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BRAINWASHING

A Guide to the Literature

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PREFACE

This is a preliminary draft of a bibliography on the subject of brainwashing prepared for the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, Incorporated. It brings together bibliographies previously compiled by the Society; by studies undertaken at the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. for the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, and by the project on "Coercive Persuasion" of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The bibliography is primarily concerned with works dealing directly with the forcible indoctrination of individuals and small groups in Communist countries. Titles have been included which discuss some other phenomena but which contain an explicit suggestion that the discussion is relevant to the topic of the present bibliography.

The decision to circulate the bibliography in its present form was made not only to provide scientists and scholars with an interim listing of important titles on the subject of brainwashing, but also to elicit further suggestions for increasing the comprehensiveness, accuracy and usefulness of the bibliography. Titles have been arranged in the present draft without attempting to exploit fully the analytic possibilities of the material. Entries are listed alphabetically by author, where the author is specified; otherwise, alphabetically by title in the following categories:

1. Scholarly and scientific reports
2. Governmental and organizational reports.
3. Legal discussions.
4. Biographical accounts.
5. Fiction.
6. Journalistic accounts and discussions.

Except in a few instances, each title is accompanied by a geographical area code letter:

- A. General and theoretical works (not focused on practices in any specific locale).
- B. The Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.
- C. Communist China and other Asian Communist countries.
- D. Practices in other areas discussed as analogous to brainwashing.

Acknowledgments

A number of persons, several of whom are prominent contributors to the literature, have assisted in the preparation of this material. We are particularly indebted to Albert D. Biderman of the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. and to Edgar H. Schein of the Center for International Studies, M.I.T., for their advice and guidance, and for material assistance in screening sources and providing annotations. Though much work remains in the selection and annotation of foreign-language sources, we wish to acknowledge the very substantial contributions of Dr. Jan M.M. Hornix, Professor of Sociology, Katholieke Economische Hogeschool, Tilburg, The Netherlands, and Miss Inge Schneier, formerly of the "Coercive Persuasion" project, Center for International Studies, M.I.T. We wish also to thank A.D. Barnett, Raymond A. Bauer, Lawrence E. Hinkle, Jr., Edward Hunter, Robert J. Lifton and Joost A.M. Meerloo for their willingness to review this material and for their constructive suggestions.

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Walter P. Pasternak
Forest Hills, N. Y.

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SCHOLARLY AND SCIENTIFIC REPORTS

1. BARNETT, A.D. Hsueh-Hsi, weapon of
C ideological revolution in China.
New York: American Universities
Field Staff, 1954. (AUFS Report
ADB-3-54).

An analysis of group indoctrination
in Communist China, based upon ex-
tensive interviews with Chinese
refugees in Hong Kong.

2. BARNETT, A.D. Social controls in
C Communist China. Far East. Surv.,
22:45-48, (1953).

Description of thought reform
program and its setting on the
mainland in the 1950s.

3. BARNETT, A.D. The United States and
C the Far East. New York: Columbia Univ.
Press, 1956.

Analysis of thought reform on
mainland China and its effects.

4. BAUER, R.A. Arrest in the Soviet Union.
B Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Human
Resources Research Institute. HRRI
Research Memorandum No. 30., 1955.

The role and prevalence of political
arrests in the Soviet Union as re-
vealed by analysis of interviews
with former Soviet citizens.

5. BAUER, R.A. Brainwashing: psychology or
A demonology? J. Soc. Issues, 13(3):41-47,
(1957).

Argues that scientific psychology
is not basis of "brainwasher's"
procedure.

6. BAUER, R.A. The new man in Soviet
B. psychology. Cambridge: Harvard Univ.
Press, 1952.

Study of changing assumptions
about man during rise of Stalin.

7. BAUER, T.J. The systematic destruction
C. of the Catholic Church in China.
New York: World Horizons, 1954.

Statistics and description of
destruction of missions, arrest
and imprisonment of priests.

8. BEXTON, W.H. Some effects of perceptual
A. isolation on human subjects. Unpublished
doctoral dissertation, McGill Univ., 1953.

Introduction to this famous ex-
periment suggests that perceptual
isolation may account for sus-
ceptability to persuasion in
"brainwashing" attempts.

9. BIDERMAN, A.D. Communist attempts to
C. elicit false confessions from Air Force
prisoners of war. Bull. N.Y. Acad. Med.,
33:616-625, (1957).

A distinction between "eliciting
compliance" and "shaping compliance"
is used in this analysis of inter-
views with POW survivors.

