted on being repatriated should be repatriated directly, and the remainder should be handed over to the Repatriation Commission formed by the Neutral Nations consisting of India, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Sweden. If those POWs continued to be imprisoned by the United Nations Command, it would be utterly impossible for them to break away from the armed control of the United Nations Command and to have the chance to "exercise their right to be repatriated." The Korean and Chinese side believed that several captured CPV POWs might be intimidated by the threats of the enemy, thus they
would not dare return home. After the Repatriation Commission of the Neutral Nations assumed control, it should assume the power to arrange for those personnel sent by the Korean and Chinese side to the Neutral Nations' POW camps to have the freedom and convenience to persuade the POWs to return home. After the deadline for persuasion expired, any POWs who were not yet repatriated would be dealt with through political meetings. Additionally, this principle also applied to the captured United Nations Command POWs. The proposals mentioned above put forward by the Korean and Chinese side made known to the entire world that on the one hand the Korean and Chinese side was against forced detention, and on the other hand, the Korean and Chinese side did not advocate the view of forced repatriation. These proposals denied the rumor spread by the United Nations Command that the Korean and Chinese side stood in favor of "forced repatriation."

Before such proposals, the American side could not find any reason for their rejection. General Clark ordered Harrison to ask for an adjournment to the talks, making the excuse that they had to apply to Washington for instructions.

On May 13, the CPV and the KPA launched a summer offensive campaign to "eliminate the enemy, play a supporting role in the armistice talks, learn from past experience, and improve their positions." The
American Army originally hoped to limit the number of casualties to 10,000 to 20,000 per month, and to maintain their current battle line to enable them to drive a hard bargain over the issue of POW repatriation. Yet, a powerful counter-offensive of the CPV dashed their hopes. By the middle of June the CPV had killed, wounded and captured over forty-five thousand and three hundred enemy officers and soldiers. Additionally, they had broken through the enemy armies' front line to occupy an area twelve kilometers in length and six kilometers in depth.

In his June 7 letter to Syngman Rhee, President Eisenhower stated, "We've suffered thousands of casualties. I fully believe that, due to these circumstances, both the United Nations Command and South Korea need to accept the offer of cease-fire." On June 8, the American side accepted the proposals for POW repatriation put forward by the Korean and Chinese side. The last item of the armistice talks, which had remained undecided for a year and half, was finally agreed upon and publicized to the world. The armistice talks in Korea had now reached complete agreement. The only factor left to decide upon was the date and procedures of the signing ceremony.

On June 18, 1953, the Syngman Rhee clique detained twenty seven thousand KPA POWs on the excuse of "setting the POWs free on the spot" to prevent the armistice talks from coming to an end. The CPV and KPA,
in their effort to bring about an early cease-fire followed by a long and lasting peaceful atmosphere, retaliated by launching the Kumsong Campaign on July 13. The Campaign annihilated fifty thousand enemy troops within a few days. The United Nations Command, headed by the American Army was finally forced to sign the armistice agreement. At ten o’clock on the evening of July 27, the armistice agreement was formally signed in Panmunjom. On August 5, the two belligerent sides commenced the POW exchange.

A convoy, led by an American landing ship from Cheju-do to Inchon Harbor was accompanied by three escort vessels and several minesweepers.

The American landing ship steamed in to the docks at Inchon Harbor. American army officers and soldiers, armed with loaded guns, blocked all the exits to the ship’s cabins, which contained over six hundred CPV POWs. At Inchon Harbor the POWs would be transferred to trains to carry them to Munsan-ni, where they would then travel on to Panmunjom by bus.

The scorching August sun shimmered upon the surface of the sea, from which a thin layer of vapor rose. The decks of the ship felt scalding under the scorching sun. The air inside the cabins was hot and stuffy, causing the POWs to feel that they had been living in a large steamer. The American Army, however, had closed off all the air vents to the cabins.
The CPV POWs had not eaten anything for an entire day and night, and the close air within the cabins had caused over sixty of the POWs to faint. The POWs, driven beyond endurance, began to destroy the boards separating the cabins, and, all at once, the sound of splintering timber began to come from inside the cabins.

The American Army officers panicked and immediately opened the cabin doors. The CPV POWs forcefully demanded both justice and humane treatment from the American Army according to the Geneva Convention. Afraid that the POWs would continue to destroy the ship facilities, the American officers opened the cabin air vents and promised to bring the POWs both rice and water.

When the CPV POWs ate the rice balls brought to them by the American soldiers, some immediately suffered from stomach-aches. Several POWs rolled in pain upon the floor, their hands covering their bellies; some suffered from diarrhea and others vomited. Soon, over one hundred and sixty POWs had fallen to the floor from sickness.

After landing at Inchon Harbor the CPV POWs staged a hunger strike to protest their treatment and at the same time they condemned the American soldiers' abuses within the POW camps to the delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross. By then, the POWs had received consolatory gifts from the people of their motherland through the
delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross consisting of Chinese cigarettes and letters of consolation. Most of the letters were written by high school and university students from all parts of the country. Some POWs have kept their letters intact after more than thirty years. They perceived that the letters conveyed compassionate feelings from their elders, brothers and sisters of the motherland.

While travelling from Inchon to Panmunjom, the POWs sang songs, waved the Five-Starred Red Flags, and distributed leaflets written from waste paper and cigarette-wrapping paper. The American Army enforced martial law in the towns and cities passed along the way, and did not allow anyone to approach the train transporting the CPV POWs.

While the POWs changed buses at Munsan-ni, an American soldier standing guard held up his thumb and said, "China, Great!" One of the POWs immediately threw a pack of cigarette to him. Suddenly another American soldier shouted, "The Chinese Communist Party, great!" He too received a pack of Chinese cigarettes. After that, numerous shouts of "China," "The Chinese Communist Party" and "Mao Zedong" rose from the American soldiers. Finally, only one American Major was left, the leading officer, who had not yet received a pack of cigarettes. Several POWs, holding cigarettes in their hands, pretended to throw them to him. That
American Major hesitated for a moment, then he held up his thumb and in embarrassment, shouted, "China!"

From August 5 on, the two sides began the repatriation of POWs in Panmunjom. A large decorated gateway was erected in the center of the receiving area, on which was written in both Korean and Chinese "The Arms of Your Motherland." Over it stood four large Korean and Chinese National Flags fluttering in the wind. Ten tents for receiving the POWs were placed horizontally, and a passageway of mats led up to the entrance of each tent. Red festoons hung from the eaves of each of the passageways.

As soon as the CPV POWs entered the receiving area their eyes fell upon the large characters "The Arms of the Motherland." Breaking into cheers, they started to sing "The East Is Red" and "The Battle Song of the CPV." They stuck small National Flags made by themselves onto the window of the ambulances. Many POWs tearfully shouted at the top of their voices, "Motherland, we've returned!" They jumped off the bus before it came to a full stop and threw themselves into the arms of the people of their dear motherland.

On August 14, the General Headquarters of the CPV issued an open letter of consolation to the returning POWs:

Dear Comrades:
Zhao Zuoduan (alias Wang Fang), Secretary of the General Committee of the Communist Union of Unity, Wei Lin, General Representative of the CPV POWs, Sun Zhenguang, Deputy Head of the POW Delegation of the CPV in the Dodd Incident, and Zhang Zeshi, General Interpreter. In total one hundred and thirty-eight POWs were repatriated that day.

These POWs were the so-called "war criminals" detained by the American Army as hostages.

Three months earlier, the POW Administrative Authorities of the American Army had erected an additional POW camp in Compound 8 of the Cheju-do POW Enclosures known as No. 11. The American Army had ferreted out a large number of CPV POW officers imprisoned in the newly-built small POW camp, and then transferred them to the Military Police Headquarters for interrogation.

As the POWs were escorted into the interrogation room they were viciously beaten. The interrogators then asked, "Have you ever killed any American soldiers?"

Silence. Contemptuous silence.

One vicious beating followed another. The interrogators asked again, "Have you ever killed any American soldiers?"

Once again silence. And once again a vicious beating. This process continued until the POWs were beaten into unconsciousness and their
fingerprints were pressed onto a previously prepared "statement of confession."

In this way these POWs, together with the already imprisoned Zhao Zuoduan, Wu Chengde and so on, became "war criminals."

On August 13, as the two sides continued to repatriate the POWs, General Stevenson, the U.S. Secretary of War, issued a statement. He openly admitted that the American side had detained two hundred and fifty CPV POWs, and added that they would continue to detain them until the final day of the POW exchange.

Following the Korean cease-fire, the above-mentioned one hundred and thirty seven CPV POWs detained by the American Army as hostages were transferred to a small wire entanglement located at the seaside of Koje-do.

