## CHAPTER VII

## STIGMA AND ASTIGMATISM

The closing days of hostilities brought better treatment for some Marines and increased pressure and coercion for others. Their problems did not end with repatriation. There still remained detailed intelligence processing en route home. This chapter will describe the combat actions of 1953 in which prisoners were lost to the enemy and some of the problems faced by Marine POW's during and after repatriation.

During the last seven months of hostilities in Korea 41 Marines were captured by the enemy. They included a pilot and an air observer who were shot down in separate engagements and 39 others who were captured in fierce outpost struggles which highlighted ground combat. In April, 1953, the belligerents held a preliminary exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war. The final exchange of POW's took place in August and September after the cease-fire.

The first two Marines captured in 1953 were both shot down over enemy territory. Captain Kenneth L. Spence of VMO-6 was flying an OE-1 aircraft on a reconnaissance behind enemy lines on January 18th. First Lieutenant G. Allen was his observer. At about 5:15 P.M. ground

observers saw the plane crash and noted that one parachute blossomed. The ground observers were near enough to hear small-arms fire in the vicinity where the parachute was seen to land, but they were unable to render assistance and search planes failed to locate the downed aircraft because of darkness. The following morning wreckage was sighted but no further observations were made.<sup>1</sup>

Captain Spence was captured and eventually he reached Obul, where he was assigned to the Camp 2 Annex.<sup>2</sup>

It was not until March 10th that another Marine was captured. Again it was an OE-1 light observation plane from VMO-6 which was hit by antiaircraft fire behind Chinese lines. The pilot turned towards friendly lines and then parachuted from the disabled aircraft. He was never heard from again. The air observer, Captain Dee E. Ezell, also parachuted. Although he landed safely, he was captured almost immediately.<sup>3</sup>

Captain Ezell later reported that he was threatened with beatings and death for refusing to reveal more than his name, rank, and serial number.<sup>4</sup> On April 13th the Marine air observer was taken to a POW collection point. He was placed with an enlisted Marine POW for a short while, but the two were separated shortly thereafter.

> <sup>1</sup>VMO-6, HistD, January, 1953, Appendix 6. <sup>2</sup>McDaniel interview. <sup>3</sup>Captain Dee E. Ezell, Report of Captivity. <sup>4</sup>I<u>bid</u>.

Captain Ezell did not identify the other Marine, but no doubt the latter had been captured in late March during a struggle at one of the outposts of the 5th Marines.

Ezell was placed in solitary confinement and a Chinese officer was assigned to interrogate him. The Marine described his experience in these terms:

For the next five (5) months I was made to sit in [sic] middle of the floor with my legs pulled up under my chin all day long. I was interrogated every day and finally designated a "War Criminal" because of my refusal to impart military information. During this period I was beaten, kicked, and spat upon. I was constantly subjected to name-calling, threats and accusations.<sup>2</sup>

Captain Ezell reported that he escaped on about May 13th but was recaptured after eight days of freedom when he fell unconscious from lack of food, exposure, and exhaustion. He was returned to the original place of confinement and court-martialed. During the trial he was informed that his sentence would depend upon his cooperation. Captain Ezell was also accused of participating in bacteriological warfare. He was beaten by Chinese soldiers, denied medical care, provided inadequate rations, and isolated from other POW's. Finally on August 1st, four days after the armistice was signed, Captain Ezell was taken to the Yalu River area and, after five days of solitary confinement, he was placed in a regular POW camp awaiting repatriation.

<sup>1</sup>USMC Casualties.

<sup>2</sup>Ezell Report of Captivity.

3<u>Ibid</u>.

Captain Ezell was the last Marine shot down and captured by the Communists in Korea, but 39 ground Marines were captured before hostilities ceased.

Enemy ground activity was mainly defensive in nature during the first quarter of 1953.<sup>1</sup> In March the Chinese resisted patrols and raids launched by the 5th Marines. It was not until the night of March 26th that the Communists launched an attack of significant proportions.<sup>2</sup>

Protracted rains and the spring thaw made movement difficult. Roads and trails were awash. Shortly before 7:00 P.M., March 26th, the Chinese directed an intense volume of mortar and artillery fire against combat outposts of the 5th Marines. Heavy fires also fell on approaches to the outposts and on the Marines' direct support artillery positions. Enemy long-range machine-gun fire was zeroed-in on the main line of resistance. Wire communications linking various command posts were disrupted by the Communist fire.

At 7:00 P.M. an estimated company of Chinese struck outposts Berlin and East Berlin in what appears to have been a diversionary attack.<sup>3</sup> The main enemy attack, estimated at regimental strength, fell on a trio of outposts in the right of 1/5's sector--Carson, Reno, and

1st MarDiv, CmdD's, January and February, 1953; and 5th Marines, CmdD's, January and February, 1953. 25th Marines, CmdD, March, 1953, p. 1. 3<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 4. Vegas. Two of the outposts, Reno and Vegas, were quickly overrun by the attackers. Marine reinforcements attempting to recapture the OP's were heavily engaged. Company F, 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, came under operational control of the 5th Marines. At 3:00 A.M. on the 27th the friendly counterattack was held up, and the Chinese continued to hold the two key outposts.<sup>1</sup>

At 3:45 A.M. the entire 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, passed to operational control of the 5th Marines. The counterattack was pressed shortly before noon by elements of both the 5th and 7th Marines with air, artillery, and tank support. Enemy resistance was stubborn and effective throughout the day, and not until 1:01 P.M. on the 28th did the Marines restore their outposts. The Chinese were quick to counterattack with an estimated two battalions the evening of March 29th and again in the early morning hours of the 30th, but their attacks failed and they were driven off.<sup>2</sup>

Second Lieutenant Rufus A. Seymour, the machine-gun platoon leader of C/1/5, had been in command of OP Reno when the Chinese struck. He was captured with several of his men in the ensuing action. Lieutenant Seymour later reported that the Chinese kept him on OP Reno for all of the next day and tried to force him to point out the

> l<u>Ibid</u>. 2<u>Ibid</u>.

Marine main line of resistance. The night of the 27th he was taken to the rear where he was subjected to frequent interrogations and solitary confinement.<sup>1</sup> In about two weeks the Lieutenant was taken to the mines about 35 miles southeast of Pyongyang. He reported that he spent four weeks in solitary confinement during which time he was threatened with death and subjected to a mock court-martial for lying.<sup>2</sup>

According to Lieutenant Seymour, he then joined a group of about 40 POW's for two weeks before being blindfolded and driven north to Pyoktong. After the usual registration and interrogation at the Prisoner of War Headquarters, Seymour was taken to Obul and No Name Valley where he was confined with five other lieutenants.<sup>3</sup> The small group was not permitted contact with any of the scores of POW's in isolation throughout the valley but interrogations were less frequent than before and only occasionally were the six officers subjected to Communist propaganda.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to Lieutenant Seymour 18 Marines and two Navy hospitalmen were captured in the outpost action

Lieutenant Rufus A. Seymour, Report of Captivity, February 4, 1954.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup><u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>None of the lieutenants were Marines according to a recapitulation of the camp population at this time.

Seymour Report of Captivity.

the night of March 26th. Private First Class Samuel J. Armstrong, among many others, was wounded during the battle and after his capture he was processed through a series of field hospitals. Armstrong reported that he did not reach a regular POW camp.<sup>1</sup>

Corporal Stephen E. Drummond, a communicator from the 11th Marines and probably a member of a forward observer team from a direct support artillery battery, was also captured in the action. He was not reported as having been in a regular camp<sup>2</sup> and his own narrative later indicates that he was kept mainly in aid stations of field Drummond recounted that the Chinese overran hospitals. his position at about 7:00 P.M. and that a grenade was thrown inside the living-bunker he was then occupying with other Marines. Corporal Drummond was wounded in the right leg. He and one or more others sat in the bunker for several hours, and at about midnight the Chinese entered the bunker and discovered them. Drummond related that he was moved to the Chinese MLR with the help of another Marine. Two days later he was operated on in a cave-hospital. The treatment, he reported, was good, particularly

2 ComNavFE Report of Little Switch.

<sup>3</sup>"Bunkeritis" was a term commonly applied to the tendency to remain inside the heavily reinforced bunkers during periods of intense incoming artillery fires.

ComNavFE Report of Little Switch. However, it is possible that PFC Armstrong was taken to the Mining Camp, Camp 10, but was kept in a separate area with other wounded from the Reno-Vegas action.

for the wounded.

Front line loud-speaker broadcasts were commonly made by both sides during this period of hostilities. Marines of the 1st Division frequently enjoyed the music while disregarding the propaganda of one they called "The Dragon Lady." Hospitalman Waddill later reported that after his capture on Reno he was taken to a frontline bunker where he was interrogated by a Chinese woman. She asked him several questions concerning the kind of music Americans liked.<sup>2</sup> Evidently she was associated with the Chinese phychological warfare unit then operating across from the 1st Marine Division.

Most of the Marines and the two sailors were taken to a place called the Mining Camp or Camp 10.<sup>3</sup> The POW's reported that security on the march was sufficient to prevent escapes and that the hills were virtually crawling 4 with Chinese.

Camp 10 consisted of a series of old Japanese barracks in fair condition. The buildings were stucco with gray slate roofs and concrete floors. Prisoners of war were assigned one squad to a room. Although the Chinese

<sup>1</sup><u>Washington Post</u>, September 12, 1953, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>ComNavFE Report of Little Switch, p. E 10.

<sup>5</sup>The British POW Report refers to Kanggye as Camp 10. According to the Marines, however, a Mining Camp near the battle line was referred to as Camp 10 by the Chinese in 1953. Since Kanggye had ceased to be a regular camp in March, 1951, this appears to be logical.

> 4 ComNavFE Report of Little Switch.

did not require any segregation other than keeping the wounded apart from the healthy, there was a natural gravil tation in groups according to nationality.

Even the Marines captured as late as March, 1953, were forced to conduct group discussions on subjects directed by the Chinese. Some of the POW's were required to give the names and addresses of three people in their home towns. Obviously the Communists were considering ways and means for establishing contacts for possible propaganda targets. It appears that indoctrination attempts were feeble, however, when compared with the regimen of 1951 and 1952. Treatment of American wounded in Camp 10 was reported by returnees as equal to that provided Chinese wounded.<sup>2</sup>

Camp regulations prescribed that food would not be saved. If prisoners were caught violating this regulation the camp's bread ration would be forfeited for an indefinite period. As an added precaution against escape prisoners of war were not allowed on the main road of camp without a guard.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the Marines and the sailor captured in March, at least three others captured earlier were confined in Camp 10. They were Privates First Class Pedro Aviles, of the Division Reconnaissance Company, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup><u>Ibid</u>., p. E 7. <sup>2</sup><u>Ibid</u>. <sup>3</sup><u>Ibid</u>., p. E 8.

Albert T. Crabtree, of the 1st Marines, both captured in December, 1952, and Hospitalman Thomas A. Scheddel who had been captured while accompanying a Marine patrol on February 7, 1953.

Private First Class Billy J. Morrow, W/1/5, was among those wounded during the fighting on OP Reno and presumably he died en route to Camp 10 or after arrival there. All other Marines known to have been captured on March 26th eventually returned to friendly hands alive.<sup>2</sup>

After the Chinese were driven off OP's Reno and Vegas and their counterattacks were rebuffed, the 7th Marines continued to relieve the 5th Marines on line. The relief in place was completed on April 4th. The 7th Regiment noted a steady decline in enemy aggressiveness when peace talks were resumed at Panmunjom. With the decrease in ground combat there was a corresponding increase in Communist psychological warfare activity. Propaganda leaflets delivered by mortar rounds appeared frequently.

On April 9th at 3:45 A.M. the Chinese sent two companies to attack a combat outpost on hill 47. Enemy artillery fire sealed off the outpost and prevented reinforcements from aiding the beleaguered defenders. Hand to hand fighting continued until 7:00 A.M. when the Chinese were forced to retire leaving 60 of their dead behind.

<sup>3</sup>7th Marines, CmdD, April, 1953, p. 1.

l<u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>USMC Casualties.

Additional casualties were estimated to be 90 killed and 70 wounded. The Marines lost 14 killed, 74 wounded and 3 missing of whom Privates First Class Willie C. Stewart and Bernard A. Demski were captured. Demski died in enemy hands.<sup>1</sup>

In April, 1953, three months before the end of hostilities, Operation Little Switch, the first exchange of prisoners of war, took place. About 6,000 Communist Chinese and North Koreans were returned in exchange for about 600 Allied personnel.<sup>2</sup> The Allies included 149 Americans,<sup>3</sup> of whom 15 were Marines,<sup>4</sup> three were Navy hospitalmen attached to the 1st Marine Division, and one was a Navy flyer.

American prisoners of war recovered on Operation Little Switch were examined physically immediately after repatriation. After receiving hospital garb, carefully planned meals, and a brief rest, they were flown to Tokyo, Japan. On arrival in Japan the former POW's were given a detailed physical examination at Tokyo Army Hospital prior to being interrogated by intelligence personnel. Recovered Marines and Navy personnel were processed by members of the Intelligence Department of Commander, Naval Forces

lUSMC Casualties.
2U. S. Fighting Man's Code, p. 81.
3Kinkead, <u>In Every War.</u>, p. 38.
4ComNavFE Report of Little Switch. See Appendix I.

Far East augmented by officers from other Marine staffs.

208

The Marines and sailors repatriated during Operation Little Switch had all been wounded at the time of capture. The Little Switch returnees included fourteen Marines and two hospitalmen who had been captured on combat outposts on the western front in October 1952 and March 1953, only six months and one month respectively before their repatriation; one hospitalman who had been captured less than three months before while on patrol; a Marine, Private First Class Arthur J. Gregory, who had been captured while attacking an enemy OP the previous May and had been erroneously reported killed in action at the time; and, finally, Ensign Marvin Broomhead who had been shot down in February, 1952. He was the only one of the Navy-Marine group who had been to a regular camp in which long term captives were being held and thur was able to report on Camp 2.<sup>2</sup>

The returnees were all suffering from anemia and minor malnutrition despite the comparatively short term of captivity endured by most of them. Three of the Marines had limbs amputated. PFC Eddie P. Vidal had lost both legs, but he was the most cheerful of the entire group.<sup>3</sup> In the interest of learning operational lessons

<sup>2</sup>ComNavFE Report of Little Switch. <sup>3</sup>Personal observation.

 $\sim$ 

For composition of the Intelligence Processing Teams and a detailed description of the ComNavFE Special Liaison Group, Tokyo, see ComNavFE Report of Little Switch.

all of the Marines were asked their opinion of the leadership of their immediate seniors in command at the time of their capture. In every case they reported that leadership had been good to outstanding.

Based on reports from the Little Switch returnees of all services and allies, it was estimated that 103 Marines were alive and still in Communist POW camps.<sup>2</sup> Later events showed that probably 143 were in Communist hands at that time.

The repatriated Marines and sailors were flown to the United States in three groups along with larger numbers of Army and some Air Force personnel. The first group departed Tokyo on April 28th, the second on April 30th, and the final group on May 4th.<sup>3</sup>

No Marines captured before 1952 were repatriated during Operation Little Switch. Those who did return had been kept apart from earlier captives. Some returnees from other services had been captured in 1950 and 1951, however, and a few had experienced death marches and other brutal treatment. Their stories made a brief impact in local newspapers.