10. BIDERMAN, A.D. Effects of Communist in-
C. doctrination attempts: Some comments
based on an Air Force prisoner-of-war
study. Soc. Probs., 6:304-313, (1959).

Suggests that a general "anti-
ideological" attitude may account
for the high resistance of American
prisoners in Korea to Communist in-
doctrination attempts.

11. BIDERMAN, A.D. Social psychological needs and "involuntary" behavior as illustrated by compliance in interrogation. Sociometry, 23:120-147, (June 1960).

A

Analysis of the interpersonal forces which operate in the interrogation situation.

12. BIDERMAN, A.D., HERMAN, L.M. and HOWARD H. Reading materials in Chinese Communist indoctrination attempts against American prisoners of war. Lib. Quart., 28:187-193, (1958).

C

A listing of titles made available to U.S. prisoners in Korea by the Communist captor, with a brief discussion of the list and POWs reactions.

13. BIDERMAN, A.D. and MONROE, J.L. Reactions to the Korean POW episode. A paper read at the annual convention of the American Psychol. Assn., Washington, Sept. 1958.

C

A content analysis of N.Y. Times Index of changes in emphasis from 1953-1958 in news stories about U.S. Korean War repatriates.

14. BIDERMAN, A.D. and ZIMMER, H. (eds.). The manipulation of human behavior. New York: Wiley, 1960.

A

A critical examination of scientific areas that have figured prominently in speculations regarding the applicability of science to the manipulation of behavior, using interrogation of a resistant person as a model. Includes original chapters by L.E. Hinkle (physiologic state and brain function), P.E. Kubzansky (reduced environmental stimulation), L.A. Gottschalk (drugs), M.T. Orne (hypnosis), R.C. Davis (psychophysiological means of evaluation), R.R. Blake and J. Mouton (interpersonal influence), and M.L. Meltzer (evasion through malingering).

15. BOHN, H. (ed.). Armee gegen die Freiheit.
B Ideologie und Aufrüstung in der Sowjet
zone. Dokumente und Materialien. Köln:
Marcus Verlag, 1956.

Documents and articles that reveal how Eastern Germany has been indoctrinated, especially labor and the Army.

16. BONNARD, Augusta. The metapsychology
B of the Russian trials confessions.
Int. J. Psychoanal., 35:208-213, (1954).

17. "Brainwashing" and reliability. Editorial.
A Hum. Organ., 13(4):4, (1955).

Urges the need for objective criteria by which to measure methods of studying social phenomena. Without these criteria, the "facts" of social phenomena can be made to fit theories of what should be rather than what actually exists.

18. "Brainwashing" and the teaching process.
A Editorial. Hum. Organ., 13(4):3-4, (1955).

Discussion of the similarity between "brainwashing" and the relationship of case supervisor to student, urging that more empiricism be used in the behavioral sciences.

19. BRANDT, C., SCHWARTZ, B. and FAIRBANK, J.K.
C A documentary history of Chinese Communism.
Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1952.

Selection of original Chinese Communist documents and speeches covering their earliest Revolutionary policies to date of publication.

20. BRZENZINSKI, Z. The permanent purge.
A Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958.

Analysis of the function of the
purge and the demand for unanimity
in totalitarian societies.

21. BRZENZINSKI, Z. Totalitarianism and
A nationality. Amer. Polit. Sci. Rev.,
3:757-763, (1956).

22. BURCHETT, W. and WINNINGTON, A. Koje
C unscreened. Peking: 1953.

Allegations of coercive practices
by which U.S. Army "forced" Chinese
and Korean POWs to choose non-
repatriation, contrasted with "good
treatment" of POWs by Chinese forces.

23. BYFIELD, R.S. Logocide, the fifth weapon.
A New York: Privately printed, 1954.

24. CHEN, T.H.E. The thought reform of in-
C tellectuals. Annals Acad. of Polit. and
Soc. Sci., 321:82-89, (Jan. 1959).

An analysis based on documentary
sources by a University of Southern
California social scientist.

25. CHEN, T.H. and CHIU, S.M. Thought re-
C form in Communist China. Far East. Surv.,
24:117-184, (1955).

Analysis of the role of propoganda and the mass media in the reform of intellectuals. Measures taken by the Communist Party to combat deviationist tendencies.

26. DENICKE, G. Memoirs of George Denicke.
B (Preliminary Draft) Cambridge: Russian
Research Center, Harvard Univ. (undated).