Koje-do, called the "Island of Death" by the Chinese and foreign reporters and the POWs now appeared all the more ghastly and ominous without the singing and talking among the POWs. The CPV POWs detained by force continually lodged protests against the American Army and staged hunger strikes. The Americans neither interfered with nor issued replies to the POWs' demands, but merely increased the number of sentries and guards.
One day, the CPV POWs came upon a soldier of Syngman Rhee's troops enjoying a Chinese cigarette. The appearance of the cigarette signaled that representatives of the Chinese Red Cross Society had arrived on the island. The news spread quickly within the wire entanglements. The POWs approached the wire entanglements together to watch Syngman Rhee's soldier smoking. The soldier was at first surprised, then puzzled. Gradually he came to understand that the POWs were not watching him, but the cigarette that hung from his mouth. He smiled and held the cigarette above his head with one hand, and held up his thumb with the other.

That night the CPV POWs held a secret meeting inside a tent. They decided to wage a struggle against the POW Administrative Authorities of the American Army and to demand a meeting with the representatives of the Chinese Red Cross Society. Suddenly, a "click" was heard from outside the tent. It appeared that something had fallen to the ground. The POWs immediately dispersed and a few rushed out of the tent. Those that rushed out soon returned with a pack of Chinese cigarettes, cradling it as if they were holding a valuable treasure.

The one hundred and thirty-seven POWs gathered in a circle, and placed the pack of Chinese cigarettes in the center. The golden columns of Tian'an Men Square sparkled upon the bright red cigarette case. This was
their dear motherland, and it was Tian'an Men Square which they had missed both day and night! Their eyes filled with tears. Comrade Zhao Zuoduan stood up, wiping away his tears. He was so moved that he could not utter a single word. The tent filled with the sounds of sobbing.

Zhao Zuoduan finally voiced the common heartfelt wishes of these one hundred and thirty-seven POWs: "Seeing the columns on Tian'an Men is just like seeing our own dear motherland!"

The package of twenty cigarettes was passed from one person to the next. Everyone first lifted the pack of cigarettes tightly to his face, and then placed it under his nose, inhaling in the delicate fragrance from the motherland. When the cigarettes were first passed round, no one smoked, when they were passed the second time, still none smoked. Zhao Zuoduan held high the pack of cigarettes in his hand. At this gesture, the other POWs raised their hands and made a solemn vow: "Pledge to fight to the death to return to our motherland! Be Chinese while alive, and be Chinese ghosts after death! Be fine sons and daughters of China forever!"

Kaesong, on August 31 (Agencies via Xinhua)

On August 31, the Korean Cease-fire Committee held a meeting. Lt. General Lee Sang-cho, chief delegate on the Korean and Chinese side, strongly denounced the United Nations Command for violating the International Conventions, the Geneva Convention, and the Armistice
Agreement in Korea, for the United Nations Command had openly declared that they would detain as hostages a large number of Korean and Chinese POWs who should have been repatriated immediately. Lt. General Lee Sang-cho demanded that the United Nations Command issue their explicit views about whether or not they were prepared, according to the Armistice Agreement, to repatriate all Korean and Chinese POWs, including such VIPS as Park Sang-sung and Lee In-chol of the KPA, and Wu Chengde, Wang Fang, Wei Lin, and Sun Zhenguang of the CPV.

On September 2, the one hundred and thirty-seven CPV POWs were transferred to the Pusan POW Enclosures.

The American soldiers carried over a bundle of new clothes and leather shoes. An American Army officer ordered the POWs to cut their hair, shave off their beards, and change their clothes. By then, the second-hand army uniforms of the American Army, which the POWs had been wearing since they arrived at the POW camps, had become full of holes, and their shoes, had become completely worn-out. Some POWs' hair draped over their shoulders, and their beards covered their mouths as if they had returned from prehistoric times.

The POWs knew that the American Army wanted to "beautify" them before the exchange to cover up their maltreatment. Yet the POWs wanted the truth of life within the camps to be known to the people of their
motherland and the world. So they threw the new clothes and leather shoes outside the wire entanglements.

Soon a group of bare-handed American soldiers rushed in. Two American soldiers grabbed one POW, stripped the worn-out uniform off him, and then pushed him to the ground for a hair-cut. As a result, the POWs received uneven hair-cuts.

The American soldiers then carried away the worn-out uniforms stripped from the remaining POWs. Standing in their shorts, they were forced to don the new uniforms, but they said to the American soldiers, "You wait and see! Once we arrive in Panmunjom, we'll tear these clothes into pieces and condemn your savage acts in our underwear!"

Wu Chengde was imprisoned separately in the "War Criminal Jail" in Pusan after he was taken prisoner.

One day his door was opened and several American soldiers rushed in carrying pails. They intended to force Wu Chengde to take a bath. Wu Chengde was consumed with anger. He shouted abuses and kicked over the pails. The American soldiers, spattered with water, departed.

Soon, the American soldiers appeared again. This time they brought in fire hoses and sprayed water on Wu Chengde, drenching him from top to toe. After that they threw in the new uniform and leather shoes. Wu threw them out of his cell.
Wu Chengde leaned against the wall and took out a needle and thread to carefully mend his pair of worn-out rubber-soled shoes. He had worn this pair of shoes when he left his motherland four years before. During the four years, he had walked the entire way from China to Korea, fought as a guerrilla for fourteen months, and had been detained in prison for another fourteen months. He had been stripped of all of his belongings except for that pair of shoes. Although already patched, Wu Chengde continued to wear them, for they had been made in his motherland, and when he returned to his native soil he wanted to be standing in that pair of shoes.

On September 6, the American Army repatriated in Panmunjom the KPA POWs and the 138 CPV POWs who had been detained as hostages. I interviewed several eyewitnesses concerning the actual scene of the repatriation, and their reply was almost identical: "I was weeping so bitterly at that moment that I can not see and remember anything now." "On seeing the people from our motherland, I only cried, without even being able to utter a single word." Thus, I have to quote from the radio message sent from Kaesong on September 7 by a Xinhua News Agency reporter:

About nine a.m. on September 6, a motorcade of ambulances drove over from the American side carrying the Korean and Chinese sick and wounded POWs. Park Sang-sung, looking wan and sallow stepped off one ambulance. Wu Chengde emerged from another ambulance. Wu, a CPV POW,
was only over thirty years old, yet he was almost bald. Only a disorderly circle of hair was left on the top of his head. The shoes he was wearing were patched up. Only with difficulty could people realize from the rubber soles that his shoes were made in China. During his long-term secret imprisonment, Wu Chengde firmly refused to wear the leather boots the enemy issued him, instead he always wore the pair of shoes made in his motherland.

At 11:30 Wang Fang and Wei Lin, General Representatives of the CPV POWs, and Sun Zhenguan, Deputy Head of the Korean and Chinese POW Delegation in the "Dodd Incident" were brought over in an open truck. Even in the distance they had started to sing and wave their caps. Hardly had the truck come to a stop when people immediately ran up to it, pressing in so closely that not a drop of water could trickle through. People warmly shook their hands while they shouted slogans. Pointing at a CPV POW lying in a nearby ambulance, Sun Zhenguan, standing in the truck, said in a loud voice to the people around him, "Please have a look! His name is Tian Chongzeng. He was viciously beaten because he insisted on returning to our motherland. This is the enemy's lie of the so-called 'respecting human rights."

When they got down from the trucks, they were taken into a tent to rest. Here the nurses helped them to put on the new clothes of their motherland. Stroking his new clothes, Wang Fang said with boundless cordiality and grateful feelings, "In the POW camps, the enemy frequently
came to search for things they wanted, so it was very difficult to preserve even a piece of thread from our motherland. One comrade brought with him a piece of cloth made in China. We tore it into small pieces. Everyone took one piece with him, as if the motherland had always been with him."

In the Kaesong CPV Hospital, Li Kenong, then Vice Foreign Minister of China, and Huang Hua, chief political negotiator, received the one hundred and thirty-eight returned CPV officers and soldiers. The third group sent to Korea by the Chinese Government, headed by Vice Premier He Long, conveyed their greetings to the returned POWs on behalf of the people of their motherland. Meanwhile, the Chinese people's representatives from all walks of life heard reports by the returned POWs' representatives concerning the savage acts of the American soldiers, and the heroic struggles of the CPV POWs. Twenty-three leading comrades of the POWs remained in Panmunjom to join the explanatory delegation of the Korean and Chinese side attempting to secure the return of those POWs still imprisoned in the "nonrepatriate POW camps."

A KPA jeep stopped in front of the gate of the Kaesong CPV Hospital. A KPA First Lieutenant invited Sun Zhenguang and Zhang Zeshi into the jeep. The jeep quickly arrived at the KPA Army camp. Park Sang-sung and Lee In-chol both dressed in the KPA uniforms, came up and embraced Sun Zhenguang and Zhang Zeshi. Too excited to talk, they
hugged one another and patted each other on the shoulders. The KPA officers and soldiers around them clapped their hands. All were in tears.

The Korean and Chinese comrades-in-arms raised their wine glasses to drink a toast to victory, to the friendship between Korea and China, and to the immortal martyrs. . . .