One plane carrying returnees slipped into the United

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>ComNavFE Report of Little Switch.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Commander, Naval Forces Far East, Standing Operating Procedure for Intelligence Processing of Recovered Prisoners of War (mimeographed) Change No. 1, July 24, 1953. Cited hereafter as ComNavFE POW SOP.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The author accompanied the first group as an escort and returned to Tokyo to participate in planning for Big Switch.

States without the usual fanfare and then proceeded directly across country to deposit its passengers at Valley Forge Hospital in Pennsylvania. These passengers had been classified security risks by intelligence personnel and claims of brainwashing and cries of "progressive" were bandied about.<sup>1</sup> There were no Marines among the passengers destined for Valley Forge.

With the April exchange completed, staffs of the major components of Far East Command began to prepare for the anticipated Operation Big Switch, the return of all POW's. Meanwhile, in Korea, ground combat began to increase. The Chinese directed vicious attacks against Republic of Korea divisions in the central sector of the front, driving huge gaps in the line and causing withdrawals of several miles.

Numerous attacks were launched against the U. S. 25th Division which had relieved the Marines on the coastal flank in June. The 1st Marine Division remained in First Corps reserve until July 8th when it assumed operational control of the sector and moved back into line.

Enemy activity consisted of extensive patrol and ambush action with frequent attacks and constant probing of Marine positions. In each 24 hour period the 7th Marines had from 300 to 400 men forward of the main line of resistance either on patrol or manning combat outposts.

<sup>1</sup>"Snafu at Valley Forge," <u>Newsweek</u>, May 18, 1953; pp. 41, 44-46; and William Brinkley, "Valley Forge G. I.'s Tell of

Their Brainwashing Ordeal," Life, May 25, 1953, pp. 108-24.

The latter ranged from 13-man squads to platoons of about 40 men. Listening posts, generally manned by fire teams of four men, were maintained forward of the MLR during darkness.

On July 7th the 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, relieved two battalions of the Turkish Brigade on line and assumed operational control of the right half of the regimental sector. The two main outposts were Berlin and East Berlin. Before midnight the Chinese attacked both OP's. As usual the attack was supported by a heavy volume of mortar and artillery fire. Close combat was reported in trenches and communications were lost with East Berlin at midnight. Counterattacks were pressed until the positions were restored shortly after noon on the 8th. On the 9th there were numerous calls from the OP's for "Box me in" fires to break up enemy probes. An estimated reinforced company of Chinese attacked Berlin and East Berlin at 1:30 A.M. They were repulsed an hour and a half later after suffering an estimated 180 casualties. Although Marine casualties for this action were heavy and included several missing in action, only two were captured and repatriated later.<sup>5</sup>

> 17th Marines, CmdD, July, 1953, p. 1. 2/7,CmdD, July, 1953, pp. 1-4. 3Ibid., p. 5. 47th Marines, CmdD, July, 1953, p. 3. 5PFC's Kenneth F. Neville and Harold E. Richards.

A lull settled across the Marine Division front for almost two weeks. Truce negotiations appeared to be reaching a settlement. Loud speaker broadcasts were heard featuring a female voice and warning the Marines that they would be killed if they patrolled.<sup>1</sup> Patrols continued to search out the OP areas and valleys for signs of the enemy and recovery of bodies lost in the see-saw battles. On the 18th a C/1/7 patrol planted a Marine Corps recruiting sign on an enemy position. The 7th Marines maintained reinforced platoons on the two Berlin outposts. Heavy rains turned the ground into muck.<sup>2</sup>

The night of July 19th an estimated reinforced battalion of Chinese struck the Berlin complex. Close-in fighting developed and by 2:00 A.M. on the 20th, three and a half hours after the initial probes, the Chinese were in possession of both OP's. In preparing to relieve the 7th Marines in the right half of the division sector elements of the 1st Marines began to come under operational control of the 7th Marines on July 20th, just in time to become involved in the intense fighting for Berlin and East Berlin. Of the Marines from the 7th Regiment driven off the Berlin outposts six were killed and 118 wounded. Fifty-six Marines were unaccounted for at the time,<sup>3</sup> and of this number, 10 were captured and returned to friendly

<sup>1</sup>1/7, CmdD, July, 1953, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, Appendix VII, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>7th Marines, CmdD, July, 1953, p. 4.

control after hostilities.<sup>1</sup> In addition about three men from the 1st Marines were captured.

While the major action raged at the 2/7 outposts other regimental units were engaged on the left flank. Frequent enemy probes had been directed against a squad outpost, Ava, near the boundary between the 5th and 7th Marines. Private First Class Donald K. McCoy of the 5th Marines was captured on the 20th and it seems likely that he was taken on or near OP Ava.

Following the seizure of OP's Berlin and East Berlin the enemy directed his attention against MLR positions. The Marines adopted a wide-front defense with one company in the Berlin complex short of the lost OP's and three companies on each of the two hill masses backing up the forward position. A decision was rendered by the Commanding General of First Corps not to retake Berlin and East Berlin.<sup>2</sup>

Only routine fighting was reported from the 21st to the 23d. As combat operations entered the final four days of the war, heavy action erupted across the front and continued until the morning of July 27th at which time the armistice was signed and hostilities ceased.<sup>3</sup>

When the fighting officially stopped, the Chinese made several attempts to fraternize. Some approached

2lst MarDiv, CmdD, July, 1953, pp. 1-2.
3 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>USMC Casualties.

friendly listening posts and asked for water. Others hung up gift bags and shouted greetings across the heavily mined area separating the main positions of the recent belligerlents. The friendly attitude shown on the front line and in nearby rear areas had not been in evidence in POW camps along the Yalu River.

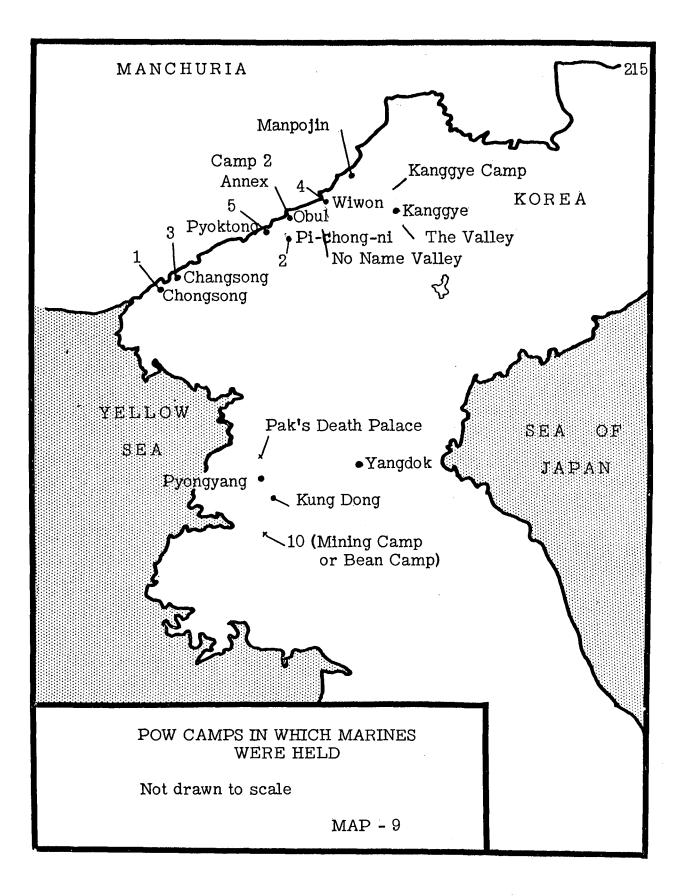
Marine Private First Class Alfred P. Graham Jr. recounted that he and large numbers of other sick POW's were taken to Camp 5, Pyoktong, in July, 1953, apparently to ready them for repatriation. Graham had incurred tuberculosis and during his captivity had been required to sleep on the floor in a small room with several other POW's. The prisoners were so crowded in their cramped quarters that they were unable to avoid contaminating each other during the nights when they slept huddled together-coughing.<sup>2</sup>

In the Sergeants' Camp at Wiwon the last six months of captivity were marked by a decrease in correspondence. Sergeant Donald M. Griffith stated that camp authorities insisted POW's use the return address: "c/o Chinese Peoples Committee for World Peace and against American Aggression." Most of the prisoners in Camp 4 refused to write letters using that address.<sup>3</sup>

The officers in Camp 2 refused to elect a chairman

l<u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>2</sup>Graham interview, <u>Washington Post</u>, August 16, 1953. <sup>3</sup>Griffith letter.



in March, 1953, because the occupational hazard was too great. The individual elected immediately became a target for Chinese harassment and certain punishment. This problem was solved by electing Major John N. McLaughlin chairman of a sports committee. The Chinese in turn appointed him chairman of the camp, an assignment McLaughlin accepted at the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Alarich L. E. Zacherle, U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, who was then the senior officer present.<sup>1</sup>

Duties as camp chairman made the Marine officer responsible for cooking, police, recreation, and procurement of rations and fuel; in addition to which he was also responsible for the conduct of all POW's in camp. Contrary to Chinese instructions, McLaughlin consulted Lieutenant Colonel Zacherle, the SOP, for policy and procedures. A vigorous athletic and physical conditioning program was organized and it contributed greatly to morale. McLaughlin had assumed similar responsibility at Camp 5 in 1951, and in later months he served on a secret multiservice escape committee and senior officers' organization within Camp 2.

Lieutenant Colonel Zacherle detailed Major McLaughlin

McLaughlin Report of Captivity.

2 Letter from LtCol Alarich L. E. Zacherle, USA, December 21, 1953, to Commandant of the Marine Corps. Cited hereafter as Zacherle letter to CMC.

<sup>5</sup>Letter from LtCol George R. Hansen, USA, n.d., to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, received at HQMC January 25, 1954. Cited hereafter as Hansen letter to CMC. to represent Camp 2 at a conference in Pyoktong in May, 1953. According to Zacherle, the Major did not desire the job but willingly and cheerfully accepted it when directed to do so.<sup>1</sup> Major McLaughlin seized the opportunity to talk to General Wang Yang Kung, Commanding General of all Prisoner of War Camps, and demanded the Chinese cease persecution and imprisonment in solitary confinement of senior officers. He also pointed out the insufficient diet and Chinese nonconformance with the Geneva Convention. As a result of McLaughlin's efforts Lieutenant Colonels Carne of the Gloucestershires and Thrash of the Marine Corps were released from their solitary cells in a nearby Korean jail and restored to camp.<sup>2</sup>

Anticipating a truce, the senior officers in Camp 2 established a policy to guide behavior of POW's in all camps. Copies of the instructions were issued secretly to most camps except staging areas holding recently captured prisoners. POW's were not to fraternize or perform acts of violence.<sup>3</sup> They were cautioned not to show any great enthusiasm, particularly if Communist cameras were on the scene when a truce was announced.

In May General Wang Yang Kung refused a request of sick officer POW's that padre Davies be permitted to visit them. The general claimed that it was unnecessary for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Zacherle letter to CMC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Thrash letter to CMC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Farrar-Hockley, p. 264.

the chaplain to go to the patients with prayers because it was well known that sickness could only be cured by medical treatment.

Relations between Marines and the British were generally very good, but on occasion problems arose which needed solving. One such problem concerned singing, "You'll Never Walk Alone." The song was scheduled to be sung at Easter, 1953, when the Chinese agreed to permit the two companies of Camp 2 to hold a joint celebration. The Chinese approved the entire program except this particular song which they believed had political significance. Senior Marines were moved to delete the song for the sake of a celebration and a visit with friends. The British considered it a matter of principle and refused to concede. After discussing the matter the Marines supported their British friends and the show was not held. The British considered it a moral victory; the Chinese were "very much put out."

A second incident of more explosive character arose when the time came for repatriation. As the prisoners were preparing to leave Camp 2 en route to Kaesong and Freedom Village, the Chinese reneged on a promise by confiscating a stone crucifix and candlesticks fashioned by the POW's and which Father Davies had consecrated for use in Anglican worship. Lieutenant Colonel Thrash, again

<sup>2</sup>Farrar-Hockley letter.

l Davies, p. 96.

the senior American officer, preferred not to risk freedom for the entire group over a trivial matter. Major Denis Harding, the British spokesman, said that not one British officer or warrant officer would leave camp until the religious objects were returned regardless of the American decision. The discussions were held in private. When it came to making a statement to the Chinese, the Americans supported the British and the crucifix and candlesticks accompanied the British to freedom.

Of the Marine officers in Camp 2 we have these reports.

Most impressive to me was the way they held together, whether they were flyers or ground personnel, although I did receive the impression that the flyers were a kind of "private army" and this I believe is how it should be. I should say that I never knew anything at all to the detriment of any USMC personnel, and that therefore their performance was first class. I attribute this solely to the personal qualities of the officers concerned, and a very close second the spirit of regimental pride which was most evident.<sup>2</sup>

I can say quite happily that the USMC standard of conduct as prisoners of war was of a high order. There was no significant difference between USMC ground and air personnel; though there was a very perceptible difference between USMC and a number of other U S personnel in the camps.3

Lieutenant Colonel Gerald Brown, a heroic Air Force officer who was SOP in Camps 5 and 2 between tours of

l<u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>3</sup>Farrar-Hockley letter.

<sup>2&</sup>lt;sub>Day</sub> letter.

solitary confinement, described Marines thus:

I was extremely proud of the conduct of U S Marine Corps personnel with whom I came in contact during my period of confinement. Their Espirit [sic] de Corps was perhaps the highest of any branch of the Armed Forces of the United States during this period. I believe that Major McLaughlin did more than any other person in maintaining this espirit with his leadership.

The prisoners of war in Camp 2 Annex were isolated from all contact with the main compound or with other prisoners scattered throughout No Name Valley. By the end of 1952 nine Marine officers and four enlisted Marines had been assigned to one of the two platoons which made up Company C. Major William Wilson, USAF, was the senior POW until his removal to another camp in February, 1953. At that time Marine Major Walter R. Harris assumed responsibilities as SOP.<sup>2</sup>

Major Harris requested permission from the Chinese to organize Spanish classes. When permission was granted the classes afforded a meeting place for issuing orders and policies. Some prisoners were assigned duties to counter Chinese political indoctrination. They were to teach American government and civics. An additional duty was preparing maps of North Korea to be used in escape attempts.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>L</sup>Letter from LtCol Gerald Brown, USAF, to CMC, December 14, 1953.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Flynn Report of Captivity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Letter from the Commandant of the Marine Corps to the Secretary of the Navy dated December 21, 1953, recommending that Major Harris be awarded the Legion of Merit.

Protestant and Catholic services were organized at Camp 2 Annex.<sup>1</sup> One POW later stated that the individual conducting some of the services was shallow and not at all sincere about religion so he did not attend.

In April, 1953, when the weather became more favorable for escapes, the Chinese began construction of a wall of saplings about 15 feet high surrounding the POW quarters. Completion of the wall was marked with an escape by three POW's. The escapees were recaptured within 14 hours, and the guard was doubled around the small compound.<sup>3</sup> Major Harris was taken away to solitary confinement and an Air Force Captain became SOP with Captain <sup>4</sup> Flynn now the senior Marine.

The POW's in the annex planned and prepared for a mass escape to take place in July. They fashioned compasses, knives, and other equipment essential for escape and movement cross-country. When July arrived the noticeable decrease in aerial activity was an indication that hostilities might be drawing to an end.<sup>5</sup>

Captain Flynn was removed from the annex on July 16th, and he reports that he was taken to a small village near Camp 3 and placed in solitary confinement. The captain

l<u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>2</sup>Thorin interview.