Contains important comments by a Soviet defector on Soviet political interrogation.

27. DRAPER, T. Psychology of surrender.
A Infantry J., 35(3):21-27, (1945).

28. DUFAY, F. En Chine, l'etoile contre
C en croix. Paris: 1954; German Trans.:
Gesetz und taktik des Kommunistischen
Kirchenkampfes. Frankfort am Main:
1956.

A French Catholic China missionary analyzes Chinese Communist doctrine in connection with Church persecution. Comments on brainwashing and thought control.

29. EYSENCK, H.J. The dynamics of anxiety
A and hysteria. New York: Praeger, 1957.

30. FARBER, I.E., HARLOW, H.F. and WEST, L.J.
A Brainwashing, conditioning and DDD
(debility, dependency and dread). Socio-
metry, 20:271-285, (1957).

Theoretical analysis of treatment of
POWs in Korea from standpoint of learn-
ing theory.

31. FREEDMAN, Lawrence Zelic. Truth drugs.
A Scientific American, 202:145-154, (1960).

32. FUCHS, Rainer. Gewissheit, motivation
A und bedingter reflex. Ueber ihre funktion
in hypnose und im normalzustand, Meisen-
heim am Glan, 1954.

Experimental design of emotional,
conative and involuntary processes
in education, reeducation and re-
moval of motivation systems.

33. GALLIMARD (ed.). La Chine de la Douceur.
C Paris: L'air du Temps, 1960.

Recent study of China, including its
thought reform institutions.

34. GANTT, W.N. Bolshevik principles and
B Russian physiology. Bull. of Atomic
Sci., 8: (1952).

35. GLIKSMAN, J.G. Social prophylaxis as a
B form of Soviet terror. Totalitarianism,
C. J. Friedrich (ed.), 60-74. Cambridge:
Harvard Univ. Press, 1954.

Advances thesis that fear of purge
is expressly an instrument of govern-
ment to discourage potential counter-
revolutionaries.

36. GORGES, V. Man muss leben--ein
B Beitrag zur psychologie der kameraden-
schinder. Deutsch Rundschau, 599-604,
(1952).

Collaboration as a form of mimicry
in Soviet camps of German POWs.

37. GOURLEY, W.E. The Chinese Communist
C cadre: Key to political control.
Cambridge: Harvard Univ., Russian
Research Center, 1952.

Analysis of the role of the cadre
in Chinese Communist social control
and description of recruitment and
training of such cadre.

38. Group for the advancement of psychiatry.
A Factors used to increase the susceptability
of individuals to forceful indoctrination:
Observations and experiments. New York:
GAP Publications office, GAP Symposium
No. 3, (Dec. 1956).

Discussion of isolation, solitary
confinement, sleep deprivation,
brain injury, semi-starvation, and
pain as they contribute to forceful
indoctrination.

39. GRYGIER, T. Oppression; a study in social
A and criminal psychology. London: Routledge
& Kegan Paul, 1954.

A PhD dissertation dealing with re-
sults of psychological tests adminis-
tered to various prison populations
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D and sheep in political theory. J. Politics,
18:590-613, (1955).

A comparison of Dostoevsky's "The legend
of the Grand Inquisitor," Huxley's Brave
new world, and Skinner's Walden Two as
portrayed of societies with complete dis-
regard for the autonomy of the individual
and societies which use mass conditioning
to achieve their ends. A comment on the
influence of these models on society.

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A "brainwashing." J. Soc. Issues, 13(3):
1-2, (1957).

Points to fundamental question posed for psychology by accounts of the collaboration elicited by Communists from their prisoners.

42. HENDERSON, B.A. Communist indoctrination
A methods. Mil. Rev., 35(8):27-38, (1955).

Discussion of "brainwashing" techniques and social background of converts to Communist through brainwashing.

43. HINKLE, L.E., Jr. and WOLFF, H.G.
A Communist interrogation and indoctrination of "enemies of the state." A.M.A. Arch. Neurol. & Psychiat., 76:115-174, (1956).

Comprehensive discussion and analysis of Soviet and Chinese Communist methods of interrogation and indoctrination.

44. HINKLE, L.E., Jr. and WOLFF, H.G. The
A methods of interrogation and indoctrination used by Communist state police. Bull. N.Y. Acad. Med., 33:600-615, (1957).

Descriptive analysis of Chinese and Soviet treatment of prisoners.

45. HOLT, R.R. "Brainwashing" and its implications for mental health. New York Univ., Res. Cent. for Ment. Health, unpublished.