In the Neutral Zone

From August 5 to September 6, 1953, the United Nations Command repatriated a total of 5,640 CPV POWs. However, thousands of the CPV POWs remained locked up in the American "nonrepatriate POW camps."

On September 9, a team of black, high nosed Indian soldiers arrived in the Korean Peninsula. Soldiers representing more than ten countries were already stationed here. That same day, the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission was established, consisting of India, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. Its chairman was Thymayya, an Indian Lt. General, who had also arrived on September 9.

According to the stipulations of the Korean cease-fire agreement, "nonrepatriate POWs" were to be handed over to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. The Commission was to be established in the Neutral Zone in Korea within sixty days after the Armistice Agreement
came into effect. Afterwards repatriation was up to the country to which each POW belonged. Delegates were given 90 days to carry out explanation work among the POWs to reassure them of their worries about returning to their home country. If any POWs did not exercise their right of repatriation within those 90 days, they would be dealt with at a political conference within 30 days.

On September 13, the first group of "nonrepatriate" CPV POWs were transferred from Cheju-do to the demilitarized zone south of Panmunjom. This group, numbering over 600, were locked up in the Neutral Zone POW camps guarded by the Indian soldiers.

It was drizzling the next morning, and Panmunjom was shrouded in clouds.

In the Neutral Zone POW camps, the CPV POWs suffering from fatigue and hunger were still snoring in bed when suddenly a man appeared, tiptoeing bare footed out of a tent. Seeing no one around, he climbed across the 4-metre high wire entanglements at lightning speed. His feet became scratched, and as the barbed wire pierced through his flesh he left a trail of blood dripping down the wire entanglements. It seemed that he felt no pain. He climbed with all his strength, jumped down, and again climbed another wire entanglement until he was caught by an Indian guard. He pointed at his chest and said, "I want to return to my motherland." Not
understanding Chinese, the Indian guard shook his head. They both tried to communicate using gestures.

At this moment, a KMT secret agent who had been lurking in the POW camps hurried over and grabbed the CPV POW. Meanwhile, he told the Indian guard in English, "He wants go to Taiwan, Taiwan, do you understand?" The CPV POW and the KMT secret agent wrestled to the ground. The POW struck the KMT secret agent in the head with a stone, then he got up and ran.

Understanding the situation, the Indian guard escorted the KMT agent back to the wire entanglements. He then handed the CPV POW over to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, which soon sent him back to the Chinese side. His name was Gui Rangpin, the first CPV POW from the Neutral Zone POW camp to break through American and KMT secret agents' control and be repatriated.

During the press conference held by the Chinese side, Gui rangpin removed his clothes to show the journalists a flag tattooed on his chest and a map of China with the KMT flag on it tattooed on his back. Characters such as "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia," "Kill a Pig for Its Hair" were tattooed on his arms.

Shocked by the brutality, the journalists took photos of his body from all angles.
In August, the KMT secret agents and renegades began to force POWs to be retattooed, for some POWs had scraped off the characters previously tattooed on their arms. They said viciously, "This time we want these words tattooed large and deep, let’s see how you erase them again!"

The secret agents and renegades ruthlessly inserted 2-inch long needles into the POWs’ flesh, and made them bleed all over. What is more, characters such as "Oppose the CPC" were tattooed on several POWs’ foreheads. Those who refused to be tattooed were either cruelly beaten or killed. Of those killed, some had their hearts dug out, while others had either their ears cut off or their noses cut flat. . . .

In the following days, twelve more CPV POWs such as Liu Shuanggui, Wang Shixing, and Wang Yu, were repatriated through the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. As soon as they arrived at Panmunjom, the Chinese side held a press conference. Here, both the crimes committed by the American side, as well as the forcible detention of POWs by the KMT secret agents and renegades, were exposed.

Assisted by the Americans, a large number of KMT secret agents sneaked into the Neutral Zone POW camps armed with lethal weapons and transmitter-receivers. Disguised as POWs, they formed themselves into a tight knit organization and continued to terrorize the POWs. Before transferring them to the Neutral Zone, the KMT secret agents tore up the
POWs' name cards. They issued each of them a false name, so the Indian soldiers were unable to tell their true identity. This allowed the secret agents to slip into the POW camps.

In the Neutral Zone POW camps, the secret agents practised "Three People Interlocking Stratagem," "Squads Interlocking Stratagem," and "Team Interlocking Stratagem." Here, if a CPV POW showed the slightest intention of returning home, he would either be beaten to death, buried alive, trampled to death, or his heart would be taken out and set on fire with petrol, or even his corpse would be chopped up in order to threaten the other POWs. For example, Zhang Zilong, a CPV POW, requested to go home. For this, the KMT secret agents hung him from a tent pole and cruelly beat him in turn. They then gathered the other POWs to watch him being set on fire. Finally, Zhang Zilong's heart was dug out, and his body was burned to ashes, which were then thrown into the ditch and carried away by the water.

At one o'clock on September 29, 65 CPV POWs were repatriated from the Neutral Zone POW camps. As they sat on the trucks provided by the Indian troops waving Five-Starred Red Flags, they sang songs such as "Follow Mao Zedong" and "The March of the People's Liberation Army."

Che Xuezi, deputy battalion commander of the CPV, headed the 65 POWs. Before the so-called "April 8th Screening" plot conducted by the
American Army, he was cruelly beaten for 24 hours, then sent to "the nonrepatriate POW camp" in a coma. There, together with Zhu Jianan, he organized a "Struggle for Returning to the Motherland August 1st Group" with over twenty POW members. In March 1953, his deeds were uncovered by the secret agents and renegades. He was hung from a pole and beaten viciously, and then thrown into the jail. Next they secretly formed themselves into a "Returning-to-the-Motherland Team," with Che Xuezi selected as team leader.

Thirty years later, Che Xuezi's recollections of the events that took place were still fresh in his mind. He told me that before being escorted to the POW camp guarded by the Neutral Nations, the 60 POWs were determined to stay close together and not let the American soldiers separate them from one another. As a result, the American Army had to consider their requests and isolate them within a small wire entanglement. However, the American Army insisted that two secret agents and another POW anxious to go to Taiwan stay with them. Fang Zi, head of the KMT secret agents, tried to persuade them, "If you don't go back to Mainland China, I will ensure you all high-ranking titles when you get to Taiwan." Che Xuezi smiled with contempt. He gave no reply.

Within the Neutral Zone POW camps, they stealthily broke from under the secret agents' control and applied to the Neutral Nations
Repatriation Commission. One night, when the secret agents were fast asleep, they beat upon them and drove them out of the wire entanglements. Then they immediately prepared the Five-Starred Red Flags. The next day they boarded the buses bound for their homeland amid hails of stones thrown by the secret agents and renegades. They shouted loudly, "Long live the People's Republic of China!" "Comrades, it's time to return to the motherland!"

Due to repeated obstructions and sabotage from the American side, the explanation work among POWs by the Chinese and Korean side was forcibly delayed again and again. The work did not formally start until October 10.

Before the explanation work began, Kim Il-sung and Peng Dehuai issued a joint letter to CPV and KPA POWs:

KPA POWs and CPV POWs:

... Now the cease-fire of the Korean War has been realized. The time has come for you to go home. According to the stipulation of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, no one is allowed to threaten or stop you from returning to the motherland. We fully understand your missing the motherland and your misfortunes after being taken prisoner. ... We, as well as the peoples of Korea and China, have always cared for you, and sincerely hope that you will come back.
Kim Il-sung, Supreme Commander of the KPA Peng De-huai,
Commander-in-Chief of the CPV . . .

The explanation work was to be carried out in an empty house in the Neutral Zone. Present were representatives from the Neutral Nations, news reporters from many countries, in addition to the Chinese and Korean representatives who would conduct the explanation work. The POWs were escorted in one by one, first to listen to the explanation made by the Chinese and Korean representatives, and then to make their decisions.

Backed by the Americans, the KMT secret agents disguised themselves as POWs and created havoc. Abusing not only the Chinese and Korean representatives, but also the New China and the Communist Party, they plotted to kidnap and murder the Chinese and Korean representatives. Each POW was given a handful of bleaching powder and forced to sprinkle the powder into the eyes of the representatives conducting the explanation work. Because of the unreasonable requests put forward time and again by the American side, and the KMT secret agents and renegades inside the POW camp, the explanation work was often interrupted. The work only lasted for ten days, during which less than 2000 CPV POWs would see the Chinese and Korean representatives. At the explanation site, POWs were
often seen, whose foreheads and cheeks had been tattooed with characters such as "Oppose the CPC," or tattooed with the KMT Party emblem. They stood motionless, heads bowed and weeping silently. Under the constant threats and frightened by the KMT secret agents, many POWs went out of their mind, for they continued to bow as soon as they entered the site. . . .