<sup>3</sup>Cain Report of Captivity.

- 4 Flynn Report of Captivity.
- <sup>5</sup>Cain Report of Captivity.

was charged with committing germ warfare, plotting the murder of the Chinese commander of Company C, seizing weapons and affecting a mass escape attempt, and having a reactionary attitude. Flynn was tried by a Chinese court and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

Lieutenant Baugh was removed from the annex at the same time as Flynn but was taken to a part of Camp 2 for interrogation. He reports that he was interrogated extensively for two weeks concerning operational tactics and organization before his return to the annex on August 2d, a week after the armistice was signed. At no time during his interrogation was he informed that hostilities were over.<sup>2</sup>

Announcement of the cease fire was made in Camp 2 in July. The Chinese had cameras ready to photograph the reaction of the POW's, a reaction they probably expected to be joyous. The prisoners had been briefed by the senior officers' organization to show no emotion, and they did not speak when the news was published.

In Camp 2 on the following day Chaplain Davies preached on the theme of the 10 lepers cured of their disease and of whom nine forgot to give thanks. A simi-

<sup>2</sup>Baugh Report of Captivity. <sup>3</sup>Davies, p. 146.

Letter from the Commandant of the Marine Corps to the Secretary of the Navy dated December 21, 1953, recommending that Captain Flynn be awarded the Navy and Marine Corps Medal. Based upon information extracted from security dossiers.

lar religious reaction took place in a remote compound in No Name Valley. When the cease-fire was announced to the small group Captain James V. Wilkins, a Catholic, stepped forward and motioned for the assembled prisoners to remove their hats. He then led them in reciting The Lord's Prayer. When he had finished, the camp commander screamed at him in Chinese, and an interpreter asked why he had stepped from ranks without permission.

The Marine answered, "I am a Christian. We are all Christians. We were offering our thanks to our Lord and Maker for the ending of hostilities." Captain Wilkins us immediately placed in the hole.

Navy Chief Duane Thorin, who inspired the character of the helicopter pilot in James Michener's <u>The Bridges of</u> <u>Toko-Ri</u>, was confined in the annex for several months. He later stated, "The Navy and Marine Corps POW's were generally excellent. The Marines who left something to be desired were more than compensated for by the majority of them."<sup>2</sup>

After announcing the cease-fire, the Communists began bringing together many of the small isolated groups and individuals scattered throughout No Name Valley. One of these groups was headed by Marine Captain Gray who had spent almost a year in a remote Chinese surgical hospital before being brought north to No Name Valley. Captain Gray

Lankford, p. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Thorin interview.

had been placed in Branch 3 of Camp 2 on March 10, 1953. His group of seven officers gradually increased to 30. He reported that classes were organized in mathematics, physics, and French. Survival lectures were held as well as conferences on escape and evasion techniques. The officers were divided into escape groups, and they drew straws to determine priorities for escape. Each team presented its plan to a senior body for approval.

On July 1st with the support of other teams the first group went over the fence surrounding their house. Their freedom was short-lived and the guards were doubled. Escape plans were canceled when rumors of peace began to circulate.<sup>2</sup>

of an estimated 150 POW's in No Name Valley nine were Marine officers. In addition to Captain Gray they included Colonel Schwable, Major Bley, Captains Ezell and Spence, and Lieutenants Gillette, Ferranto, Seymour, and Henry.<sup>3</sup> Colonel Schwable, Major Bley and Lieutenant Seymour were taken south to Kaesong separately. The others joined the annex during August 1953 and made the trip as part of the larger group. On August 17th the POW's in the annex were put aboard trucks and driven to Manpojin. Camp 2 POW's departed Pi-chong-ni on August 19th en route to

> <sup>1</sup>Gray Report of Captivity. <sup>2</sup> <u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>3</sup>Based upon a recapitulation of Reports of Captivity; statements of Colonel Schwable and Major Bley in UN Document A/C.1/L/66 of October 26, 1953; Henry letter; Fink interview; and McDaniel interview. Manpojin. When the two groups were assembled they began the trip south by train.

Captain Flynn was brought to Manpojin in time to accompany the main group to Kaesong. He was kept in a closely guarded car of the train but other Marines saw him.<sup>2</sup> At Kaesong Flynn and 49 other POW's were kept under guard away from the larger groups. Most of Flynn's party were under sentence of a Chinese court. Twenty-three were charged with breaches of camp regulations. Thirteen were former guards at Koje-do, the island camp in which the United Nations Command had held about 130,000 Communist POW's. Captain Flynn and six others were charged with waging germ warfare. Flynn, the senior member of the group, did not know the nature of the charges against the remaining seven.<sup>3</sup> Even as late as the end of August the Marine was threatened with nonrepatriation, and his experience formed the basis for an episode in the novel A Ride to Panmunjom.4

On September 3, 1953, Major Bley was called before a military tribunal headed by a North Korean general. He was informed that he was a war criminal but due to the North Korean and Chinese lenient policy he was to be given

> 1<u>Ibid</u>. <sup>2</sup>Cain Report of Captivity.

<sup>5</sup>Flynn Report of Captivity.

<sup>4</sup> Duane Thorin, <u>A Ride To Panmunjom</u> (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1956), pp. 264-67. a pardon. Bley was then transported south and repatriated.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Schwable reported a similar experience,<sup>2</sup> and two Air Force Colonels reported being forced to make recordings in September 1953 of germ warfare confessions they had previously written.<sup>3</sup>

The United Nations prisoners of war were assembled at Kaesong and held there in several groups. Repatriation began with Operation Big Switch on August 5, 1953, and Marine Private First Class Alfred P. Graham Jr. was the fifth man and the first Marine to debark at Freedom Village. He was with seven other POW's all suffering from severe cases of tuberculosis. Graham was flown to the United States and sent to St. Albans hospital for

Enlisted POW's were recovered in large numbers during August. Officers generally did not arrive at Kaesong until about August 21st, and after that date they were gradually returned to friendly control. Captain Jesse V. Booker, the first Marine captured by the enemy in Korea, was one of the first Marine officers released. He crossed the line to Freedom Village on August 27, 1953--three years and 20 days after being shot down.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Bley statement in UN Document A/C.1/L.66 of October 26, <sup>2</sup>Schwable statement in UN Document A/C.1/L.66. <sup>3</sup>UN Document A/C.1/L.66, pp. 29, 36. <sup>4</sup><u>Washington Post</u>, August 16, 1953, p. 1, col.6. <sup>5</sup>Booker interview.

When Captain Martelli returned he learned that because he had been reported killed in action his wife had remarried.<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant O'Shea discovered that his twins were boys. As might be expected, news good and bad awaited returning POW's of all services and nationalities.

Major Harrison, USAF, was forced to leave his artificial leg behind. Hidden in a hollowed-out compartment in the leg was a written record of deaths, atrocities, and other administrative data. Major Richardson, USMC, had made a copy of the records and secreted them in the hand grip of Harrison's crutches. Another copy of the list was hidden in the walking cane of Infantry Captain Chester Osborne, USA.<sup>2</sup> And Captain Fink's crucifix was brought out of Pi-chong-ni. It now reposes in the Father Kapaun Memorial High School in Wichita, Kansas.<sup>3</sup>

All recovered POW's were questioned by intelligence personnel when they returned to friendly control. Priority was given to accumulating accurate data on living and deceased POW's to assure that none could be held back by the Communists. The recovered personnel were interrogated about atrocities by the enemy and questionable acts by our own men in addition to routine military matters. The collated reports of Operation Little Switch had pinpointed

<sup>2</sup>Fink notes and ms comments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Fink interview.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Tonnes, pp. 239-44; and <u>Wichita Eagle</u>, November 27, 1955 and May 12, 1957.

some American POW's whose conduct was clearly reprehensible. Others were marked for detailed inquiry either to refute or substantiate charges made against them. Intelligence or security dossiers had been prepared for all POW's and all comments or data concerning a specific individual went into his file. The mass of information included everything from well founded and thoroughly substantiated information, both pro and con, to completely unsupported rumors, hearsay, and even fabrications.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-one Americans refused repatriation. One author implied that this was the first time in history that American captives chose another form of government to our own. The U. S. Fighting Man's Code suggests that they refused repatriation because they feared vengeance from the men they betrayed or from friends of men who died because of their treason.<sup>3</sup> In either event there were no U. S. Marines among the turncoats.

It should be noted that of approximately 20,000 Chinese POW's 14,343 refused repatriation. After a period of explanations by the Communists, they were shipped to Formosa, the stronghold of Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China. In addition approximately 38,000

2

Eugene Kinkead, "The Study of Something New in History," The New Yorker, October 26, 1957, p. 102. J. S. Fighting Man's Code, p. 42.

4 Kenneth K. Hansen, <u>Heroes Behind Barbed Wire</u> (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., 1957) p. 298.

<sup>1</sup> Personal observation.

Korean civilian internees and 27,000 North Korean soldiers had indicated their refusal to be repatriated to the Communists. They were released on order from Syngman Rhee, the President of South Korea, before the end of hostilities. About 7,000 additional North Koreans refused repatriation and faced the Communist explainers before gaining civilian status on Freedom Day, January 23, 1954.<sup>1</sup> A comparison shows that in addition to the 21 Americans only one British and 335 South Koreans<sup>2</sup> refused to return home opposed to about 87,000 of 173,000 Communists POW's who refused repatriation.

In the United States a series of courts-martial began. The U. S. Army brought to trial 14 of about 47 cases originally approved for court-martial.<sup>3</sup> According to author Kinkead the trials were unpopular with the public.<sup>4</sup> Yet there is little doubt that the unexpected news of Americans refusing to return home coupled with a spate of charges and countercharges between returnees placed a stigma upon POW's in general. The Defense Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War made the following observation when reporting their findings to the Secretary of Defense:

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 304. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 159. Kinkead, <u>In Every War</u>, p. 73; and U. S. Fighting Man's Code, p. 82. Kinkead, In Every War . . . , pp. 65-68, 73.

The prisoner of war situation resulting from the Korean War has received a great deal of adverse publicity. As is stated in our account, much of that adverse publicity was due to lack of information and consequent misconceptions in regard to the problem.<sup>1</sup>

A total of 7,140 American fighting men of all services were captured by the enemy in Korea. Of this number 2,701 or about 38% died while interned, and 4,418 were recovered.<sup>2</sup> Marine Corps statistics show that 221 Marines were captured, 194 were recovered, and 27 or about 12% died.<sup>3</sup>

Only a handful of the POW's in Korea were able to maintain absolute silence under military interrogation. Nearly all of the American prisoners went beyond the "absolute" name, rank, number, and date of birth restriction.<sup>4</sup> Marines were no exception. Giving false, misleading, or even accurate but unimportant information in response to threats, coercion, and torture was a common occurrence. Captain Fink's list of ships, all sunk during WW I and WW II, was similar to the story of the new B-108 bomber related by an Air Force officer. With proper addition the Chinese might have deduced that a B-108 was

<sup>4</sup>U. S. Fighting Man's Code, p. 84.

]

Defense Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War letter to the Secretary of Defense, July 29, 1955, cited in POW, p. vi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Department of Defense Tentative Final Report of US Battle Casualties in the Korean War, P28.1, Program Reports and Statistics, Office of the Secretary of Defense, November 4, 1954.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>USMC Casualties. These figures do not include the B/1/5 patrol of 10 men. See chapter IV above. Also see Appendix B.

three B-36's.<sup>1</sup> Almost every prisoner of war faced interrogation.<sup>2</sup> In most cases a POW faced threats of death, reduced rations, lack of medical care, solitary confinement, and physical beatings or torture if he failed to respond to questions. Generally each individual had to decide for himself how to react. The decisions which were made appear to have been mainly sound. Only 192 Americans were found chargeable with serious offenses against comrades or the United States.<sup>3</sup> None of these was a Marine. Three hundred seventy-three others, including 49 Marines, were cleared or charges against them were dropped after preliminary investigation.

The Information Section of Headquarters, Marine Corps, issued a paper setting forth the official Marine Corps position concerning prisoners of war. The paper bears no date but judging from the text it was promulgated after January 11th and before the middle of April, 1954. Extracts from two of the twelve paragraphs are particularly pertinent to this thesis:

When information is developed concerning a returned prisoner of war that raises a question of a violation of the trust placed

<sup>1</sup>Fink interview.

HumRRO 33, p. 7. A detailed study of Army POW's disclosed that 97% had been interrogated to some extent and 91% had been made to write biographies. No similar study exists for Marines.

<sup>3</sup>U. S. Fighting Man's Code, pp. 84-5. <sup>4</sup>POW, p. 81.

in him, then all pertinent facts must be obtained in order that suspicion may be allayed or confirmed. This is as important to the individual as it is to the Marine Corps and the Nation.

The Secretary of the Navy, upon recommendation of the Commandant of the Marine Corps, has already recognized with awards Marines who appear to have conducted themselves while prisoners of war in the tradition which the Corps has upheld during 178 years of service to its country. On the other hand, the Commandant had felt compelled to convene a Court of Inquiry to investigate the circumstances of a senior officer's conduct while in the hands of the enemy. By these actions, every Marine of high or low rank will know that justice will be impartially rendered.

Lieutenant Colonel Thrash received a gold star in lieu of a second Legion of Merit. McLaughlin, then promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, and Major Harris both received the Legion of Merit. Captain Flynn was awarded the Navy and Marine Corps medal. Master Sergeant Cain was presented a letter of Commendation with ribbon.<sup>2</sup>

Colonel Schwable was the subject of a Court of Inquiry concerning the circumstances surrounding his confession of bacteriological warfare operations. After hearing numerous witnesses and due deliberation the court submitted its findings to the Commandant of the Marine

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Information Section, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps position paper, n.d. Copy in author's personal file. A Court of Inquiry is primarily a fact finding body and its conclusions are advisory. It cannot award punishments although it may recommend trial by court martial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Copies of citations filed in service records. Records of citations in Code DF, HQMC. <u>The New York Times</u>, January 12, 1954, p. 3.

Corps. The court was of the opinion "that the Communists have developed, and perfected, a diabolic method of torture which combines degradation, deprivation and mental harassment, and which is aimed at the destruction of the individual's will to resist."<sup>1</sup> In conclusion the court recommended no disciplinary action be taken in the Colonel's case.<sup>2</sup> The court was further of the opinion that Colonel Schwable had resisted this torture to the limit of his ability before giving in.<sup>3</sup>

In forwarding the case to the Secretary of the Navy on April 14, 1954, the Commandant of the Marine Corps made several observations which included the following:

The involuntary character of the statement as well as its complete falsity have never been questioned. The fact remains however, that it was used as a principal circumstantial buttress in support of one of the most enormous fabrications of modern times....

Cognizance of this fact [that he was an instrument in causing damage to his country] must, in my judgment, be taken into account in regard to his future assignment potential with the application of such restrictions of his service to those military activities involving duties of a type making minimum demands for their successful performance upon the elements of 4 unblemished personal example and leadership.

<sup>1</sup>Court of Inquiry, case of Colonel Frank H. Schwable, Opinion 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Recommendation 1.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Opinion 8.