Rejects thesis that "brainwashing" makes use of technique of conditioned reflex. "Brainwashing" seeks to reduce an adult to a child and to confuse the individual's sense of reality.

46. INKELES, Alex. Public Opinion in Soviet Russia. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1950.

Sociological study of public opinion and the instruments of persuasion built into Soviet institutions of Communication. (i.e. Samokrika-Self criticism, etc.).

47. INKELES, Alex. The totalitarian mystique. In Friedrich, C.J. Totalitarianism. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954.

Original contribution, includes characterization of totalitarian leaders, suggesting why they always require a unanimous following.

48. JAHODA, M. and COOK, S.W. Ideological compliance as a social-psychological process. In Friedrich, C.J. (ed.), Totalitarianism. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954.

Several socio-psychological experiments are discussed in terms of group pressures toward conformity.

49. KENNEDY, Alexander. The scientific lessons of interrogation. Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, 170:93-113, (1960).

Lecture of Professor of Psychological Medicine at Edinburgh University (England) tracing the history of brainwashing; describing the process with comparison to some forms of psychoanalysis, and giving an evaluation of its past effects and future more constructive uses.

50. KIRMAN, B.H. Mental disorder in released prisoners of war. J. of Ment. Sci., 92:803-813, (1946).

51. von KULTSCHYTSKYJ, A. Die Marxistisch-Sowjetische Konzeption des Menschen im Lichte der Westlichen psychologie. München: 1956.

A Western psychological analysis of the Soviet concept of man with reference to pedagogics and forms of thought control.

52. LARSEN, O. Nightmare of the innocents. London: 1955.

Interrogations carried out in the stillness of night are sinister and merciless in their absence of anger, physical violence and threats.

53. LEFEUVRE, S.J.G. Les enfants dans la ville, chronique de la vie chretienne a Shanghai, 1949-1955. Paris: 1956.

Chapter V, pp. 114-136 describes Szuhsiang Kaitsao (thought reform).

54. LIFTON, R.J. Chinese Communist thought reform, the assault upon identity and belief. Washington: Walter Reed Army Medical Center, WRAIR:110-156, (May 1956).

Psychiatric analysis of thought reform of Western prisoners.

55. LIFTON, R.J. Chinese Communist "thought reform:" confession and re-education of Western civilians. Bull. N.Y. Acad. Med., 33:626-644, (1957).

Descriptive analysis based on first hand interviews with victims.

56. LIFTON, R.J. Home by ship; reaction patterns of American prisoners of war repatriated from North Korea. Amer. J. Psychiat., 110:732-739, (1954).

Description of repatriation of Americans from Korea.

57. LIFTON, R.J. Methods of forceful indoctrination: observations and interviews. New York: GAP Publications Office, GAP Symposium No. 4: 234-249, (July 1947).

Psychiatric aspects of thought reform.

58. LIFTON, R.J. Thought reform. New York:
A W.W. Norton, 1960.

59. LIFTON, R.J. Thought reform of Chinese
C intellectuals, a psychiatric evaluation,
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Description and psychiatric
analysis of thought reform of
Chinese intellectuals.

60. LIFTON, R.J. Thought reform of Western
C civilians in Chinese Communist prisons.
Psychiatry, 19:173-195, (1956).

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61. LIFTON, R.J. Thought reform of Western
C civilians in Chinese Communist prisons.
Washington: Walter Reed Army Inst. of
Res., Walter Reed Army Medical Center,
May, 1956.

62. LILLY, J.C. Illustrative strategies
D for research on psychopathology in
mental health. GAP Symposium No. 2,
New York: GAP Publications: 13-20,
1956.

Discussion of theoretical relevance
of other medical and psychiatric
studies to coercive persuasion.

63. LILLY, J.C. Mental effects of reduction
A of ordinary levels of physical stimuli
on intact, healthy persons. Psychiat. Res. Rep.
Amer. Psychiat. Ass., 5:1-28, (1956).
64. LUNDEN, W.A. Captivity psychosis among
A prisoners of war. J. crim. law & crim-
inol., 39:721-733, (1949),
65. MACLEAN, Fitzroy. Eastern Approaches.
B London: 1950, 8th imp.

Detailed analysis of the Moscow
case in 1938 against Bucharin,
Rykov, Jagoda and fifteen other
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66. MEERLOO, J.A.M. Brainwashing and menti-
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Identity and Anxiety. Glencoe, Illinois:
The Free Press, 1960.
67. MEERLOO, J.A.M. Conversation and
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68. MEERLOO, J.A.M. The crime of menticide.
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The first psychiatric analysis
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rogation and indoctrination.