Only a little over 300 CPV POWs were repatriated through explanation. Among these was Zhao Zidao. Serving as an artillery instructor in the CPV, he was only 26 when he was captured as a POW. His father was a small landlord in eastern Zhejiang Province. When his first wife eloped with another man to Hongkong in 1949, he followed a KMT uprising troop and joined the People's Liberation Army. Amid the darkness of the POW camps, he had continued to miss his homeland. Together with his fellow sufferers Zhang De and Liu Nairong, he often sang songs quietly to express his love for the motherland.

Zhao Zidao missed his homeland, but at the same time he was afraid of returning due to his "bad family background," his being a POW, and the reactionary characters tattooed on his back. "What face do I have to see my country fellows?" However, he also thought that the road to Taiwan was a road to ruin, and that he might as well return to his homeland, for the Mainland and Taiwan would unite one day. He tossed his choices over in his mind again and again. Finally, his decision to return to the motherland
triumphed. In a letter he wrote sometime between April and August 1979 to a department of the State Council, he outlined the scene of the explanation work he went through on November 21, 1953:

"When I entered the explanation room, a traitor was shouting reactionary slogans, abusing the Communist Party and the state leaders while he pointed his fingers at the representatives of the motherland. As a result, the explanation work could not go on.

I was very nervous seeing representatives from all over the world. News reporters and interpreters had packed the hall, and the representatives from the motherland were sitting in the middle. When I saw them, I could not help crying bitterly, and felt myself subjected to the greatest persecution of American imperialism, for the sufferings I had undergone were boundless. I could not utter a word. The representatives of the motherland said, 'People of the motherland are expecting you to return home as early as possible. You made some mistakes while suffering. The Party understands you, and its policy is to forgive your past misdeeds. Relieve yourself of your worries and be bold to return home.' Upon hearing that, I quickly took a notebook out of my pocket, from which I extracted a photo of Mao that I had stealthily cut out of an enemy's newspaper, and shouted, 'Long Live the Communist Party,' 'Long Live Chairman Mao,' and 'Down with American Imperialism!' I shouted slogans while I walked towards the
gate, then Liu Nairong walked over and joined me in holding Chairman Mao’s photo, shouting slogans. . . Together we approached the registration desk. . . ."

Early in the morning on January 20, 1954, the CPV POWs still waiting to go through Chinese and Korean representatives' explanations were bound up tightly while they slept, they were then strung together and pulled out of the Neutral Zone POW camps. Immediately cries and angry curses were mixed together. American soldiers, along with the KMT secret agents and renegades, worked hand in hand to kidnap thousands of the CPV POWs into a warship bound for Keelung Harbor in Taiwan. Some POWs struggled to throw off the ropes, bumping against the enemy soldiers' bayonets, some plunged into the sea. . . .

On January 29, 1954, Zhou Enlai, Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, issued a statement. He strongly protested the American Army's forcible detention of the Chinese and Korean POWs. His statement pointed out, "Now everyone can see clearly that the American side has broken international conventions and agreements at will, completely blotted out the generally acknowledged truth, justice and humanitarian principles unscrupulously, and trampled on human dignity and freedom. The overall course of the so-called psychological warfare
carried out by America over the POW issue has illustrated its utter failure both politically and morally."
Chapter Seventeen

History Is Narrating

Readers will find that most characters in this chapter have been previously mentioned. When these POWs walked out of the POW camps, they probably would not have believed that the words "POW" would accompany them for the next thirty years, from their youth to old age.

Thirty years have elapsed. The United States has witnessed six presidents. Japan’s economy has leapt forward. South Korea has become one of "the Four Little Dragons" in the development of Asian economy. Man has launched spacecrafts into outer space. But what has become of these POWs? If the Chinese Communist Party’s policies had not been correctly worked out during the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, they would have gone to their graves labeled "POW."

Now these events are over and have become history. History is meditating and narrating its stories to us.
The Tilted Historical Scales

Spring, 1982

A man lived in a small corner in a county in Sichuan Province who had been a captive in the Korean War. His name was Li Zhengwen. One afternoon, two young officers dressed in uniforms entered his small dusty house. They came from the military department of the county to implement the Party's policies of reexamination of former CPV POWs. They made a special trip to carry out this policy for Li Zhengwen. But Li happened to be out. The young officers asked his neighbor to tell him to write a brief autobiography, and come to talk with them in the military department the following day.

That evening, Li Zhengwen, a Huqin player in a Sichuan opera troupe, returned home. He had once been both a bright and brave member in an art troupe in a CPV unit, but now he was old and feeble for his age. Usually, a man's age can be seen in his face, yet he had just passed his fiftieth birthday. Thirty years ago, as a returned POW, he stepped upon the soil of his motherland to which he had been ready to dedicate his life in the POW camp. There were neither flowers nor joy to welcome him home. As a POW, he didn't expect these. His mere wish was to claim his citizenship. As a citizen who had fought for his country, he had a clear conscience and
had resolved to shed his sweat working for his homeland. But he was deprived of all rights, simply because he was a POW. His archives were preserved in the public security bureau for "internal control." The winds of various political movements blew him first this way, then that. He was accused of betraying his country and maintaining illicit relations with foreign countries. He was also labeled a traitor and spy. In the beginning he tried to explain the facts and poured out his grievances, but no one listened to him; no one believed what he said. At last he became frightened and almost went mad. He was afraid of political movements. He hid himself in a corner of the opera troupe house and played Huqin every night, immersed in the sentimental and sorrowful melody, weeping beside a lonely lamp.

That evening his neighbor relayed to him the message from the officers. He lay awake all night, thinking over again and again . . . . His past suffering emerged before his eyes like a devil. In the end, he hanged himself and bid farewell to the world, and to his homeland that he had missed during his days and nights in the foreign POW camp.

The young officers in the military department were upset and embarrassed. They came to his house to rehabilitate his name, but contrary to their expectations, their visit ended in tragedy. Perhaps it was difficult for the two young officers to understand why the very man who had once
run out of the POW camp became so emotionally weak and so incapable of bearing further blows.

Only life itself can answer this question.

In the latter part of 1953, more than six thousand CPV POWs returned to their homeland.

The train passed slowly through the war-stricken Korean territory. Here they had buried their beloved comrades-in-arms, and here they had passed their youth and suffered from the great injustice of the POW camps. This was the land they would never forget.

"The Yalu River!" Everyone rushed to the windows. Some of them dropped the black soil that they had collected into the river. This soil was dyed red from the blood of the martyrs of the POW camps. Others threw out a wreath. All gazed upon the wreath rising and falling as they passed into the distance.

Someone began to sing a song which they had composed in the POW camps:

Lovely motherland, happy home,
Vast territory, mild climate,
Continuous mountains and criss-crossing rivers
Make a picturesque landscape,
Where we were born and brought up,
And for which we are willing to give our lives.
We’re determined to return and will never retreat,
We will not betray our ancestors.
We’ll be our motherland’s fine sons and daughters. . . ."
They were then gathered together in Changtu County, Liaoning Province. Here was organized the Administrative Office in Charge of the Returned CPV POWs (abbr. A.O.R.). The earliest days were unforgettable. The high-ranking officers received them and a greeting group conducted a special performance to convey their appreciation. Girl students presented flowers to them. They were also offered coarse but very precious souvenir badges, and pigs and sheep were butchered to honor their return. The General Political Department of the PLA instituted a policy of great concern, patient persuasion, strict examination, careful treatment, and reasonable arrangement for the returned POWs. The men of the A.O.R. told them to rest and study for a period, and soon they would be assigned jobs. The events of the past few days excited them, though they were uneasy about their small contribution. They often fell asleep smiling, and greeted the dawn with the same smile.

But all this disappeared almost overnight. Rumors spread among the returned POWs. Some said that an official of the higher authorities had issued new instructions as to their fate. Others said that the sample materials that the A.O.R. submitted concerning their arrangements were criticized for rightist deviation. Hence the A.O.R. closed its door, and the POWs began to study. They studied the standards that a Party member and a revolutionary soldier should obey. They studied the moral courage of a
revolutionary armyman and the martyrs' heroic deeds, such as those of Liu Hulan and Zhao Yiman with which they had already been familiar. Then they began their accusation of confessions. The men of A.O.R. said to them, "The people have already learned of your contributions. Now it's time for you to make a clean breast of your behavior in the POW camps." Those who had led the brave fight in the POW camps took the lead. They compared themselves to the heroes who had already died, and to the standards of a Communist Party member, and made a strict examination into their behavior before their return. They examined why they did not "die for the country" when they were taken prisoner, and why "having smoked the enemy's cigarettes meant their surrender to the enemy." They wept bitterly and tears streamed down their cheeks as they recounted their unhappy experiences. They made one "confession" after another, and criticized themselves from the higher plane of principle. They even adopted the method of "supposition." "If I stayed in the POW camps for ten years, it might be possible..." They were devoutly painting a more and more wicked self-image until at last they were stunned by the image "portrayed" by themselves. Wasn't this an image of a traitor? Wasn't this betraying their own country?