Letter from the Commandant of the Marine Corps to the Secretary of the Navy dated April 14, 1954. This letter forwarded the Court of Inquiry, case of Col Schwable. The Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Defense concurred with the Commandant's observations.<sup>1</sup>

One Marine was disciplined. Author Eugene Kinkead described his dismissal from the Corps for fraternizing with the enemy as the Corps' sole disciplinary casualty 2 of the war. The name of the dismissed Marine is not reported here for cogent reasons. As an illustration that men are never all good or all bad, however, the following comment describes the sole disciplinary casualty of the Corps:

I'd say some people were definitely friendly with the Chinese no Marines that I know of even [name ommitted] he was sort of caught in the middle many times and being quiet to [sic] point of clamness at one time and voluble and opinionated at others made enemies! 3

The fear that the Communists might withhold prisoners of war was well-founded. Eleven survivors of a B-29 crew shot down over North Korea on January 12, 1953, were neither reported nor returned during 1953. In early 1954 the crew members still had not been informed that the fighting was over. In August, 1954, more than a year

<sup>2</sup>Kinkead, <u>In Every War...</u>, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup>McCool letter.

Memorandum from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of Defense dated April 21, 1954; and

Memorandum from the Secretary of Défense to the Secretary of the Navy dated April 27, 1954.

The findings of fact, opinions, and recommendations of the Court of Inquiry, case of Colonel Schwable, and the letters and memoranda herein cited were prepared in brochures for release to the press on April 27, 1954.

after the cease-fire and 19 months after capture, the Communists revealed that they held the 11 airmen. Finally on August 4, 1955, the flyers crossed the Lo Wu bridge at Kowloon and returned to freedom.<sup>1</sup>

A Marine officer was seized by the Communists after the war and held incommunicado for several months. Lieutenant Colonel Herbert Peters was lost in a snow storm while on a routine flight in January, 1954. He landed on a small landing strip he had observed through a fleeting break in the weather. As he taxied to the end of the field he saw that the personnel coming to meet him were wearing Communist uniforms. Before he could turn around and take off, several Communist soldiers leaped on the wings and prevented his departure. In August, 1954, eight months after he inadvertantly landed on the Communist airfield, the Marine pilot was returned to friendly control. No word of his captivity had reached the United Nations Command before his sudden and unannounced return. On the basis of an exhaustive search and scattering reward leaflets throughout the area of the planned flight, it had been assumed that Lieutenant Colonel Peters had been killed and he was so reported.<sup>2</sup> He was the last Marine captured but because the date of his captivity was after the cease-fire he is not numbered among the official POW's.

<sup>1</sup>Wallace L. Brown, <u>Endless Hours: My Two and One</u> <u>Half Years as a Prisoner of the Chinese Communists</u> (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1961), galley proofs.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with LtCol Richard Lauer, USMC, March 10,1961.

From August 7, 1950, to July 20, 1953, 221 Marines were captured by the enemy. The circumstances of their capture as set forth herein shows that in most cases capture was unavoidable. On the other hand had not Colonel Schwable and Major Bley inadvertantly flown over enemy lines they probably would never have become prisoners of war. Had Private First Class Lessman not wandered off alone he would not have fallen into Communist hands. Had the crew of tank number 22 abandoned their tank when first instructed to do so they might have gone south to Masan instead to north to Kanggye in December, 1950. Perhaps even a few Marines captured in bunkers might have avoided captivity had they been occupying fighting-holes instead of being inside their living-bunkers. Conversely they might have been killed during the artillery bombardments which accompanied the enemy assaults. But in the main, the vast majority of Marines captured had no control over the events which catapulted them into POW camps.

The narratives set forth in this paper lend substance to the claim that Marines as a group comported themselves extremely well. In answer to a question from the audience after his address to the U. S. Army Chaplain School in February, 1957, Army psychiatrist, Major William F. Mayer made this statement:

. . The Marines were a statistically significant group from the standpoint of size, something over two hundred; the only thing I can say about them is that more of them survived than we. I think this is a function of discipline and morale and esprit; and the attitude in the

Marine Corps I expressed a little while ago, that if something happens to me, these jokers will take care of me. 1

The United States Senate investigated Communist handling of American POW's and concluded:

The United States Marine Corps, the Turkish troops, and the Columbians, as groups, did not succumb to the pressures exerted upon them by the Communists and did not co-operate or collaborate with the enemy. For this they deserve greatest admiration and credit. 2

A prominent neurologist and consultant to the Secretary of Defense's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War, Dr. Harold G. Wolff, presented one of the most definitive discussions yet to appear on the POW problem. He concluded that American prisoners of war in Korea had not behaved much differently from other men in other armies and places. Dr. Wolff believes that Americans were made to appear much worse by the enemy's propaganda devices and our own initial ineptitude in countering the Communist propaganda.<sup>3</sup>

Marine POW's in Korea faced a wide variety of problems. The detailed scrutiny of intelligence processing by their own military associates and the investigations of the Congress have shown that as a group the

<sup>1</sup>Major William F. Mayer quoted in Headquarters, USA Chaplain School, Fort Slocum, N. Y., Student Handout 2-CD-FD (Dec'57). Copy filed in Chief of Chaplain's office, Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

<sup>2</sup>Senate Subcommittee on Investigations, <u>POW Hearings</u>, Report No. 2832, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Dr. Harold G. Wolff, "Every Man Has His Breaking Point -(?)," <u>Military Medicine</u>. February 1960, p. 91. Marines comported themselves well while prisoners of the enemy. In short, they measured up. To conclude this thesis without a summation of the lessons learned, though that is clearly beyond the original scope of this work, would be incomplete staff work. Therefore a few comments made by the former POW's themselves will serve to express what I have learned:

Discipline, team work and faith in what you are and in what your government represents, are the factors that this conduct training should be based on.

. . . without USMC training I would never have lived through several tight spots. I am not talking strictly about physical training as I am mental conditioning. It is something that causes you to think, even when you are about to get your gizzard blown out, about what the other guys will think or how it might affect or endanger them.<sup>2</sup>

I had made up my mind that the loss of both my legs was not going to keep me in my wheel chair and at home for the rest of my liveing [sic] years. No sir not me. A U. S. Marine. I have pride in the Marine Corps and I want the people to know that the Marines are the Greatest of all.

Major Stewart C. Barber, a Marine officer assigned to one of the Joint Intelligence Processing Boards, expressed pride in the six enlisted Marines on his ship and commented that they were most co-operative. All six of these Marines reported that their leadership was good to

> <sup>1</sup>Griffith letter. <sup>2</sup>Harrison letter.

<sup>3</sup>Vidal letter, p. 30. Corporal Vidal has had 17 operations on his stumps and is now using his third set of artificial legs. He and his wife have had three daughters born since his return. He is now a successful watchmaker. excellent. Major Barber concluded, "Our recruit training is superior in achieving the necessary transition from citizen to soldier."

First Sergeant Chester A. Mathis observed, "When the chips are really down, training pays off::::"<sup>2</sup>

Winston Churchill once described the lot of a prisoner of war. His words can hardly be improved upon:

It is a melancholy state, you are in the power of the enemy. You owe your life to his humanity, your daily bread to his compassion. You must obey his order, await his pleasure, possess your soul in patience. The days are long; hours crawl by like paralytic centipedes. Moreover the whole atmosphere of prison is odious. Companions quarrel about trifles and get the least possible enjoyment from each others society. You feel a constant humiliation in being fenced in by railings and wire, watched by armed guards and webbed about with a tangle of regulations and restrictions. 3

Communist treatment and indoctrination of POW's was a new experience to Marines who were captured. They encountered many diverse problems--field grade and company officers, staff NCO's, young and untried privates. Their most important decisions were often made alone, without guidance. Their solutions were not always the best ones, but in the long run most of the Marine POW's came through with flying colors.

> <sup>1</sup>Letter from Major Stewart C. Barber. 2 Mathis letter.

<sup>3</sup>Winston S. Churchill, <u>A Roving Commission</u> (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), quoted in <u>Reader's Digest</u>, July 1940.

#### APPENDIX A

#### GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA Antiaircraft artillery
- BW Bacteriological warfare
- Capt Captain
- CCF Chinese Communist Forces an American term
- CG Commanding General
- CinCFE Commander in Chief, Far East. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur was CinCFE at the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. General MacArthur was succeeded by General Mathew B. Ridgway who was succeeded by General Mark W. Clark
- CMC Commandant of the Marine Corps
- CmdD Command Diary
- ComNavFE Commander Naval Forces, Far East. Naval Forces, Far East, constituted the naval component of the Far East Command
- CO Commanding Officer
- COP Combat Outpost
- Cpl Corporal. The lowest ranking noncommissioned officer. In the Marine Corps a corporal is the senior member and leader of a fourman fire team, the smallest tactical unit
- CPV Chinese People's Volunteers. A term used by the Chinese and North Koreans to describe the Chinese Communist Forces in Korea
- CWO Commissioned Warrant Officer
- Div Division
- do (or to) Korean suffix meaning "island" like the Japanese term "jima" or "shima"

encl	Enclosure
Engr Bn	Engineer Battalion
EUSAK	Eighth U. S. Army in Korea
NK	North Korean
MLR	Main Line of Resistance
MTBn	Motor Transport Battalion
OE	Light observation aircraft
OP	Observation post. Sometimes used in refer- ring to an outpost
OPLR	Outpost line of resistance. An imaginary line connecting small security elements established forward of the main line of resistance
VУ	Light observation aircraft. A predecessor of the OE
PFC	Private First Class
POW	Prisoner of war; also PW
Progressive	Term used by the Communists and adopted by United Nations troops to denote a POW who co-operated with the Communists and accepted or appeared to accept their teachings
Pvt	Private
QMS	Quartermaster Sergeant. A Royal Marine rank roughly equivalent to an American First Sergeant or Master Sergeant
Reactionary	Term used by the Communists and adopted by United Nations troops to denote a POW who resisted the Communists
Recon	Reconnaissance
ri	Korean suffix meaning village
Rkt	Rocket: Such as a 4.5" Rocket Battery
RM	Royal Marine
ROK	Republic of Korea

- SAR Special Action Report
- ser Serial

ServBn Service Battalion

- Sgt Sergeant
- F4U Corsair: A World War II vintage propellerdriven fighter-bomber aircraft used for close support of ground troops during the Korean War
- F7F Tigercat: Twin engine, propeller driven aircraft. Used as a night fighter and reconnaissance aircraft in Korea
- F9F Panther: Jet attack aircraft
- FMCR Fleet Marine Corps Reserve. Enlisted status equivalent to officer retired status
- FMF Fleet Marine Force. A term referring to all of the air, ground, and combat service and support units in the Marine Corps. At the beginning of hostilities in Korea the Fleet Marine Forces included two understrength divisions and two understrength aircraft wings. By the end of the war the FMF had expanded to three full-strength divisions and three aircraft wings
- FMFLant Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic
- FMFPac Fleet Marine Force, Pacific
- HistD Historical diary
- HQMC Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington 25, D. C.
- KCOMZ Korean Communications Zone. The major U. S. Army command responsible for rear areas in Korea
- KMC Korean Marine Corps
- Lt Lieutenant. (2dLt Second Lieutenant; 1stLt -First Lieutenant)
- LtCol Lieutenant Colonel
- Lt(jg) Lieutenant (junior grade). A Navy rank corresponding to a lstLt

- MAG Marine Aircraft Group. The aviation unit comparable to a ground regiment in organization
- MarDiv Marine Division
- Marines Term used to signify a Marine regiment such as the 5th Marines
- MAW Marine Aircraft Wing. The aviation unit comparable to a ground division in organization. Roughly 10,000 Marines in three combat Marine Aircraft Groups and their service and support units
- MSgt Master Sergeant
- ni (or ri) Korean suffix meaning village
- SigBn Signal Battalion
- SK South Korea or South Korean
- Squadron Aviation unit comparable in organization to a ground battalion. In Korea the normal complement of a Marine fighter or attack squadron was 24 aircraft, 50 pilots, and appropriate ground crew personnel and equipment
- SOP Senior officer present. The abbreviation is also used for Standing Operating Procedure
- SPBn Shore Party Battalion. A unit responsible for the combat engineer and logistic support in beach areas during an amphibious operation.
- SSgt Staff Sergeant
- TSgt Technical Sergeant
- TBM Avenger: Gruman torpedo bomber which, in World War II, was the largest and heaviest single engine propeller-driven aircraft
- USA United States Army
- USAF United States Air Force
- UNC United Nations Command
- USMC United States Marine Corps
- USMCR United States Marine Corps Reserve

- USN United States Navy
- VMA Marine Attack Squadron: V heavier than air; M - Marine; A - attack

VMF Marine Fighter Squadron

- VMF(N) Marine All-Weather Fighter Squadron. N initially designated a night fighter unit, but during the Korean War the designation was changed to mean an all-weather unit. Later the letters (AW) replaced (N)
- VMO Marine Observation Squadron
- 4.2" 4.2 inch (mortar company)

### APPENDIX B

# TABLE OF MARINES CAPTURED BY MONTH

# <u> 1950 </u>

# AVIATION

	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Captured		1				
Returned		1				
Died						
Presumed Dead		· · ·				
<u>Total</u>		<u>1</u>				
		<u>G R</u>	DUND			

	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Captured			٦		10	19
Returned					- 10	<u> </u>
					38	12
Died					_	
			<u> </u>		9_	6
Presumed					2	
Dead		- <u></u>			<u>    1</u>	<u> </u>
<u>Total</u>			1		58	19

### TOTAL

	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	
Captured		1	ī		<u>10</u> 48	19	
Returned		1			<u>8</u> <u>38</u>	12	
Died			ī		9	5	
Presumed Dead					2 1	<u> </u>	
Total		1	1		58	19	
							<u>Officers</u> Enlisted

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Captured				1	3	1	5	1		4	1	2
Returned				1	3	1	3	1	· ·	4	<u>1</u>	2
Died						. <u></u>	2					
Presumed Dead												
<u>Total</u>				1	3	1	5	_1		4	1	2
					<u>G</u> I	ROUNI	2					
<del></del>	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Captured				7	2		1*		2	ī		<u>]</u> * 1
Returned					2	<u></u>	1/2		2	 ī		1
Died						- <u></u>				±		<u> </u>
Presumed Dead	·····							····				
Total				3	2		3		2	1		2
					<u>TC</u>	TAL						
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun		Aug	Sep	<u>Oct</u>	Nov	Dec
Captured				1	12	1	6 2	1	2	4	Ţ	3
Returned				1	32	<u>1</u>	422	1	2	- <u>-</u> 7	1	3
Died							2			<b></b>	·	<u>-</u>
Presumed Dead												

\* - Ground officer shot down while in aircraft

.