69. MEERLOO, J.A.M. Delusion and mass
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70. MEERLOO, J.A.M. Medication into sub-
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coercion. J. nerv. ment. dis., 122:
353-360, (1955).

71. MEERLOO, J.A.M. Mental contagion.
A Am. j. psychotherapy, 13: (1959).

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cyclopedia, 1954.

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74. MEERLOO, J.A.M. Psychiatric ecology.
A J. of nerv. and ment. dis., 127:, (1959).

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New York: Julian Press, pp. 28-37, 1953.

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A mind. London: Allen and Unwin, 1944.

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A Factors used to increase the sus-
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Pp. 96-103, (Dec. 1956).

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institutions are extrapolated to
bear on the issue of forceful in-
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82. Mentality of the war prisoner. Scient.
A Amer., 87:105, (1919).

83. Methods of forceful indoctrination: Ob-
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84. MILLER, J.G. Brainwashing: present
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48-55, (1957).

Discusses possible applications of science to compel the compliance of a prisoner and concludes that death or induced amnesia are only feasible defenses.

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School and education as weapons of Communism in Eastern Germany. The ideology of hate to distract the Germans from their traditions and from Western culture and religion.

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In the psychagogy of Communism terror is a basic part of practice. Physical terror is methodologically intended to be mental terror.

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J. Psychoanal., 36:53-60, (1955).

Theoretical discussion of why men confess.

88. NOWRER, O., LIGHT B.N., LURIA, L. and
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Theory and Research. New York: The
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89. OLDS, J. A physiological study of
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D. C. McClelland. New York: Appleton-
Century-Crofts, 1955.

90. PAJNEZ, Y. Les Viet mins et la
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Colombe, Paris: 1955.

Analysis of "brainwashing"
practices in Indo-China.

91. PETER, C. Psychologische und psychiatrisch-
B neurologische Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen
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Nervenarzt, 5:202-206, (1949).

Personal observations of a German
psychiatrist as POW in Soviet
camps. Description of psychiatric
and neurological phenomena.

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Cambridge, Mass: Center for Internat.
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A limits of totalitarian power. Antioch
Rev., 12:155-168, (1952).

Argues that the limits of the
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A civil libertarian attorney discusses "brainwashing" and other confession phenomena in terms of the "psychological compulsion to confess" and a distinction between "inquisitional" and "accusatorial" legal inquiry.

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A Philosophical Library, 1956.

A survey of drugs used for mental coercion.

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Hersenspoeling. Scheltens en Giltay,
Amsterdam: 1959.

Lajos Ruff, Hungarian literary man, stayed six weeks in so-called magic room of the Budapest prison. Detailed accounts of brainwashing methods.

97. SANTUCCI, P.S. and WINOKUR, G. Brain-
A washing as a factor in psychiatric illness.
A.M.A. Arch. Neurol. Psychiat., 74:11-16,
(1955).

Analysis of POW treatment in Korea from learning theory standpoint.

98. SARGANT, W. Battle for the mind.
A New York: Doubleday, 1957.

Theoretical analysis attempting to show that physiological factors underlie the breakdown seen in coercive persuasion as well as a variety of other phenomena.

99. SCHEIN, E.H. Brainwashing. Encyclopedia
A Brittanica. In press.

General summary description of history, methods, and effects.

100. SCHEIN, E.H. Brainwashing and
A totalitarianism in modern society.
World politics, 11:430-442, (1959).

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101. SCHEIN, E.H. The Chinese indoctrina-
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Psychiatry, 19:149-172, (1956).

Description of Chinese treat-
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inferences as to its psychological
effects.

102. SCHEIN, E.H. Epilogue, something new
C in history? J. Soc. Issues, 13(3):56-60,
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Summary of research on POWs and
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Theoretical analysis of coercive
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C to severe chronic stress in American
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Methods of forceful indoctrination:
Observations and interviews. New York:
GAP Publications Office. GAP Symposium
No. 4: 253-269, (July 1957).

Self-explanatory.

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AMSGS:37-55, (Oct. 1955).

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Brief statement of Chinese
Communist indoctrination techniques.

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C A follow-up study of Army prisoners of
war. (In preparation.)

A psychological follow-up of
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on 113 interviews with former
POWs to assess current attitudes
and adjustments.

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