The next stage was that of "helping one another." "Enlightened and Induced" by others, those who had formerly been "POW officers" now
became people who "served the enemy," while those who had told their true names and army unit designations were regarded as "revealing military secrets" to the enemy. The brave struggle they had carried out in the POW camps now ceased to exist. Nearly every POW was labeled to have engaged in "traitorous actions."

This was the basis for declaring the POWs guilty. Some were expelled from the army, some Communist Party members were expelled from the Party, and some Chinese Youth League members were expelled from the Youth League.

I do not wish to defend those few POWs who actually became traitors in the POW camps (among more than six thousand returned POWs, a certain number were indeed dispatched by the Taiwanese secret services), nor do I want to wipe away the stains from our heroes. What I wish to do is to explore their true history. It would not be historically accurate to gloss over the errors of the POWs to defame them. As far as history is concerned, such things as "merits balance errors" or "defects obscure virtues" do not exist. Standing before the face of history, anything imaginary will be cast aside. What is left is pure history. In any case, over six thousand POWs were uglified as a whole. Was this caused by others, or did it stem from their own actions?
Who is to blame for this? The comrades from the Administrative Office in Charge of the Returned POWs? The POWs themselves? Or others? Many POWs who had held leading posts in the CPV had anticipated in advance what would happen to them following their return to their own country. For example, Wu Chengde and Sun Zhenguan said to the others, "Be mentally prepared after we return to our motherland." Be prepared for what? Be prepared to be misunderstood by the people of their motherland? Be prepared to be the target of criticism? I was tempted to ask Wu Chengde and Sun Zhenguan the question: "How did you deal with the POWs during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Liberation War?" Yet I did not ask them this question. I leave the answers to these questions to the reader.

It was undoubtedly cruel to announce such "conclusions" to those who struggled so bravely in the POW camps, who shed their blood, and who became disabled, for the purpose of returning home. Thus it was recorded from a hospital in July 1954, in a copy of "Bulletin on the Conclusions and the Announcement of the Conclusions of the Returned POWs":

"The conclusions concerning the POWs were to be announced on June 29. Two methods were adopted for making the announcement: first only the Party and Youth League members would gather at a enlarged Party
branch meeting, and second, all the POWs would be gathered to attend a general meeting. It was also decided that the twenty-odd POWs who could not attend the meeting due to their injuries would be informed of their conclusions individually while they were recovering.

From the start, the secretary of the Party committee presided over the meeting. The meeting was solemn and controlled. Some of the POWs, although ill, remained to the end of the meeting. Several Party and Youth League members said, "We have left our organizations for almost three years. This is our first time to once again attend a Party meeting, but it may be the last . . . ."

This event was too painful a memory for the CPV POWs to recollect. The atmosphere at the meeting seemed to have solidified. The people sat silently, and the only sound came from the voice of the announcer. Each time a name was read out, a heart was seized by a gnawing pain. When the meeting concluded, no one stirred. When the lights were turned off, several people still remained sitting dumbstruck.

Tian Fangbao, a political instructor in a CPV unit, had been beaten by the traitors in the POW camps. One night he fainted three times from the beating, but he did not utter a word and did not betray his comrades. After he returned to China, he was the first to make his confession. He unfairly exaggerated his experiences in the POW camps, and in the end, he
was expelled from the Party. He was stunned when he heard his fate, and burst into tears. He recalled, "... My face was lowered and tears streamed down my face. Here I felt more grief than when I lost my parents who died of hunger when I was thirteen. I thought it a hard task for a suffering child like me to find the Party and join the revolution. On the battlefield, I fought the enemy bravely, with no fear for my life. In The Resist America and Aid Korea War, my division suffered a setback, but I still gathered together a few scattered soldiers to resist the enemy until I was severely injured. As a result, I was captured. After that, I led the POWs in the camps to fight against screening and famine, and to fight for freedom. In the struggle, the enemy put me into the water dungeon and beat me unconscious three times. Is this why I have been expelled from the Party? I called to heaven, but heaven did not respond. I cried to the earth, but it ignored me."

That night many lay awake, weeping silently. Their pillows were drenched with their tears. Some suffered sudden heart attacks and were immediately sent to the hospital. The following morning, of the more than two hundred returned POWs of a branch unit, only three breakfasted in the dining hall.

What is hard to understand is that some POWs were actually grateful to the A.O.R. for its "lenient treatment." Written pledges and guarantees
poured into the A.O.R. From the "work bulletin," one can see that the
POWs wrote from the bottom of their hearts.

"When I joined the Party, I had a muddled head;
When I'm expelled from the Party, I have a clear mind."

"The Party shows concern and care for me when it takes disciplinary action."

"Our Party should never damage its purity and discipline by accommodating a few individual members." Several even submitted a written statement to ask for more severe disciplinary measures. Their sincerity was so apparent that no one could suspect them of ulterior motives. By 1959, five to six years after they had left the A.O.R. several continued to submit written pledges. One can believe that they wrote their pledges from their own free will.

Despite the unfair treatment, most of the returned POWs left the A.O.R. and happily returned to their home town. When they emerged from the door of the A.O.R. their thoughts were naive and pure.

Sun Zhengan said, "We can't bargain with the Party. We didn't let our country down; and there was nothing for us to feel ashamed of."

Wei Lin said, "It is nearly twenty years since I joined the revolution. Now I am just over thirty. Let them expel me from the Party! I'll once
again be an old Party member after I work for the revolution for another thirty years."

Gu Zesheng said, "It doesn't matter that mother slapped me in the face. I'll never lose heart and will work actively and study hard. I'll strive to make great progress and to join the Party again."

But life again mercilessly tore at their bleeding wounds. They could not escape the Rectification Movement, the Anti-Rightist Movement, the Anti-Rightist Deviationist Movement, the "Four-Clean-ups" Movement and the "Cultural Revolution." The word "POW" haunted them. Whenever a "political movement" rose, the phantom followed. When their names were discussed for Party admission and promotion, when their children asked for recruitment into the army or to gain employment, this phantom would sit on the judge's forum.

Ma Xingwang, once a chief member of "the Communist Union of Unity" in the POW camps, walked along a country road, Xinjiang County, Shanxi Province. He was covered with dust and appeared extremely worried. Following him were his wife, weak and feeble, and his two small children who were crying bitterly. After his transfer to civilian work, he worked hard and was promoted to director of a machine-repairing plant for an institute of the Petroleum Ministry. In 1958, when the "white flags" were taken down, he was labeled a rightist due to his personal history. His
family was repatriated to his home town in Shanxi. Left helpless and friendless, he remained out of work for over ten years.

Zhang Zeshi, once a general interpreter against the enemy in the POW camps, walked among a team of prisoners under escort at a work site in the Miyun Reservoir in Beijing. In 1959, he was labeled a member of the rightist traitor clique and thrown into jail because he and his comrade-in-arms, Jiang Reifu, along with several others, wrote a letter complaining of the unfair treatment of the six thousand POWs. Because of this, his beloved girl friend deserted him.

A group of people beating drums and gongs marched down a street in Danlin County of Sichuan Province. A middle-aged man, thin and tall with his hands tied together, walked ahead of them. In the bitter winter, he wore only short pants. A black plate hung on his breast displaying the words: "Liang Guanghui, a traitor." A large circle was painted on his left arm containing the words: "Oppose the CPC and Resist Russia." These words had been tattooed on his arm in the POW camps by force. Written next to the circle were the words: "living anti-revolutionary evidence."

In a run-down workshed of the Yangxin industrial district in Wuhan city, Peng Lin, a branch committee member of "the Communist Union of Unity" in the POW camps, sharpened a knife. He was going to use the knife to end his life. He had been one of the flag-protecting team members
during the flag-raising struggle in the POW camps of Cheju-do. His body had blocked the enemy's tanks and machine-guns as he protected the Five-Starred Red Flag. Yet after his return to China he was labeled "an American spy." His house was searched and his property confiscated. Both his wife and children were implicated. He wrote only two lines in his last letter to his family members: "I am not a spy. You should love the Party and the country forever."

I cannot continue my writing. If I did, I would have to include the names of the six thousand POWs. When talking of their miserable experiences, those staunch Communist Party members, the unyielding men who had not shed a tear even while their legs were being broken, now choked with sobs. For the simple fact that they had been POWs, many wives no longer regarded them as husbands. Their children did not regard them as fathers, and their relatives felt ashamed of them! I understand deeply their innermost pain, a pain much more intense than any physical pain. Did they risk their lives to return to the motherland to suffer this imposed fate? As 6,000 living human beings, what of their values, dignity and rights?