•

# <u> 1952</u>

# AVIATION

·	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Captured	1		1		<u>4</u>		21	1	1			
Returned			1		4		2		1			
Died	1											
Presumed Dead							· .	1				
<u>Total</u>	1		1		4		3	1	1			
					G	ROUM	<u>D</u>					
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Captured		<u>1</u> *		5	<u>1</u> 2				<u>]</u> * 4	40		3
Returned		1		 5	$\frac{1}{2}$		,		1 Ę	$\frac{1}{39}$		3
Died										 ī		
Presumed Dead												
<u>Total</u>		2		_5_	3				5	41		3
					<u>T</u> (	DTAL						
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Captured	1	1	1	รี	52		2	1	24	1 40		3
Returned		<u></u> <u>1</u> 1	1	<u> </u>	72572		2		24	1		- <u></u> -
Died	1									ī		
Presumed Dead				<u></u>				1				
<u>Total</u>	1	2	1	5	7		3	1	6	41		3
* - Grou	nd o:	ffic	er sl	not	down	whi:	le i	n ai:	rcrat	ſt		

### <u> 1953</u>

#### AVIATION

	ATTALLYN	Total 1950
	Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul	to 1953
Captured	<u>1</u>	<u>30</u> 1
Returned	1	<u>26</u> 1
Died		3
Presumed Dead		1
Total	1	31

### <u>GROUND</u>

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul		
Captured			<u>2**</u> 18	2			$\frac{1}{17}$	$\frac{19}{171}$	
Returned			$\frac{2}{17}$	ī			$\frac{1}{17}$	$\frac{17}{150}$	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
Died				ī				18	
Presumed Dead			ī					<u>2</u> 3	
Total			20	2			18	190	

### TOTAL

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	
Captured	1	•	2 18	2			$\frac{1}{17}$	<u>49</u> 172
Returned	1		$\frac{2}{17}$	ī			$\frac{1}{17}$	$\frac{43}{151}$
Died				ī				18
Presumed Dead		<u>-</u>	<u> </u>					
<u>Total</u>	1		20	2			18	221

\*\* - One of these two officers was a ground officer
 shot down while flying in an aircraft

### APPENDIX C

#### ALPHABETICAL ROSTER OF OFFICER POW'S RETURNED TO MILITARY CONTROL

Name	<u>Rank</u>	Service <u>Number</u>	Date of <u>Capture</u>	<u>Unit</u>
Amann, Emanuel R.	Captain	038140	40ct51	VMF-323
Baugh, Milton H.	lst Lt	010658	<b>13May5</b> 2	VMF-311
Bell, Richard	lst Lt	045307	21Ju151	VMF-311
Beswick, Byron H.	Captain	029003	2May51	VMF-323
Bley, Roy H.	Major	010450	8Ju152	lst MAW
Booker, Jesse V.	Captain	020617	7Aug50	lst MAW
Clifford, Henry E.	2d Lt	058124	Jul53	7th Mar
Cold, Frank E.	lst Lt	039090	29Nov50	3/7
Conway, Henry L.	2d Lt	054354	60ct52	G/3/7
Ezell, Dee E.	Captain	029832	10Mar53	lstMarDiv
Ferranto, Felix L.	lst Lt	014978	28 <b>Nov5</b> 0	lstSigBn
Fink, Gerald	Captain	023889	12Aug51	VMF-312
Flynn, John P.	Captain	032419	14May52	VMF(N)-513
Gillette, Robert J.	lst Lt	035468	120ct51	VMF(N)-513
Gray, Roy C.	Captain	024638	4Mar52	VMF-311
Harris, Walter R.	Major	016518	6 <b>May5</b> 2	VMF-323
Henry, Kenneth W.	lst Lt	043000	<b>8Fe</b> b52	Manchester
Lipscombe, Robert B.	Captain	037958	9Sep52	VM0-6
Lloyd, Alan L.	lst Lt	047343	29Nov50	H&S/5

Lundquist, Carl R.	2d Lt	051303	160ct51	VMF-312
Martelli, Paul L.	Captain	029125	3Apr51	VMF-323
Martin, Charles F.	Captain	032449	19Nov51	VMA-121
McCool, Felix J.	WO	049274	29Nov50	lstServBn
McDaniel, Roland L.	2d Lt	052985	9Sep52	Hq/11
McLaughlin, John N.	Major	08433	30Nov50	X Corps
Messman, Robert C.	lst Lt	039208	27Nov50	K/4/11
Murphy, Rowland M.	2d Lt	052136	7May52	lstMarDiv
O'Shea, Robert J.	lst Lt	048902	2Ju151	Hq/l Div
Perry, Jack E.	Captain	027307	18Jun51	VMF-311
Reid, Ernest R.	lst Lt	047073	29Nov50	H&S/1
Richardson, Judson C.	Major	011918	14Dec51	VMF(N)-513
Schwable, Frank H.	Colonel	04429	8Ju152	lst MAW
Seymour, Rufus A.	2d Lt	055835	26Mar53	C/1/5
Smith, Mercer R.	Captain	024054	1May51	VMF-311
Spence, Kenneth L.	Captain	031844	18Jan53	VMO-6
Stanfill, Herman F.	lst Lt	047753	300ct51	VMF-323
Still, Richard L.	2d Lt	050783	21Dec51	90mm AAA Bn
Taft, Leonard C.	2d Lt	047988	2Ju151	VM0-6
Thrash, William G.	Lt. Col	06141	21Dec51	lst MAW
Turner, Herbert B.	lst Lt	039278	29Nov50	lstTkBn
Wagner, Arthur	Captain	032680	27May51	VMF(N)-513
Wilkins, James V.	Captain	021898	3Ju151	VMF-312
Williams, Duke	lst Lt	047570	16May52	VMF-312

### APPENDIX D

#### ALPHABETICAL ROSTER OF ENLISTED POW'S RETURNED TO MILITARY CONTROL

Name	<u>Rank</u>	Service <u>Number</u>	Date of <u>Capture</u>	<u>Unit</u>
Aguirre, Andrew	Cpl	<b>954</b> 699	12Dec50	lstTkBn
Antonis, NickJ.	PFC	1056431	12Dec50	lstTkBn
Arias, Robert	Cpl	1106934	27Nov50	E/2/7
Armstrong, Samuel J.	PFC	1183348	26Mar53	5thMar
Atkinson, Edward R.	Cpl	1126839	270ct52	A/1/7
Aviles, Pedro F.	PFC	1278492	8Dec52	Recon/1Div
Baker, Jerry D.	PFC	1226854	270ct52	A/1/7
Barnes, Thomas R.	PFC	1188481	270ct52	A/1/7
Bartholomew, Carl E.	PFC	1335497	20Ju153	lstMar
Bassett, Kenneth J.	PFC	1072425	29Nov50	MP/1Div
Batdorff, Robert L.	PFC	1064002	28Nov50	F/2/7
Blair, William S.	Cpl	630666	24Apr51	7thMar
Blas, Cipriano	Sgt	349552	29Nov50	MP/1Div
Boulduc, Charles A.	PFC	<b>10</b> 896 <b>1</b> 1	6Dec50	A/1MtBn
Britt, Joseph P.	PFC	1185707	26Mar53	5thMar
Brittain, Dewey	Sgt	309368	29No <b>v</b> 50	MP/1Div
Brown, Billy A.	PFC	1108329	90ct51	B/1/1
Bundy, Lionel D.	Cpl	666423	27May52	lstMar

.

Burke, Stanley A.	PFC	1092495	10Dec50	H&S/1
Byers, Allen	PFC	1190377	26Mar53	H/3/5
Cain, John T.	M/Sgt	497205	18Ju152	VMO-6
Chester, Robert J.	PFC	1316541	<b>1</b> 9Ju153	7thMar
Coffee, Robert J.	Sgt	659953	29Nov50	lstSigBn
Cowen, George V.	PFC	1046584	28Nov50	D/2/7
Crabtree, Albert T.	PFC	1330622	27Dec52	lstMar
Dague, Joseph M.	PFC	1223883	19Ju153	7thMar
Dennison, Arthur L.	PFC	1263513	270ct52	H/1/7
Dickerson, Charles W.	Sgt	577914	30Nov50	lstTkBn
Dodson, Emmitt D.	PFC	1286075	270ct52	A/1/7
Downey, Earl D.	Cpl	654337	29Nov50	MP/1Div
Doyle, Arthur E.	Cpl	1257062	26Mar53	llthMar
Drummond, Stephen E.	Cpl	1257454	26Mar53	llthMar
Dunis, Gust H.	M/Sgt	190383	29Nov50	MP/1Div
Dunn, Robert L. L.	Pvt	1192875	<b>27</b> 0ct52	lstMarDiv
Edwards, Arnold R.	PFC	1195452	<b>27</b> 0ct52	7thMar
Estess, Morris L.	Sgt	666286	29Nov50	lstSigBn
Flores, Nick A.	PFC	1091431	30Nov50	lstServBn
Foreacre, Louis K.	PFC	1175294	270ct52	A/1/7
Gabrielle, Fred J.	PFC	1279874	<b>19</b> Ju153	7thMar
Gauthier, Gaston C.	PFC	1165371	270ct52	C/1/7
Gaynor, Melvin J.	Pvt	1176226	70ct52	lstSPBn
Glenn, Joe A.	PFC	1221962	16Apr52	W/2/5
Graham, Alfred P.	PFC	1138510	14Ju151	H/3/5
Gregory, Arthur J.	PFC	1180947	<b>9May</b> 52	A/1/5
Grey, Vernie L.	PFC	1211153	20Ju153	lstMarDiv

Griffith, Donald M.	Sgt	584417	2Dec50	F/2/5
Grindle, Richard R.	PFC	1092710	11May51	7thMar
Gunderson, Carl J.	PFC	123 <b>9</b> 397	<b>1</b> 9Ju153	7thMar
Hale, James L.	PFC	1122176	16Apr52	E/2/5
Hamilton, James F.	Sgt	1121870	19Ju153	7thMar
Harbin, Joseph B.	Cpl	1087610	30Nov50	4.5"Rkt/11
Harbourt, Olaf W. B.	Cpl	1157781	26Mar53	5thMar
Haring, John A.	PFC	1092478	28 <b>Nov50</b>	7thMar
Harrison, Charles L. S	S/Sgt	274541	29Nov50	MP/1Div
Hart, George F.	PFC	1305304	26Mar53	C/1/5
Hawkins, Clifford R.	Cpl	512295	3 <b>0Nov</b> 50	lstTkBn
Hayton, Ernest E.	Cpl	483542	30Nov50	lstTkBn
Hernandez-Hoyos, Rafael	PFC	1225690	26Mar53	C/1/5
Hilburn, Theron L.	PFC	324007	30Nov50	lstTkBn
Holcomb, Frederick G.	Cpl	1115241	28 <b>Nov</b> 50	llthMar
Hollinger, Bernard R.	PFC	1239875	26Mar53	lstMarDiv
Irons, James L.	PFC	1272091	5Sep52	lstMarDiv
Insco, Bernard W.	PFC	1114713	24Apr51	llthMar
Jacobs, John A.	PFC	1195842	16Apr52	E/2/5
James, Jesse L.	Sgt	594627	29Nov50	MP/1Div
Jones, Edwin B.	Cpl	661065	19Sep51	Hq/11
Johnson, Richard D.	PFC	1190982	20Ju153	lstMar
Juern, Theodore A.	PFC	1180212	270ct52	C/1/7
Kennedy, Gathern	Cpl	1228036	31Dec52	1/3/11
Kaylor, Charles M.	PFC	1109493	28Nov50	W/2/7
Kestel, Reginald	Pvt	1226629	270ct52	lstMarDiv
Kidd, Harold J.	Cpl	1095594	11May51	7thMar

Kirby, John R.	Cpl	1083266	29Nov50	Hq/lDiv
Kohus, Francis J.	PFC	1177174	270ct52	A/1/7
Kostich, Robert	PFC	1214174	<b>16Apr5</b> 2	W/2/5
Lacy, Jimmie E.	Cpl	1205643	27Mar53	C/1/5
Lang, David P.	PFC	612851	270ct52	A/1/7
Latora, Phillip N.	PFC	1204275	270ct52	A/1/7
Lessman, Billie J.	PFC	1152336	2Ju151	Hq/11
Lunsford, Franklin I.	Pvt	1223889	70ct52	н/3/7
Lynch, Donald W.	PFC	1200468	5Sep52	lstMarDiv
Maffioli, Leonard J.	Cpl	876229	3 <b>0</b> No <b>v</b> 50	lstTkBn
Manor, Paul M.	Sgt	597958	11Dec50	A/7MtBn
Markevitch, Robert A.	PFC	1150700	26Mar53	5thMar
Marks, Delbert L.	PFC	1172211	7Sep51	C/lEngrBn
Mathis, Chester A.	T/Sgt	271843	29Nov50	MP/1Div
McCoy, Donald K.	PFC	1347761	20Ju153	5thMar
McInerney, James P.	Cpl	1074365	6Dec50	A/1MTBn
Nardolillo, Francis J.	PFC	1160750	270ct52	A/1/7
Nash, James B.	S/Sgt	293875	29Nov50	MP/lDiv
Nation, Carl D.	Pvt	1331590	26Mar53	5thMar
Nelson, Noble I.	PFC	1252507	270ct52	lstMarDiv
Nevile, Kenneth F.	PFC	1221568	9Ju153	lstMarDiv
Nieman, Warner E.	PFC	1285481	<b>26Mar</b> 53	H/3/5
Noeth, George E.	Cpl	1242647	<b>270ct5</b> 2	lstMarDiv
Oehl, Sonny	Cpl	1233269	60ct52	4.2"/7
Osborne, Lloyd E.	PFC	670838	6Dec50	A/1MTBn
Oven, Richard L.	PFC	1193866	26Mar53	5thMar
Pabey, Luis E.	PFC	1259414	270ct52	C/1/7

,

•

PFC	1305069	19Ju153	7thMar
PFC	1226900	26Mar53	H/3/5
Cpl	1168119	270ct52	lstMarDi <b>v</b>
PFC	1268214	26Mar53	5th Mar
PFC	1231044	270ct52	A/1/7
T/Sgt	269956	29Nov50	MP/1Div
PFC	1087563	11 Dec50	A/7MtBn
Cpl	606930	28 <b>Nov50</b>	F/2/7
Pvt	1210521	70ct52	H/3/7
Pvt	1260301	70ct52	H/3/7
PFC	1087965	2Dec50	5thMar
PFC	1245406	70ct52	H/3/7
PFC	1257309	<b>270ct5</b> 2	A/1/7
Cpl	663208	29Nov50	MP/1Div
Sgt	667305	29Nov50	MP/1Div
PFC	1193721	28Dec51	F/2/1
Cpl	1295196	26Mar53	H/3/5
PFC	1305338	9Ju153	7thMar
PFC	1296985	270ct52	A/1/7
T/Sgt	308306	29Nov50	MP/1Div
PFC	1244296	<b>270ct</b> 52	W/1/7
Sgt	1171076	60ct52	4.2"/7
PFC	1195398	<b>16Apr</b> 52	E/2/5
Cpl	668057	12Dec50	lstTkBn
PFC	1241142	5Sep52	1/3/5
PFC	1241147	19Ju153	7thMar
Cpl	1030979	23Apr51	Hq/4/11
	PFC Cpl PFC T/Sgt PFC Cpl PVt PVt PFC Cpl Sgt PFC Cpl Sgt PFC Cpl PFC Cpl PFC Cpl PFC Cpl PFC Cpl	PFC1226900Cpl1168119PFC1268214PFC1231044T/Sgt269956PFC1087563Cpl606930Pvt1210521Pvt1260301Pvt1260301PFC1087965PFC1245406PFC1257309Cpl663208Sgt667305PFC1193721Cpl1295196PFC1305338PFC1296985T/Sgt308306PFC1244296Sgt1171076PFC1195398Cpl668057PFC1241142	PFC122690026Mar53Cp11168119270ct52PFC126821426Mar53PFC1231044270ct52T/Sgt26995629Nov50PFC108756311 Dec50Cp160693028Nov50Pvt121052170ct52Pvt126030170ct52Pvt126030170ct52PFC10879652Dec50PFC124540670ct52PFC1257309270ct52Cp166320829Nov50Sgt66730529Nov50PFC119372128Dec51Cp1129519626Mar53PFC13053389Jul53PFC1296985270ct52T/Sgt30830629Nov50PFC1244296270ct52Sgt117107660ct52PFC119539816Apr52Cp166805712Dec50PFC12411425Sep52PFC124114719Jul53

Scott, Mickey K.	PFC	613668	27Nov50	D/2/7
Shanklin, Milas	PFC	1275592	19Ju153	7thMar
Shockley, William N.	PFC	1195637	50ct52	Hq/lDiv
Steege, Leonard E.	PFC	1190684	19Ju153	7thMar
Stewart, Willie, C.	PFC	1324688	9Apr53	7thMar
Stine, James L.	PFC	1325815	20Ju153	7thMar
Strachan, Robert A.	Cpl	1136319	11Sep52	G/3/7
Stumpges, Frederick J.	M/Sgt	274794	29Nov50	Hq/lDiv
Trujillo, Pablo B.	PFC	1266204	70ct52	H/3/7
Tuscano, James E.	PFC	1248932	60ct52	G/3/7
Vann, George H.	PFC	1031930	27Nov50	K/4/11
Vavruska, Eugene R.	PFC	1293705	70ct52	н/3/7
Vidal, Eddie P.	PFC	659743	270ct52	C/1/7
Vitruls, Billy J.	PFC	1202210	270ct52	C/1/7
Watson, Joseph	PFC	1229887	270ct52	C/1/7
Wertman, Albert P.	Cpl	1065298	21Feb52	F/2/7
Wessels, Harry P.	Pvt	1271307	19Ju153	7thMar
Wheeler, Theodore R.	Cpl	867966 2	9Nov50	lstServBn
Wilkins, Edward G.	PFC	1088692,	2Dec50	1/3/5
Williams, Calvin W.	Cpl	1072147	29No <b>v</b> 50	Hq/lDiv
Williams, Donald C.	Cpl	1098418	29 <b>Nov5</b> 0	lstSigBn
Williams, Michaux L.	PFC	1316575	270ct52	lstMarDiv
Williford, Troy A.	PFC	669059	28Nov50	F/2/5
Woodard, Preston D.	PFC	1189089	70ct52	lstMarD <b>iv</b>
Yesko, Daniel D.	PFC	1064801	28Nov50	F/2/7

.