It is said that the treatment the CPV POWs suffered was similar to the suffering of POWs from other countries at the end of WWII. I am not familiar with events during WWII, so I will not venture to comment. But I
believe that the fate of these POWs was influenced by too many "Chinese features." For example, the "implication"—one person's crime brought disaster to his entire family, even extending to his friends and relatives "never standing up"—If one commits a crime, he will be ill-fated for the rest of his life, making it impossible to acquire peace even after death. Declaring one guilty according to moral standards—honestly speaking, of which crime can these POWs be accused? According to what laws were they to be punished? In reality, people judged them in the name of morality. This type of crime was the most vicious, but what about today? Originally, tolerance, generosity and gentleness were tenets of Chinese traditional morality. But in those years, they were missing.

This period in history cannot be ignored. In the years when merits and faults and rights and wrongs were confused, what people saw was only the tilted scale of history.

An Unsetting Star in Their Hearts

Among the several hundred letters of appeal and reports of the POWs, seventy percent were written by the "former Communists." What they spoke of most was their Party membership, and what distressed them most was the loss of this membership. Their greatest wish was to rejoin the
Party. During the Cultural Revolution, some "former Communists" wrote retrospection reports each month for years on end. One sent in his application for Party membership to the Party organization from a reform-through-labor farm. After many years, quite a few were able to rejoin the Party as they had wished. They became new Party members with the label "inglorious history" stamped into their personal records.

In 1982, Wei Lin retired with special honors. He moved into the apartments for Red Army's veterans sponsored by a mining bureau in Shengyang Province. He was born near Yan’an, home ground of the Chinese revolution. His father was a Red Guard team leader and chairman of the Peasants' Union. Wei Lin became head of the Children's Corps when he was eleven. In August 1935, he joined the Red Army, fighting from north to south. On the Korean battlefield, he was vice-chief of staff for a CPV regiment before being captured. Following his return to the homeland, he was expelled from the Party, but his military status was restored. In 1954, he was transferred to civilian work and became a deputy section chief in Benxi Mining Bureau.

He was depressed when he first arrived at the mining bureau, seldom uttering a word. He lived in the office, and during the holidays he worked in the mine, a miner's lamp atop his head. In his spare time he sat alone, weeping and meditating.
The Party organization understood him. Once a Communist Party member of over ten years, he repeatedly submitted to the Party organization his application for Party membership. The branch secretary said to him, "You have a complicated background, and we are now contacting the committee of the higher level." Wei Lin silently returned to the mine with his lamp. He again reverted to writing reports and applications. The Party members were moved by his actions. They did not believe there should have been such a "traitor." The Party organization twice decided to readmit him. To accurately reflect history, I will show the following extract from the appraisal written on February 1, 1960 for Wei Lin to rejoin the Party by the committee of the general Party section of the construction and project team in Mingshan Mine:

1. He is always prepared to work hard. He often lives on the work site or in the office. He never rests on holidays, especially during the official holidays.

2. He possesses a correct attitude toward labor. He often organizes the section leaders to work by his own initiative. Disease prevents him from bathing, but he takes an active role in the work of high production in the mine.
3. He is close to the Party organization. He always asks the Party organization for advice before he begins a job. He conscientiously carries out the work of the Party organization and reports to the Party afterwards.

4. He devotes himself to work. In summer or in the rainy season, he is worried that the rain will overflow the mine, yet he is willing to examine it in spite of the dangers. Sometimes, he is soaked to the skin, but he persists in draining the water.

Despite the fact that Wei Lin received a favorable appraisal, the higher-level committee twice rejected the decision by the grass-root branch Party organization to readmit him to the Party. The reason is obvious. His Party membership was not restored until 1980.

Today Wei Lin is almost seventy. Although he has experienced many frustrations during his life, he remains in good health. He doesn’t want to pass the rest of his life carrying his grandson on his back at home, or going shopping with a basket in his hand. He is currently writing a memoir of his life in the POW camps, though with difficulty. He will dedicate the book to the Party, to the martyrs, and to his offspring.

Du Gang was a strong and sturdy man. In the POW camps, he falsely reported that he was a leader of a kitchen squad, where he helped to lead the CPV POWs in their struggle to return to Mainland China. The
traitors and spies hung him up and beat him, knocking out two of his teeth; yet, he cried, "I am a Communist. I'll return to my country."

He joined the Communist troops in 1944, and the Party in 1949. Because he was a captive, he had been expelled from the Party, once during his life and the other following his death.

In October 1975, aboard a long-distance bus to Hejin County of Shanxi Province, a middle-aged man suddenly turned pale and sweat streamed down his face. The bus stopped immediately and the passengers quickly laid him on the floor. They heard him murmur, "I am a Communist Party member," and in saying those words he died.

People found a red plastic I.D. card in his pocket, which identified him as "Du Gang, deputy chief of the administrative department of Hejin Aluminum Factory of Shanxi."

He had been repatriated to his motherland. In his self-confession he admitted that he had been forced to sing the "Song of Christ" after he was captured. The "A.O.R." expelled him from the Party, despite his outstanding contributions in the struggle against the enemy. In November 1954, he was transferred to civilian work, and in 1961 he was able to rejoin the Party. For a former POW who had previously been expelled from the Party, this indicated that he had exerted much more effort than others to regain his honor. He had cried and fainted before the flag of the Party at
the meeting of branch committee to readmit him as a Party member. From then on, day and night, he began to work tirelessly. During the "Cultural Revolution," he was criticized, denounced, and tortured, but as soon as he emerged from the "study class," he would immediately proceed straight to work in the factory. During that time, the factory he worked in was being enlarged. He hurriedly went from place to place to collect building materials. One time he fainted from exhaustion. The doctor diagnosed heart disease and advised him to rest more often. Instead, he put the medical certificate in his drawer and went to the work site again. He finally broke down from constant overwork, and laid down his life for the Party.

What was Du Gang thinking before he closed his eyes for the last time? He never forgot that he was a Communist Party member, and he died a Communist Party member. In this sense, perhaps, he felt happy and contented. How could he know that following his death he would once again be expelled from the Party to which he dedicated his life!

Those who had respected Du Gang brought wreaths to the auditorium of the aluminum factory. The memorial meeting was about to begin when a group of "rebels" suddenly rushed in and painted a black cross on his portrait. They tore down the horizontal scroll "Eternal Glory to Comrade Du Gang" and erected a slogan stating, "Down with the spy and
traitor Du Gang" in its place. Thus Du Gang was once again expelled from the Party.

In 1982, the Party organization restored both his Party membership and military status. His wife, son, and comrades-in-arms read the Party’s official notice in front of his portrait. Tears seemed to stream down from Du Gang’s large eyes. . . .

At the beginning of 1979, the Henan Daily carried a report concerning a blind man. Entitled "The Mind’s Eye," it covered the deeds of Hou Guangpu. At that time, Hou Guangpu attended a conference of "supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of revolutionary soldiers and martyrs and supporting the government and cherishing the people."

You may recall that in the first chapter of this book I described how Hou Guangpu was captured. Both of his eyes were injured, and he was given almost no food for nearly half a month. Following medical treatment, he was able to regain partial vision in his left eye.

Following the war Hou Guangpu groped his way home to Zhao Village of Lushan County in Henan Province. He had already been expelled from the Communist Party, but he would never forget that at heart he was a Communist. In the Cooperative Movement, he was the first to join the commune contributing his land, livestock, and family tools. In the
early 1960s, four members of his family died of hunger and disease; yet he hadn’t taken a single grain of rice from the collective, nor did he ask for help for his family. During the ten years of turmoil (1966-76), he was forced to join in supervised penal labor carrying the label "traitor and spy." During this period, several people took advantage of the chaotic situation to overcut trees from the forests. Hou Guangpu spoke out courageously to protect the forest. The tree cutters said threateningly to him, "Who do you think you are? Mind your head." Hou Guangpu replied, "Come on, I have survived all perils. There is nothing I am afraid of." Crestfallen, they went away.

In 1982, the Party committee of Xuchang Military Subarea restored his military status and Party membership. In those years, the branch Party committee of his home village was in a paralyzed state. Hou Guangpu, by this time totally blind, volunteered to be Party secretary. With the help of his son, he travelled here and there around his home village, visiting every gully and ridge, every house and family. Through hard work, this backward branch committee became an advanced Party organization in his township and county. He was elected an exemplary Communist for five successive years.

Among the 6,000 CPV POWs, more than one thousand were educated youth of the New China. They had played an important role in
the struggle against traitors, spies and the POW Administrative Authorities of the American Army in the POW camps. Following their return to the motherland they were treated unfairly, yet they diligently pursued their studies with a heavy load on their minds.

Tang Naiyao, the inventor of the communication cipher code in the "Red POW Camp," graduated with honors from the Department of Chinese Language and Literature of the Normal University of East China following his return home. Later he participated in compiling the first modern version of the Dictionary of Ancient Chinese. Currently he is head of Ancient Medical Chinese Department of Shanghai Chinese Medical School.

He Pinggu, a hero in the POW camps in the fight for the flag, is now an expert of foreign languages. He is an associate professor of the Foreign Languages Department of Chongqing University. His students are placed throughout the world.

In the camps, Li Xier was dauntless as he faced the enemy’s torture. He had not graduated from middle school before joining the army, yet by assiduous self-education, he is currently vice director of Wuhan Hydroelectric Institute.

Ma Youjun was a brave POW who persisted in the struggle for returning to the motherland. Following his return, he devoted himself to the study of agricultural crops and has developed a high yield variety of
disease free rice. When this strain of rice was introduced in Sichuan, it resulted in increased economic benefits. He was elected representative of the People's Congress of Sichuan Province, and he is currently director of the Neijiang Agricultural Institute of Sichuan Province.

Jiang Reipu was a member of the dare-to-die corps, inflicting pain upon the traitors in the camps. After he returned to China, he was admitted to the Beijing Iron and Steel College. Here he designed an ice-sweeping machine for the Capital Stadium, which was praised highly by people in various circles. Last year he flew to Algeria as a Chinese expert to assist in the development of Algeria's national economy. There are additional POWs, such as Zhong Junge and Rao Xueche who silently work for the country under adverse circumstances.

Everyone undergoes constant change in life.

Just as the over twenty thousand CPV POWs broke up and formed into different groups in the POW camps, the returned 6,000 POWs have changed during the thirty years since their return. Some rise when confronted with hard work, while others sink into degradation. This is the law of life.

To complete this story, I am obliged to mention the remaining types of the 6,000 POWs.
At the end of 1983, the Chengdu People's Court issued a notice announcing the death of Pu Xuelin, a man who was accused of running a brothel. Pu had fought bravely for returning to Mainland China in the POW camps. He had been injured during the wrestle with the traitors. In the fight to defend the Five-Starred Red Flag, he was shot and narrowly escaped death. After his return to China, he received unfair treatment, and finally degenerated. He wanted to atone for "what he had lost." He had once been glorious, but he ended his life shamefully.

A returned POW who had been expelled from the Party lived in Shanxi Province. In implementing the new policies, the Party organization restored his Party membership, but he refused to accept it. He said, "What good is this to me but paying Party membership fee?"--perhaps one cannot blame him. The reason that he had demanded to return to his home town was simply to realize his ideal life: thirty mu of land, an ox, and a warm bed with his wife and children. Actually this was not a bad life, but he had taken an oath under the Red Flag and had shed blood in its defense.

Other returned POWs appeared among those who shouted abuses in the street, demanding an increase of a few more Yuan in their salary. Reading their letters, one would hardly believe these were written by those same Communists who had narrowly escaped from the POW camps.

These are only few of the 6,000 returned POWs.
I sincerely hope that these people, worthy of respect, treasure this period of their history, for their history does not belong solely to them.

On Both Sides of the Taiwan Straits

Over ten thousand of the CPV POWs landed in Taiwan. How have they passed such a long but seemingly short time for the last thirty years? What are they doing now? With the Straits separating us, I cannot meet with these people; yet, I am fortunate to learn that since 1974, four of the former CPV POWs travelled across the Taiwan Straits to settle down on the Mainland. They are now respectively living in Tianjin, Guangxi, Guizhou and Inner Mongolia. From Taiwan they have brought me some information.

Over ten thousand of the CPV POWs were escorted in landing ships group by group, to Taiwan from South Korea. They leaned against the guewale and dazed over the sea to the Mainland. The sea was vast and boundless. They could only imagine their home towns in their hearts. Their eyes remained dry as they were forbidden to shed tears. Anyone who revealed the slightest homesickness was cruelly and severely punished by the traitors. Some jumped into the sea, and others were thrown in with their hands and feet bound. The spies said, "Go home to fulfil your wish."
The ships docked at Keelung Harbor. The former POWs were enrolled in the engineer army. They were dressed in shabby clothes and lived in work sheds. They were assigned jobs to repair roads, build airports and seaports. Many have toiled hard for the last thirty years. When they retired from military service at the age of fifty, many had become handicapped and quite a few remained single and homeless. To eke out the barest living existence, some carried cargo at the port while others pushed carts in the factory. Their wish was to save hard-earned money to return to their home towns.

Several of them became wealthy. In the busy downtown district of Taipei, a Sichuan restaurant is run by a former CPV POW named Huang. His home town is Danlin County in Sichuan Province. Business at his restaurant is booming, and each year he sends money home.

In the autumn of 1984, Jiang, a former CPV POW, visited his home town in Meishan County in Sichuan Province in the capacity of a company manager from Hongkong. After he retired from the KMT Army, he married the daughter of a wealthy man. The government authority of Meishan County welcomed him warmly. He was interested in all the activities of his home town, and everyone around him showed kindness. Here, no one interfered with him and he was encircled with smiles. He was
moved by the lenient treatment of his native people. Before he left, he promised to invest $500,000 in the town’s development.

On April 6, 1981, the People’s Daily reported that the People’s Government of Tianden County in The Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region warmly received Huang Yongbin from Taiwan to resettle on the Mainland. Later he was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the People’s Congress of Tianden County. The government assigned him a job, and subsidized the settlement of his family. Yet, though the government did not expect it, this event gradually stirred those six thousand CPV POWs who had returned to Mainland China thirty years ago. One government organization received nearly one hundred letters from these former POW, expressing their understanding and support for what Tianden County had done. They said, "It does not matter if one’s love for his motherland comes early or late, patriotic deeds are the same to everyone. The motherland welcomes at any time those who love their homeland. Come back, fellow sufferers of the POW camps! Let the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits work together for the unification of our motherland, and the prosperity of the Chinese nation."
Suffering Becomes a Memory

In March 1979, a letter by Guo Zhaolin, forwarded by the Xinhua News Agency, lay on the desk of the General Political Department of the PLA. This letter called for a reexamination of the verdict concerning the 6,000 returned CPV POWs from the Korean War, according to the Party's tradition of seeking truth from facts. The Home Section of the Xinhua News Agency added a few words at the start of the letter:

"We believe that this problem is of great importance. . . . How to deal with this kind of problem is directly related to the fate of the 6,000 POWs. Its political consequences and influence are difficult to evaluate."

Prior to this, many returned POWs had written letters to the Central Party Committee, the Central Military Committee, the General Political Department of the PLA, Shenyang Military Area Command, and other units involved. Under the instructions of several leaders involved, Che Peizhang, Sun Hongzhao, and several other comrades from the General Political Department of the PLA went to Shenyang Military Area Command to hear the investigation reports on the CPV POWs. Here they consulted the files. They then conducted direct informal discussions with the returned POWs in Liaoning, Shanxi, and Sichuan Provinces and cities. Upon their return to Beijing, they immediately went to report the findings of their investigation.
to the leaders. They believed that among the CPV POWs, except for those few who had defected to the enemy, most had founded secret revolutionary organizations, such as "the Communist Union of Unity," guided and organized by the Communists. They had fought against persecution, character tattooing, and screening. They had insisted on being repatriated, and had been cooperative during the Panmunjom negotiations. They had fought to return to their motherland. Yet, after their return, the department concerned did not possess a thorough analysis of their situation. They were unfair in determining the nature of the individual cases, and had treated the returned POWs too severely.

In September 1980, after repeated investigations and consultation by the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, the General Political Department of the PLA, the Central Organization Ministry, the Civil Administration Ministry, and other departments concerned, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party granted and passed to the General Political Department of the PLA the reexamination proposal of the returned CPV POWs. From then on they began to work on a national scale to reexamine the returned POWs and reverse the false accusations imposed on them. A great number of the returned POWs have been restored to both Party membership and military status, and many have become leaders at all levels. Some were elected representatives of the People's Congress
and members of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. People have recognized and praised their brave fight for returning to their homeland, and their ensuing struggles upon their return. Their history of humiliation and suffering has come to a close. In their home country, they are now leading a new life in their old age.

On January 15, 1986, Dongpo Restaurant opened on Fucheng Road in Beijing. Serving Sichuan style cuisine, the restaurant was named after the great ancient Chinese poet Su Dongpo. It is operated by people from Meishan County in Sichuan Province.

One evening in early September, 1986, I went into the medium-sized restaurant for dinner. As I sat down at a table in the simple surroundings, I ate the Sichuan food as I read the customer’s comment book. To my surprise, the book contained numerous good wishes written by nearly one hundred foreign guests in more than ten languages:

Zhang Xintao, Watanabe Tetsuko, doctors of laws from Meiji University in Japan, wrote, "The Dongpo pork reminded us of Su Dongpo. We have tasted a delicate flavor from the seemingly greasy meat. We see brightness and prosperity."

Tess Leven, head of an American Women’s Delegation wrote, "To Mr. Zhang Da: You have an outstanding restaurant and your food is first
class. I am sure that this is the most delicious food I have tasted during my visit to China."