#### APPENDIX E

#### ALPHABETICAL ROSTER OF OFFICER POW'S WHO DIED OR ARE PRESUMED DEAD

Name			Date of <u>Capture</u>	<u>Unit</u>
	CAPTURED AND	DIED		
Gilardi, Robert W.	Captain	021766	lJan52	VMF-312
Hintz, Harold	lst Lt	038772	30Ju151	. VMF-312
Olson, A. E.	lst Lt	048125	13Ju151	VMF(N)-513

### CAPTURED AND PRESUMED DEAD

Chidester, A. A.	LtCol	05234	29Nov50	Hq/lDiv
Eagan, James K.	Major	07760	29Nov50	Hq/lDiv
Nelson, F. A.	lst Lt	044100	6Aug52	VMA-212

#### APPENDIX F

### ALPHABETICAL ROSTER OF ENLISTED POW<sup>®</sup>S WHO DIED OR ARE PRESUMED DEAD

Name	Ran	Service <u>Number</u>	Date of <u>Capture</u>	<u>Unit</u>
<u>C1</u>	<u>APTUREI</u>	DAND DIEL	2	
Asher, Ollie	PFC	1221733	70ct52	H/3/7
Bringes, Harry M.	Cpl	1112740	1Dec50	Serv/4/11
Darden, Roy	Sgt	507924	29No <b>v</b> 50	MP/1Div
Demski, Bernard A.	PFC	1329771	10Apr53	lstMarDiv
Dowling, Donald F.	PFC	1063264	2Dec50	F/2/5
Dowling, Paul E.	PFC	1063259	2Dec 50	F/2/5
Duncan, Donald M.	T/Sgt	337814	10Dec50	H&S/l
Fields, Billy G.	Cpl	1096497	11Dec50	A/7MTBn
Frazure, Richard P.	Sgt	1071737	29Nov50	MP/lDiv
Glasgow, James E.	Cpl	1071447	12Dec50	lstTkBn
Gray, William H.	Sgt	387822	29Nov50	H&S/7
Hester, James C.	PFC	653540	26No <b>v</b> 50	H&S/3/7
Ogrodnik, Edwin P.	PFC	1071397	29No <b>v</b> 50	MP/1Div
Reasor, Kyle	PFC	1012299	28Nov50	F/2/5
Roebuck, Leon	PFC	608320	30 <b>Nov5</b> 0	lstServBn
Thomas, George H.	Cpl	277326	29Nov50	H&S/7
Vannosdall, Gilbert A.	Cpl	1068629	20Sep50	lstSigBn
Wegner, R. L.	Cpl	666593	29Nov50	lstSigBn

#### CAPTURED AND PRESUMED DEAD

Baker, Billy W.	PFC	624946	6Dec50	A/1MTBn
Grahl, Hans W.	PFC	1071285	29Nov50	MP/lDiv
Morrow, Billy J.	PFC	1188495	26Mar53	W/1/5

.

,

.

#### APPENDIX G

#### ROSTER OF MARINES CAPTURED BY DATE

Date of <u>Capture</u>		<u>Unit</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
7Aug 50	Capt Jesse V. Booker	lst MAW	#
20Sep50	Cpl Gilbert A. Vannosdall	lstSigBn	Died
26Nov 50	PFC James C. Hester	H&S 3/7	Died
27No <b>v</b> 50	lstLt Robert C. Messman	K/4/11	#
	PFC George H. Vann	K/4/11	#
	Cpl Robert Arias	E/3/7	#
	PFC Mickey K. Scott	D/2/7	#
28Nov50	lstLt Felix L. Ferranto	lstSigBn	
	Cpl Frederick G. Holcomb	llth Mar	RMC May51
	PFC Charles M. Kaylor	W/2/7	RMC May51
	PFC Kyle Reasor	F/2/5	Died
	PFC Troy A. Williford	F/2/5	#
	PFC Robert L. Batdorff	F/2/7	#
	Cpl Wayne A. Pickett	F/2/7	#
	PFC Daniel D. Yesko	F/2/7	#
	PFC George V. Cowen	D/2/7	#
	PFC John A. Haring	7thMar	RMC May51

# - Reported on Communist 18 December 1951 list of POW's
P.Dead - Presumed dead
RMC May51 - Returned to Military Control in May 1951
RLS - Returned on Operation Little Switch, April-May 1953.

29Nov50	LtCol A. A. Chidester	Hq/lDiv	P. Dead
	Major James K. Eagan	Hq/lDiv	.'. Dead
	Maj John N. McLaughlin	X Corps	#
	lstLt Frank E. Cold	3/7	RMC May51
	lstLt Alan L. Lloyd	H&S/5	#
	lstLt Ernest R. Reid	H&S/l	#
	lstLt Herbert B. Turner	lstTkBn	#
	WO Felix J. McCool	lstServBn	#
	Cpl Joseph B. Harbin	4.5"RKT/11	#
	Sgt William H. Gray	H&S/7	Died
	Cpl George H. Thomas	H&S/7	Died
	Cpl John R. Kirby	Hq/lDiv	#
	MSgt Frederick J. Stumpge	s Hq/lDiv	#
	Cpl Calvin W. Williams	Hq/lDiv	RMC May51
	PFC Nick A. Flores	lstServBn	#
	PFC Leon Roebuck	lstServBn	Died
	Cpl Theodore R. Wheeler	lstServBn	RMC May51
	Sgt Robert J. Coffee	lstSigBn	#
	Sgt Morris L. Estess	lstSigBn	RMCMay 51
	Cpl R. L. Wegner	lstSigBn	Died
	Cpl Donald C. Williams	lstSigBn	#
	PFC Kenneth J. Bassett	MP/1Div	#
	Sgt Cipriano Blas	MP/l Div	#
	Sgt Dewey Brittain	MP/l Div	#
	Sgt Roy Darden	MP/1 Div	Died
	Cpl Earl D. Downey	MP/1 Div	
	MSgt Gust H. Dunis	MP/1 Div	RMC May51

2 <b>9Nov</b> 50 (cont'd)	Sgt Richard P. Frazure	MP/l Div	Died
	PFC Hans W. Grahl	MP/l Div	P. Dead
	SSgt Charles L. Harrison	MP/1 Div	RMC May51
	Sgt Jesse L. James	MP/l Div	#
	TSgt Chester A. Mathis	MP/1 Div	#
	SSgt James B. Nash	MP/l Div	RMC May51
	PFC Edwin P. Ogrodnik	MP/l Div	Died
	TSgt William R. Pettit	MP/l Div	#
	Cpl Roy V. Ratliff	MP/l Div	#
	Sgt Richard J. Razvoza	MP/l Div	#
	TSgt Albert J. Roberts	MP/l Div	#

30Nov50	(Note: Most of the perso on November 29, 1950 were midnight that date and th on the 30th. The below n tured with the same task those listed above. Diff ture were caused by diffe	actually cap us fell into amed Marines force as the erences in da	ptured after enemy hands were cap- bulk of ate of cap-
	Sgt Charles W. Dickerson	lstTkBn	RMC May51
	PFC Theron L. Hilburn	lstTkBn	RMC May51

	Ho moren be milburn	ISUINDI	MMC Mayji
	Cpl Ernest E. Hayton	lstTkBn	RMC May51
	Cpl Leonard J. Maffioli	lstTkBn	RMC May51
	Cpl Clifford R. Hawkins	G/3/7	RMC May51
<del></del>			
1Dec50	Cpl Harry M. Bringes	4/11	Died
2Dec50	PFC Donald F. Dowling	F/2/5	Died
	PFC Paul E. Dowling	F/2/5	Died
	Sgt Donald M. Griffith	F/2/5	#
	PFC Charles E. Quiring	5thMar	RMC May51

PFC Edward G. Wilkins I/3/5 #

6Dec50	PFC Billy W. Baker	A/1MTBn	P. Dead
	PFC Charles A. Boulduc	A/1MTBn	#
	Cpl James P. McInerney	A/1MTBn	#
	PFC Lloyd E. Osborne	A/1MTBn	#
10Dec50	PFC Stanley A. Burke	H&S/1	#
	TSgt Donald M. Duncan	H&S/1	Died
<b>1</b> 1Dec50	Cpl Billy G. Fields	A/7MTBn	Died
	PFC Paul J. Phillips	A/7MTBn	RMC May51
	Sgt Paul M. Manor	A/7MTBn	RMC May51
12Dec50	Cpl Andrew Aguirre	lstTkBn	#
	PFC Nick J. Antonis	lstTkBn	#
	Cpl Joe E. Saxon	lstTkBn	#
	Cpl James E. Glasgow	lstTkBn	Died

.

### <u> 1951</u>

3Apr51	Capt Paul L. Martelli	VMF-323	#
23Apr51	Cpl William E. Schultz	Hq/4/11	#
24Apr51	Cpl William S. Blair	7thMar	
	PFC Bernard W. Insco	llthMar	
<u></u>			
1May51	Capt Mercer R. Smith	VMF-311	#
2May51	Capt Byron H. Beswick	VMF-323	#
11May51	PFC Richard R. Grindle	7thMar	
	Cpl Harold J. Kidd	7thMar	
27May51	Capt Arthur Wagner	VMF(N)-513	#
18June51	Capt Jack E. Perry	VMF-311	#

2Ju151	lstLt Robert J. O'Shea	Hq/lDiv	
	2dLt Leonard C. Taft	VMO-6	
	PFC Billie J. Lessman	Hq/ll	#
3 <b>Ju15</b> 1	Capt James V. Wilkins	VMF-312	#
13Ju151	lstLt A. E. Olson	VMF(N)-513	Died
14Ju151	PFC Alfred P. Graham	H/3/5	#
21Ju151	lstLt Richard Bell	VMF-311	#
30Ju151	lstLt Harold Hintz	VMF-312	Died
12Aug51	Capt Gerald Fink	VMF-312	#
7Sept51	PFC Delbert L. Marks	D/1stEngrBn	#
19Sept51	Cpl Edwin B. Jones	Hq/11	#
40ct51	Capt Emanuel R. Amann	VMF-323	#
90ct51	PFC Billy A. Brown	B/1/1	#
<b>120ct5</b> 1	lstLt Robert J. Gillette	VMF(N)-513	#
160ct51	2dLt Carl R. Lundquist	VMF-312	#
300ct51	lstLt Herman F. Stanfill	VMF-323	
19Nov51	Capt Charles F. Martin	VMA-121	
14Dec51	Maj Judson C. Richardson	VMF(N)-513	
21Dec51	2dLt Richard L. Still	lst90mmAABn	
	LtCol William G. Thrash	Hq/lst MAW	
28Dec51	PFC Lester A. Ribbeck	F/2/1	
6 <u>2</u>	1050		

### <u>1952</u>

lJan52 Capt Robert W. Gilardi VMF-312 Died

		1100	26
8Feb52	lstLt Kenneth W. Henry	USS <u>Manchester</u>	
21Feb52	Cpl Albert P. Wertman	F/2/7	
4Mar52	Capt Roy C. Gray	VMF-311	
16Apr52	PFC Joe A. Glenn	W/2/5	
	PFC James L. Hale	E/2/5	
	PFC John A. Jacobs	E/2/5	
	PFC Robert Kostich	W/2/5	
	PFC Louis Romero	E/2/5	
9May52	PFC Arthur J. Gregory	A/1/5	RLS
6May 52	Maj Walter R. Harris	VMF-323	
7 <b>May</b> 52	2dLt Rowland M. Murphy	lstMarDiv	
13May52	lstLt Milton H. Baugh	VMF-311	
14May52	Capt John P. Flynn	VMF(N)-513	
16May52	lstLt Duke Williams	VMF-312	
27May52	Cpl Lionel D. Bundy	lstMar	
8Ju152	Maj Roy H. Bley	Hq/lst MAW	
	Col Frank H. Schwable	Hq/lst MAW	
18Ju152	MSgt John T. Cain	VMO-6	
6Aug52	lstLt F. A. Nelson	VMA-212	P. Dead
5Sep52	PFC James L. Irons	lstMarDiv	
	PFC Donald W. Lynch	lstMarDiv	
	PFC Norbert Schnitzler	I/3/5	
9Sep52	Capt Robert B. Lipscombe	VMO-6	
	2dLt Roland L. McDaniel	Hq/11	
11Sep52	Cpl Robert A. Strachan	G/3/7	

50ct52	PFC William N. Shockley	Ha/lDiv	
	2dLt Henry L. Conway	-	
•	Cpl Sonny Oehl	4.2"/7	
	Sgt Donald A. Rose	4.2"/7	RLS
	PFC James E. Tuscano	G/3/7	
70ct52	PFC Ollie Asher	H/3/7	Died
	PFC Melvin J. Gaynor	lstSPBn	
	Pvt Franklin I. Lunsford	H/3/7	
	Pvt Alberto Pizarro-Baez	H/3/7	RLS
	Pvt Louis A. Pumphrey	H/3/7	RLS
	PFC Augustine Ramos	H/3/7	
	PFC Pablo B. Trujillo	H/3/7	
	PFC Eugene R. Vavruska	H/3/7	
	PFC Preston D. Woodard	lstMarDiv	
270ct52	Cpl Edward R. Atkinson	A/1/7	
	PFC Jerry D. Baker	A/1/7	
	PFC Thomas R. Barnes	A/1/7	RLS
	PFC Arthur L. Dennison	H/1/7	
	PFC Emmitt D. Dodson	A/1/7	
	Pvt Robert L. L. Dunn	lstMarDiv	RLS
	PFC Arnold R. Edwards	7thMar	
	PFC Louis K. Foreacre	A/1/7	
	PFC Gaston C. Gauthier	C/1/7	
	PFC Theodore A. Jeurn	C/1/7	RLS
	Pvt Reginald Kestel	lstMarDiv	
	PFC Francis J. Kohus	A/1/7	
	PFC David P. Lang	A/1/7	RLS