Hong Sung-kil, a Korean friend, wrote in the book, "Comrade Zhang Da, thank you! You are an international soldier! You have sacrificed much for the liberation of the Korean nation. As a result, you've suffered a lot in your life. Please remember, the people cherish you and Korea will never forget you."

The manager of the restaurant approached, his head covered with sweat. He constantly wiped his hands on a towel. He was a thin man over fifty years old, and spoke Mandarin with a Sichuan accent. He wore a pair of white-edged glasses with wrinkles round his canthus. The white dacron shirt he wore had a copper badge on it--Dongpo Restaurant, 101. He was Zhang Da, the CPV POW mentioned many times, who had bravely fought to return to his homeland.

We exchanged a few words of greeting before we started talking. He spoke of the former POWs, the POW camps, of the martyrs that often lingered in his dreams, of his frustrations and sufferings following his return, and of the economic reforms in China. The food became cold; the customers had left. Outside, the street lamps were lit and the restaurant was closed. He talked without stopping. He then sang the songs composed in the POW camps from "The Wonderful Scenery on the Sides of Huai River"
to "Mourning Song," in memory of the martyrs. He sang one song after another. Thirty-four years had passed, but he did not forget a single word! He sang the songs with affection, tears flowing out of his slightly opened eyes.

Americans are known for their punctuality. This year on April 20, the Research Center for Development of the State Council ordered a Sichuan style dinner in the Dongpo Restaurant for their American guest, Mr. Owen, who had worked as an advisor for former American president Jimmy Carter. The reservation time for the meal was twelve, but Mr. Owen arrived at the restaurant at eleven.

Zhang Da hurried out to greet his guest. Mr. Owen, clasping Zhang's greasy hands, said, "Let's have a talk, shall we?" Having heard that Zhang and his small restaurant had some unusual experiences, he arrived an hour earlier to speak with him.

They started off discussing the management of the restaurant. Zhang Da told him that men from the Bureau of Price came to check the prices on his menu and found that they were a little lower than usual. On hearing this, Mr. Owen smiled and asked him, "Don't you want to make money?"

"Certainly I do. But I run the restaurant for the customers to eat to their satisfaction, and also to do something for my country."
"I have heard that you had lots of difficulty starting this restaurant. Can you tell me why you wanted to set it up?"

Why? How should he tell him? Zhang Da fell into silence. He was born into a KMT Army Major's family. His father was arrested in 1950 and sent to be reformed through labor. Meanwhile, he was enrolled in the Southwest People's Revolutionary University where he became a member of the Youth League. He later joined the CPV and served as staff officer on probation of the military affairs section of a regiment. During the Korean War he was captured. In the POW camps, a former KMT soldier under his father's command pointed to him and said, "You are a little kid. What good will the Chinese Communist Party do for you if you return to the Mainland?" Many years later, when he recalled this experience, he said to others, "At that time, I didn't study Marxism and Leninism much, but I had seen the New and Old China. To me, the Old China was corrupt and the New China was bright. So I returned with all my might to make my contribution to the construction of the New China."

When he finally returned to China and arrived in his native town, he was labeled "traitor." Yet he was still enthusiastic about putting forth his strength in the country's construction. He sat for the university entrance examinations and received high scores, but he was not politically qualified and was therefore denied acceptance. He then taught in a high school, but
was later dismissed. To earn a living, he had worked along the Minjiang River as a boat tracker; he had carried water in a chemical plant; he had built roads in Liangshan area; and he had been a temporary worker on Mountain Erlang. During these twenty years, his salary never exceeded thirty Yuan a month, and he was dismissed from his jobs again and again because of his political background. During the "Cultural Revolution," he was accused of committing treason, and the local government issued a wanted circular for his arrest. Yet, in spite of all this he continued to hope to contribute to his country's development, and he finally completed a correspondence course from Sichuan Normal University.

In August 1984, Zhang Zeshi, Zhang Da's comrade-in-arms in the POW camps, came to Chengdu. Zhang Da travelled from Ganzi to visit him. After they greeted each other, Zhang Zeshi said, "Now our country is bent wholeheartedly on economic development. We should put aside the miserable memories of the past, and do something for the country." Zhang Da grasped his hands and said, "My brother, didn't we return with all our might just for today?" They continued to talk from afternoon to midnight, and from midnight to the following morning. At last, they decided to open a restaurant together in Beijing. Zhang Da was determined to go all out,
but at that time, he was only an ordinary worker in the general road maintenance department. The label "traitor to the country" still clouded his life.

The restaurant finally opened after a full year’s effort. Zhang Da, in a calm voice, said to the American guest, "Our country is still poor, and we're now making efforts to change it. I am able to run a restaurant. History offers me a chance and conditions, hence the restaurant is set up."

At twelve sharp, the waiters and waitresses asked the guests to take their seats.

Mr. Owen was still interested in Zhang Da’s personal history. He made sure that Zhang Da sat next to him, eating and talking with him.

Food was set upon the table one course such as "Dongpo Zhouzi" after another, but their conversation still centered on Zhang Da and his restaurant. The guest asked, "My Chinese friends told me that you had encountered a lot of difficulties opening this restaurant, is this true?"

He had encountered more than just difficulties. He had encountered lines of obstacles, especially those man-made obstacles characteristic of the Chinese nation’s psyche.

At the beginning, Zhang Da co-managed the restaurant with a subordinate hotel of Xuanwu District Repairing Company in Beijing. He went through countless hardships and finally secured a loan of fifty
thousand Yuan (approximately $8,000). He employed several cooks for his restaurant. The formal opening of the restaurant was selected for May 1, 1985, but at that time a number of anonymous letters poured into Xuanwu District Repairing Company. The letters maligned him for "having unknown identity, and serious problems in his personal record." The people in the company were embarrassed; and the restaurant could not open its door.

But Zhang Da didn’t let the cooks go. He continued to pay them well from the money from his loan according to their contract. He turned the whole thing over his mind and confirmed his belief that he was right. What he did was worthy of the country. He had a clear conscience.

Those days, he used to rush about in the streets of Beijing. He was rebuffed and treated with disdain many times, but he didn’t mind that at all.

"Why can Mitterand, a German captive during the Second World War, be elected President of France, yet it is so difficult for an ordinary CPV POW to do something for his country?" Sometimes he would think angrily.

He would sing songs of the POW camps while walking, to encourage himself. He thought to himself, "I'm the son of my country. I should do something for my country before I meet Su Dongpo."
He remembered how, during the ten years of catastrophe, he went to find his former CPV commander and now Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Chengdu Military Area, Wei Jie. He took with him the wanted circular issued by the authorities. At that time he was only skin and bone because of famine. He had long hair and shabby clothes. The guards of Wei Jie refused to let him in. Then he told the officer on duty his past experiences. The young officer was moved, and called the Deputy Commander-in-Chief, who listened carefully to him for a whole morning and said to him, holding his hands, "I'm the witness of that period of history. I'm best qualified to speak on this question." Thus Zhang Da stayed in his home. Before he left, Wei Jie gave him some money and rice coupons. He wrote in person to the leaders of Sichuan Province. In his letter he said, "I can prove that Zhang Da is not a traitor to the country. We should keep to the stand of the Party and Party spirit. Zhang Da should have the right to work."

Half a year passed. He had spent nearly thirty thousand Yuan out of his fifty-thousand Yuan loan. For Zhang Da, who had earned only a little money every month and who didn't have a single penny in the bank, using money like that was a desperate gamble.

"I have met with numerous difficulties, but all of them have been surmounted. This indicates that there is hope for our country."
The American guest took a pen and wrote in the visitor’s book in English, "Mr. Zhang Da, through your arduous efforts and with the new policies brought about by the reforms, your restaurant has made tremendous achievements..." People all over the world have different languages and colors, but they are bound by the same emotions.

They talked again about the reforms in China, of their respective incomes and families. The American guest even insisted on meeting Zhang Da’s wife, Xie Lanfen, who worked at the snack counter of the restaurant. Mr. Owen also asked about Zhang Da’s early life experiences.

Zhang Da said with a smile, "You might not expect that I was once a POW of the Americans, I have scars left by your army. At that time, it was out of reason for you Americans to fight in the neighboring country of China...."

"Ah..." Mr. Owen cried out in surprise. After he looked at the scars on Zhang Da’s arm and leg, he fell into deep thought.

"Hideous war. Let war be gone forever!" Mr. Owen appeared to be a bit excited, "I like China. I’m willing to contribute to the friendship between America and China. I hope our two countries will never start a war again."
The planned meal time was prolonged. Before leaving, Mr. Owen asked for a copper badge the workers of Dongpo Restaurant wore. Zhang Da gave him the copper badge "Dongpo Restaurant 109."

The copper badge has flown with Mr. Owen over mountains and seas over Asia, Europe and many other places. It has reached another country on the other shore of the Pacific Ocean. It tells the people in the world that in the East, the Chinese people have bid farewell to humiliation and misfortune and that they are working assiduously for the bright future of mankind.
Bibliography