270ct52	PF <sup>C</sup> Philip N. Latora	A/1/7	
(cont'd)	PFC Francis J. Nardolillo	A/1/7	
	PFC Noble I. Nelson	lstMarDiv	
	Cpl George E. Noeth	lstMarDiv	
	PFC Louis E. Pabey	C/1/7	
	Cpl Donald J. Pawlowski	lstMarDiv	
	PFC Lione E. Peterson	A/1/7	RLS
	PFC Vernon Ray	A/1/7	
	PFC Lance Ricker	A/1/7	
	PFC Alvin M. Robinson	W/1/7	
	PFC Eddie P. Vidal	C/1/7	RLS
	PFC Billy J. Vitruls	C/1/7	
	PFC Joseph Watson	C/1/7	
	PFC Michaux L. Williams	lstMarDiv	
8Dec52	PFC Pedro F. Aviles	Recon/1Div	
27Dec52	PFC Albert T. Crabtree	lstMar	
31Dec52	Cpl Gathern Kennedy	1/3/11	
	1953		
18Jan53	Capt Kenneth L. Spence	VM0-6	
10Mar53	Capt Dee E. Ezell	Hq/lDiv	
26Mar53	2dLt Rufus A. Seymour	C/1/5	
	PFC Samuel J. Armstrong	5thMar	RLS
	PFC Joseph P. Britt	5thMar	RLS
	PFC Allen Byers	H/3/5	
	Cpl Arthur E. Doyle	llthMar	
	Cpl Stephen E. Drummond	llthMar	

	Cpl Olaf W. B. Harbourt	5thMar	
(cont'd)	PFC George F. Hart	C/1/5	RLS
	PFC Bernard R. Hollinger	lstMarDiv	
	PFC Robert A. Markevitch	5thMar	
	PFC Billy J. Morrow	W/1/5	P. Dead
	Pvt Carl D. Nation	5thMar	
	PFC Warner E. Nieman	H/3/5	
	PFC Richard L. Oven	5thMar	RLS
	PFC Soloman Padilla	H/3/5	
	PFC Pedro Peralta	5thMar	
	Cpl Donald R. Richards	H/3/5	
27Mar53	Cpl Jimmie E. Lacy	C/1/5	RLS
	PFC Rafael H. Hernandez- Hoyos	C/1/5	
<del></del>			
9Apr53	PFC Willie C. Stewart	7thMar	
10Apr53	PFC B. A. Demski	lstMarDiv	Died
9Ju153	PFC Kenneth F. Neville	lstMar	
	PFC Harold E. Richards	7th Mar	
<b>1</b> 9Ju153	2dLt Henry E. Clifford	lstMarDiv	
	PFC Robert J. Chester	7thMar	
	PFC Joseph M. Dague	7thMar	
	PFC Fred J. Gabrielle	7thMar	
	PFC Carl J. Gunderson	7thMar	
	Sgt James F. Hamilton	7thMar	
	PFC Alfred J. Pacifico	7thMar	
	PFC Charles P. Schommer	7thMar	
	PFC Milas Shanklin	7thMar	
	PFC Leonard E. Steege	7thMar	

.

19Ju153 (cont'd)	Pvt Harry P. Wessells	7thMar
	PFC James L. Stine	7thMar
	PFC Carl E. Bartholomew	lstMar
	PFC Vernie L. Grey	lstMarDiv
	PFC Richard D. Johnson	lstMar
	PFC Donald K. McCoy	5thMar

.

## APPENDIX H

## ROSTER OF MARINES RETURNED TO MILITARY CONTROL MAY 25, 1951

Name & Rank	<u>Unit</u>	Date of <u>Capture</u>
lstLt Frank E. Cold	3/7	29Nov50
Sgt Charles W. Dickerson	lstTkBn	30Nov50
MSgt Gust H. Dunis	MP/1Div	29No <b>v</b> 50
Sgt Morris L. Estess	lstSigBn	29Nov50
PFC John A. Haring	7thMar	28Nov50
SSgt Charles L. Harrison	MP/1Div	29Nov50
Cpl Clifford Hawkins	G/3/7	27Nov50
Cpl Ernest R. Hayton	lstTkBn	30Nov 50
PFC Theron Hilburn	lstTkBn	30Nov50
Cpl Frederick Holcomb	llthMar	28Nov50
PFC Charles Kaylor	W/2/7	28Nov50
Cpl Leonard Maffioli	lstTkBn	30Nov50
Sgt Paul Manor	A/7MTBn	11Dec50
SSgt James Nash	MP/1Div	29No <b>v</b> 50
PFC Paul J. Phillips	A/7MTBn	11Dec50
PFC Charles Quiring	5thMar	2Dec50
Cpl Theodore Wheeler	lstServBn	29Nov50
Cpl Calvin Williams	Hq/lDiv	29No <b>v</b> 50

270

### APPENDIX I

## ROSTER OF MARINES RETURNED TO MILITARY CONTROL DURING

# OPERATION LITTLE SWITCH - APRIL & MAY, 1953

	Name & Rank	Unit	Date of <u>Capture</u>
PFC	Samuel J. Armstrong	5thMar	26Mar53-
PFC	Thomas R. Barnes	A/1/7	260ct52
PFC	Joseph P. Britt	7thMar	27Mar53 -
Pvt	Robert L. L. Dunn	lstMarDiv	270ct52
PFC	Arthur J. Gregory	A/1/5	9May52
PFC	George F. Hart	C/1/5	26Mar53 -
PFC	Theodore A. Juern	C/1/7	<b>270ct5</b> 2
Cpl	Jimmie E. Lacy	C/1/5	27Mar53 -
PFC	David P. Lang	A/1/7	270ct52
PFC	Richard L. Oven	5thMar	26Mar53 -
PFC	Lione E. Peterson	A/1/7	270ct52
Pvt	Alberto Pizarro-Baez	н/3/7	70ct52
PFC	Louis A. Pumphery	H/3/7	70ct52
Sgt	Donald A. Rose	4.2"/7	60ct52
PFC	Eddie P. Vidal	C/1/7	270ct52

## APPENDIX J

## MARINE POW'S BY RANK

	Captured					Returned to Military Control							Captured and died					Captured, Presumed Dead			
Regular Colonel			1					1													
Reserve																					
Regular	۰	0	å	•	0	o	۰	i	۰	٥	o	0	o	٥	0	0	٥	°	ໍ	o	
LtCol Reserve																					
Regular	0	0	ů	۰	٥	٥	0	ŝ	0	0	o	0	0	o	0	0	o	°	ໍ	٥	
Major Reserve			1					l													
Regular	0	0	ŝ	0	0	۰	٥	ŝ	0	0	0	۰	0	0	0	0	o	0	0	0	
Captain Reserve			8					6					2	2							
	0	•	° 7	¢	۰	0	٥	°7	٥	٥	0	•	0	o	o	٥	0	0	۰	٥	
lstLt Reserve			9					7					٦					-	1		
• • • • • • • • •	٥	o	/ ^	0	0	o	o	ຳ ຳ	o	o	٥	o	•	•	o	•	0	•	•	0	
Regular 2dLt			3 、					3													
Reserve	•	•	4	0	0	0	0	4	o	0	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Regular	Ū	Ū	ì	Ū	Ŭ	J	Ū	i	·	Ū	U	Ū	0	Ŭ	Ū	Ŭ	Ū	v	U	Ū	
Reserve																					
Regular	•	°2	<b>?</b>	0	o	o	°2	25	0	0	0	•	•	o	0	0	o	°a	<u>2</u> °	o	
Total Reserve		2	2				J	L8					3					נ	L		
GRAND TOTAL OFFICERS		0	0	•	e	0	•	0	0	0	o	•	0	•	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		4	9				<u>ւ</u>	+3	(8	37.	. 79	6)	3	. (	(6.	.19	6)	3	3	(6.)	1%)

.

.

		<u>Ca</u>	ptured	]	M1:	irne lita ontr	ry		nptur nd_Di		Captured Presumed Dead					
Mont	Regular		3			3										
MSgt	Reserve															
• • • •	Regular	0 0	ů °	0	٠	3	0	0	۰	ຳ	0	٥	•	0	0	D
TSgt	Reserve								,							
• • • •	Regular	0 0	2	•	•	2	0	۰	0	• •	0	0	0	•	0	0
SSgt	Reserve															
• • • •	Regular	0 0	14°°	¢	۰	ů1	٥	0	0	<u>ີ</u> 3ໍ	0	•	0	0	•	0
Sgt	Reserve										•					
0 0 • •	Regular	• •	23°°	•	٠	i8'	۰	•	a	••••	•	•	•	0	•	o
Cpl	Reserve		11			10				1						
	Inducted		5			5										
• • • •	Regular	• •	62	0	•	54	٥	•	o	<b>ໍ</b> 5ໍ	o	0	0	°3	•	٩
PFC	Reserve		17			15				2				-		
	Inducted		23			22				1						
	Regular	0 0	°4° •	۰	0	°4°	٥	o	۰	• •	•	•	۰	•	•	0
Pvt	Reserve															
	Inducted		4			4										
	Regular	e 0	112°°	٥	0	95°	٥	0	٥	14°	0	0	•	°3	•	0
Total	Reserve		28			25				3				-		
	Inducted		32			31				1						
GRAND TO		• •	0 • 0	0	٥	• •	0	٥	٥	0 0	0	0	0	o	o	υ
ENLISTED			172		•	151	(87	7。'	7%)	18				3		
GRAND TOTAL OFFICERS AND ENLISTED			221			194	(8)	7。'	7%)	) 21	(9	• 5	(%)	6	(	2.7%

### SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Unpublished Official Unit Records

The following are filed in the Unit Files, Historical Branch Archives, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps.

1st Marine Air Wing, Historical Diary, October, 1950.

\_\_\_\_\_. Special Action Report, October 10, 1950, to December 15, 1950.

- lst Marine Division, Historical Diaries, November, 1950, to March, 1952.
- - \_\_\_\_\_. Special Action Report on Inchon-Kimpo-Seoul Operation, September 15-October 8, 1950.

\_\_\_\_\_. Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.

\_\_\_\_\_. Operation Order 24-50, November 26, 1950.

- 1st Provisional Marine Brigade (Reinforced), Fleet Marine Force, Special Action Report, 2 August to 6 September 1950. A Report of Operations with Eighth U. S. Army in Korea.
- lst Motor Transport Battalion, 1st Marine Division. Historical Diary, December, 1950.
- 7th Motor Transport Battalion, Fleet Marine Force. Special Action Report, Annex VV to 1st Marine Division, Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.
- lst Signal Battalion, lst Marine Division. Special Action Report on Inchon-Kimpo-Seoul Operation. Annex GG to lst Marine Division Special Action Report, 15 September-8 October, 1950.

\_\_\_\_\_. Unit Report No. 12, December 3, 1950.

- lst 90mm Anti Aircraft Gun Battalion, 1st Marine Air Wing. Historical Diary, December, 1951.
- lst Marines, lst Marine Division. Special Action Report, Annex PP to lst Marine Division, Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.
- 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division. Special Action Report, Annex QQ to 1st Marine Division, Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.

\_\_\_\_\_. Command Diaries, April, 1952, to July, 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. Historical Diary, March, 1951.

\_\_\_\_\_\_. Unit Report, February, 1951. Annex B to 1st Marine Division, Historical Diary, February, 1951.

7th Marines, 1st Marine Division. Command Diaries, October, 1952, to July, 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. Summary of Action, 26 October-1 November, 1952. "Hook, Reno, Ronson."

11th Marines, 1st Marine Division. Special Action Report, Annex SS to 1st Marine Division Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.

.\_\_\_\_. Historical Diary, April, 1951.

- Battery C, 1st 4.5" Rocket Battalion, Fleet Marine Force. Special Action Report, Appendix 5 to 11th Marines Special Action Report, Annex SS to 1st Marine Division, Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.
- 2d Battalion, 5th Marines. Special Action Report, Annex B to 5th Marines, Special Action Report, Annex QQ to 1st Marine Division Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.
- 3d Battalion, 5th Marines. Special Action Report, Annex C to 5th Marines, Special Action Report, Annex QQ to 1st Marine Division, Special Action Report, October-December, 1950.

1st Battalion, 7th Marines, Command Diary, July, 1953.

- 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, Command Diary, July, 1953.
- Marine Aircraft Group-12, 1st Marine Air Wing. Special Action Report, Annex K to 1st Marine Air Wing, Special Action Report, 10 October 1950 to 15 December 1950.

Marine Attack Squadron-121. Historical Diary, November, 1951.

Marine Fighter Squadron-311. Historical Diaries, May, 1951-March, 1952.

. Command Diaries, April-May, 1952.

Marine Fighter Squadron-312. Historical Diaries, July, 1951-April, 1952.

\_\_\_\_\_. Command Diary, May, 1952.

- Marine Fighter Squadron-323. Historical Diaries, April, 1951-May, 1952.
- Marine All-Weather Fighter Squadron-513. Historical Diaries, May 1951-May, 1952.
- Marine Observation Squadron-6, 1st Marine Aircraft Wing. Historical Diaries, July, 1951, to February, 1953.

#### Unpublished Official Correspondence, Messages, and Memoranda

Commander in Chief, Far East. Message of October 29, 1950.

- . Situation Reports, daily October-November, 1950.
- Commanding Officer, USS <u>Valley Forge</u>. Message of August 7, 1950. Text recorded in Historical Branch Aviation Casualty Card File, case of Captain Jesse V. Booker.
- Commanding General, 1st Marine Division. Letter to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, serial number 23448, dated May 31, 1951. This letter forwards statements made by Marines released by the Communists on May 24, 1951. The following enclosures to the basic letter are pertinent to this study:
  - Enclosure 2. Statement of First Lieutenant Frank E. Cold
  - Enclosure 6. Statement of Staff Sergeant Charles L. Harrison.
  - Enclosure 10. Statement of Sergeant Morris L. Estess.
  - Enclosure 11. Statement of Sergeant Paul M. Manor and Private First Class Charles E. Quiring.
- Commanding Officer, 1st 90mm Anti-Aircraft Artillery Battalion. Speedletter to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, December 31, 1951.

- Commanding Officer, 1st Tank Battalion. Letter to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, serial 1123, December 27, 1950. This letter forwards statements of Tank Platoon Commanders concerning the loss of four Marines.
  - Enclosure 1. Statement of First Lieutenant Jack M. Lerond.
  - Enclosure 2. Statement of First Lieutenant Philip H. Ronzone.
- Commanding Officer, 1st Marines. Message of October 28, 1950.
- Commanding Officer, 7th Marines. Message of November 26, 1950.
- Letter from First Lieutenant Lester A. Rowden, Jr., 045629/ 0407, USMCR to the Commanding Officer, 11th Marines, subject: Report of Investigation, case of Private First Class Billie J. Lessman, 1152336, USMC. August 5, 1951.
- Letter from the Commandant of the Marine Corps to the Secretary of the Navy, dated April 14, 1954, transmitting the record of the Court of Inquiry, case of Colonel Frank H. Schwable, USMC.
- Memorandum from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of Defense, dated April 21, 1954, transmitting the record of the Court of Inquiry, case of Colonel Frank H. Schwable, USMC.
- Memorandum from the Secretary of Defense to the Secretary of the Navy, dated April 27, 1954, concerning the findings and recommendations of the Court of Inquiry, case of Colonel Frank H. Schwable, USMC.
- Findings of fact, opinions, and recommendations, Court of Inquiry, case of Colonel Frank H. Schwable, USMC.
- Letter from Lieutenant Colonel William G. Thrash, 06141, USMC to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, December 9, 1953; subject, Exemplary Conduct, case of Major John N. McLaughlin, 08433, USMC, Report of and recommendation of award for. Code DLA, HQMC.
- Letter from Commandant of the Marine Corps to the Secretary of the Navy, December 21, 1953; subject, Legion of Merit; case of Major Walter R. Harris O16518, USMCR, recommendation for award of (POW). Code DLA, HQMC.

- Letter from the Commandant of the Marine Corps to the Secretary of the Navy, December 21, 1953; subject; Navy and Marine Corps Medal; case of Captain John P. Flynn, Jr., 032419 USMC, recommendation for award of. Code DLA, HQMC. Enclosure 3 to this letter is a statement by Major W. R. Harris, 016518, USMCR concerning the outstanding performance of Captain John P. Flynn, Jr. while a POW in Camp 2 Annex at Obul, North Korea.
- Letter from Major Walter R. Harris, 106518, USMCR to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, December 9, 1953; subject; Letter of Commendation with Commendation Ribbon; case of Master Sergeant John T. Cain 497205 USMC, recommendation of award of. Code DLA, HQMC.
- Letter from Major John N. McLaughlin, 08433, USMC to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, December 9, 1953; subject; Appropriate recognition; case of LtCol William G. Thrash, 06141, USMC, recommendation for. Code DLA, HQMC.
- Letter from Major Walter R. Harris, Ol6518, USMCR, to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, December 17, 1953, filed in the service record of Captain Rowland M. Murphy, 052136, Code DF, HQMC.
- Letter from Major Walter R. Harris, 016518, USMR, to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, December 9, 1953, filed in the service record of Master Sergeant John T. Cain, 497205, USMC, Code DF, HQMC.
- Memorandum from Lieutenant Colonel R. D. Heinl, Jr., USMC to the Director of Marine Corps History, October 28, 1952.
- Sworn statement by Corporal Eddie P. Vidal, January 25, 1954, made at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. Filed in service record of Cpl Vidal, Code DF, HQMC.

Letters from the below named personnel to the Commandant of the Marine Corps; subject - Report on Period of Captivity. These reports are filed in the service records of the originators, Code DF, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington 25, D. C.

Baugh, Milton H., Captain, Ol0658, USMC.

Cain, John T., Master Sergeant, 497205, USMC.

Ezell, Dee E., Lieutenant Colonel, 029832, USMC.

Fink, Gerald, Major, 023889, USMC.

Flynn, John P. Jr., Major, 032419, USMC.
Gray, Roy C., Lieutenant Colonel, 024638, USMC.
McDaniel, Roland L., Captain, 052985, USMC.
McLaughlin, John N., Colonel, 08433, USMC.
Murphy, Rowland M., Captain, 052136, USMC
Richardson, Judson C. Jr., Lieutenant Colonel, 011918, USMC.
Seymour, Rufus A., Captain, 055835, USMC.
Letters from the below named personnel to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, filed in the service record of Colonel John N. McLaughlin, Code DF, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, 25, D. C.
Brown, Gerald, Lieutenant Colonel, USAF. December 14, 1953.
Hansen, George R., Lieutenant Colonel, USAF. February 25

Harrison, Thomas D., Lieutenant Colonel, USAF. February 25 and March 11, 1954.

Pettit, William R. Master Sergeant, USMC. December 10, 1953.

Zacherle, L. E., Lieutenant Colonel, USA. December 21, 1953.

#### <u>Interviews</u>

Personal interviews were conducted with the following named persons, and written notes concerning the interviews are in the author's files:

Booker, Jesse V., Major, USMC. July 26, 1960.

- Cronin, James T., Lieutenant Colonel, USMC. August 30 and September 4, 1960.
- Fink, Gerald, Major, USMC. December 3, 1959 through March 24, 1961
- McDaniel, Roland, Captain, USMC. July 25 and December 27, 1960 and March 14, 1961.
- Noel, Frank, Correspondent, Associated Press. Tokyo, Japan, May, 1953.

Perry, Jack, Major, USMC. August 18, 1960.

279

- Pierce, Philip N., Lieutenant Colonel, USMC. December 7, 1960.
- Pizarro-Baez, Alberto, Private, USMC. Tokyo, Japan, May, 1953.

Thorin, Duane, Lieutenant (j.g.), USN. March 11, 1960.

Wood, William A., Colonel, USMC. April 15, 1960.

The following records of interview are filed in the Interview File, Historical Branch Archives, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps:

- First Sergeant Charles C. Dana and Staff Sergeant Richard E. Danford, Company F, 7th Marines. Interviewed by Captain A. Z. Freeman on Kansas Line, Korea, April 7, 1951. Filed as 1st Provisional Historical Platoon Interviews, April 17, 1951, Number 1.
- Sergeant Charles W. Dickerson, Staff Sergeant James B. Nash, Technical Sergeant Charles L. Harrison, Sergeant Morris L. Estess, and Corporal Calvin W. Williams. Interview by Historical Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, July 25-31, 1951. Filed as Dickerson, C. W., Sgt. interview.
- Major Frederick Simpson, USMC, interviewed by Captain Kenneth A. Shutts, USMCR, at the 1st Marine Division Command Post (Forward), Chunchon, Korea, April 11, 1951. Filed as 1st Provisional Historical Platoon Interviews, April 17, 1951.

### Personal Letters

Barber, Stewart C., Major, USMC. March 16, 1960.

- Day, James, Warrant Officer, Royal Marines (Retired). April 14 and June 17, 1960.
- Farrar-Hockley, Anthony, Major. DSO, OBE, MC. British Army. September 26 and October 20, 1960.
- Ferranto, Felix, Lieutenant Colonel, USMC (Retired). February 22, 1961.

Flynn, John P., Jr., Major, USMC. March, 1961.

Gregory, Arthur J. September 1, 1960.

Griffith, Donald M., Staff Sergeant, USMC (Retired). November 8 and December 9, 1960. Harrison, Charles L. Captain, USMC (Retired). July 24, 1960.

Henry, Kenneth W., Major, USMC. August 25, 1960.

- Mathis, Chester A., First Sergeant (Fleet Marine Corps Reserve). January 3, 1961.
- McCool, Felix J., Commissioned Warrant Officer (Retired). February 3, 1961.
- Pettit, William, Master Sergeant (Fleet Marine Corps Reserve). February 3, 1961.
- Pizarro-Baez, Alberto, Private First Class, USMC (Retired). August 22, 1960.
- Vidal, Eddie P., Corporal, USMC (Retired). August 10, 1960.

#### Documents

Commander Naval Forces, Far East. <u>Chinese Communist Treat-</u> <u>ment and Attempted Political Indoctrination of U. S.</u> <u>Marine Prisoners of War</u>. Tokyo: N-2 Department, COMNAVFE, July 11, 1951. Copy filed in Breckenridge Library, Marine Corps Educational Center, Marine Corps Schools, Quantico, Virginia.

. <u>Report of Intelligence Processing "Operation</u> <u>Little Switch - April 1953.</u>" Yokosuka, Japan: N-2 Department, COMNAVFE, June, 1953. Copy filed in Historical Branch Archives, G-3 Division, Headquarters U. S. Marine Corps.

- <u>Standing Operating Procedure for Intelligence</u> <u>Processing and Debriefing of Recovered Navy and</u> <u>Marine Corps Prisoners of War</u>. Change No. 1. Yokosuka, Japan: N-2 Department, COMNAVFE, July 24, 1953. Copy filed in Historical Branch Archives, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps.
- Communist China. Department of Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, Ministry of Culture and Propaganda, DPRK. <u>Depositions of Nineteen Captured U. S. Airmen</u> <u>On Their Participation in Germ Warfare in Korea</u>. Peking: Department of Cultural Relations, 1954.

Communist China. Documents and Materials on the Korean <u>Armistice Negotiations -- With Special Reference to</u> <u>Item 4 of the Agenda Dealing With the Question of</u> <u>Prisoners of War</u>. Vol. II. Peking: The Chinese <u>People's Committee for World Peace</u>, 1952.

- Communist China. <u>Exhibition On Bacteriological War Crimes</u> <u>Committed by the Government of the United States of</u> <u>America</u>. Peking: The Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, 1952.
- Communist China. <u>Report of the Joint Interrogation Group</u> of Korean and Chinese Specialists and <u>Newspaper</u> <u>Correspondents on the Interrogation of War Prisoners</u> <u>Enoch and Quinn</u>. Peking: The Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, 1952.
- Communist China. <u>United Nations P.O.W.'s in Korea</u>. Peking: The Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, 1953.
- Great Britain. Foreign Office. <u>Korea: A Summary of Further</u> <u>Developments in the Military Situation, Armistice</u> <u>Negotiations and Prisoner of War Camps up to January</u> <u>1958</u>. Cmd. 8793. March, 1953.
- Great Britain. Foreign Office. Korea: <u>A Summary of Develop-</u> <u>ments in the Armistice Negotiations and the Prisoner</u> <u>of War Camps. Cmd. 8596. June, 1952.</u>
- Great Britain. Foreign Office. <u>Korea: The Indian Proposal</u> <u>for Resolving the Prisoners of War Problem</u>. Cmd. 8716. December, 1952.
- Great Britain. Ministry of Defense. <u>Treatment of British</u> <u>Prisoners of War in Korea</u>. H.M. Stationery Office, 1955.
- Korean Communications Zone. <u>Interim Historical Report</u>. A Report Prepared by the War Crimes Division, Judge Advocate Section, Korean Communications Zone, Far East Command. Cumulative to June 30, 1953. Korea: KCOMZ, 1953.
- Marshall, S. L. A. <u>CCF in the Attack</u>. Part II. A Study Based on the Operations of 1st Marine Division in the Koto-ri, Hagaru-ri, Yudam-ni Area, November 20 -December 10, 1950. Prepared by the Operations Research Office, The Johns Hopkins University, Far East Command, 1951.
- Secretary of Defense's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War. <u>POW</u>. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955.
- Segal, Julius. <u>Factors Related to the Collaboration and</u> <u>Resistance Behavior of U. S. Army PW's in Korea</u>. HumRRO Technical Report 33 for the Department of the Army. Prepared by the Human Resources Research Office. Washington: George Washington University, 1956.

- Toppe, Alfred. (Major General, German Army). German Methods of Interrogating Prisoners of War in World War II. MS P-Ol8a of Historical Division European Command <u>PW Project No. 14</u>. Koenigstein: June 1949. Translated by Theodore Klein, edited by Dr. Frederiksen. Filed in Army Library, Pentagon.
  - <u>Soviet Procedure for Interrogating Prisoners of</u> <u>War in World War II</u>. MS P-Ol8b of HDEC PW Project No. 14. Koenigstein: July, 1949. Translated by Theodore Klein, edited by Dr. Frederiksen.
- . <u>The Russian Program of Propagandizing Prisoners</u> <u>of War</u>. MS P-Ol8c of HDEC PW Project No. 14. Koenigstein: September, 1949. Translated by M. Franke, edited by Dr. Frederiksen.
- United Nations. General Assembly. Seventh Session, First Committee. Agenda Item 73. A/C.1/L.28, March 12, 1953.
- United Nations. General Assembly. Seventh Session, First Committee. Agenda Item 73. A/C.1/L.37. March 27, 1953.
- United Nations. General Assembly. Eighth Session. First Committee. Agenda Item 24. A/C.1/L.66. October 26, 1953.
- U. S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations. <u>The</u> <u>Prisoner of War Situation in Korea</u>. 82d Cong., 2d Sess., 1952.
- U. S. Congress. House Committee on Foreign Affairs. <u>Return</u> of <u>American Prisoners of War Who Have Not Been Accounted</u> for by the <u>Communists</u>. 85th Cong., 1st Sess. May 27, 1957.
- U. S. Congress. House Committee on Un-American Activities. <u>Investigation of Communist Propaganda Among Prisoners</u> of War in Korea. 84th Cong., 2d Sess., 1956.
- U. S. Congress. House Committee on Un-American Activities. <u>Communist Psychological Warfare</u> (Brainwashing). Consultation with Edward Hunter. 85th Cong., 2d Sess., 1958.
- U. S. Congress. Senate Committee on Armed Services. <u>Discussion With Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway Re Far Eastern</u> <u>Situation, Koje-Do POW Uprising, and NATO Policies</u>. 82d Cong., 2d Sess., May 21, 1952.
- U. S. Congress, Senate, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. <u>Hearings on Communist Interrogation</u>, <u>Indoctrination</u> and <u>Exploitation of American Military and Civilian</u> <u>Prisoners</u>. Report No. 2832, 84th Cong., 2d Sess., 1957.

- U. S. Department of the Army. <u>Communist Interrogation</u>, <u>Indoctrination</u>, and <u>Exploitation of Prisoners of War</u>. Department of the Army Pamphlet 30-101, May, 1956.
- U. S. Department of Defense. <u>The U. S. Fighting Man's Code</u>. DOD Pam 1-16. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1959.
- U. S. Department of Defense. <u>Tentative Final Report of U.</u> <u>S. Battle Casualties in the Korean War</u>. Office of the Secretary of Defense Progress Reports and Statistics, P28.1. November 4, 1954.
- U. S. Department of Defense. <u>Principal Wars in which the</u> <u>United States Participated, U. S. Military Personnel</u> <u>Serving, and Casualties</u>. Office of the Secretary of Defense Progress Reports and Statistics, P28.2. Revised. November 7, 1957.
- U. S. Marine Corps, "Korean Casualties, 25 June 1950 -27 July 1953", Personnel Accounting Section, Code DGB, September 22, 1956. (typewritten). On file in the Casualty Branch, Division of Personnel, HQMC.

#### <u>Books</u>

- Blair, Clay. <u>Beyond Courage</u>. New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1955.
- Brown, Wallace L. <u>Endless Hours: My Two and One Half</u> <u>Years as a Prisoner of the Chinese Communists</u>. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1961.
- Crosbie, Philip. <u>Three Winters Cold</u>. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd., 1955.
- <u>March Till They Die</u>. Westminster, Maryland, Ireland: The Newman Press, 1956.

Pencilling Prisoner. Melbourne: The Hawthorne Press, 1954.

- Condron, Andrew M., Corden, Richard G., and Sullivan, Larance V. (eds.) <u>Thinking Soldiers</u>. Peking: New World Press, 1955.
- Miller John Jr., Carroll, Owen, and Tackley, Margaret E. Korea 1951-53. Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1958.
- Davies, Stanley J. <u>In Spite of Dungeons</u>. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954.

- Dean, William F. <u>General Dean's Story</u>. As told to William L. Worden. New York: The Viking Press, 1954.
- Deane, Philip Gigantes, Gerassimos <u>I Was A Captive in Korea</u>. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1953.
- Dowe, Ray M. Jr. The Ordeal of Father Kapaun. Notre Dame, Indiana: The Ave Maria Press, 1954.
- Farrar-Hockley, Anthony. <u>The Edge of the Sword</u>. London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1954.
- Geer, Andrew. The New Breed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.
- Hansen, Col. Kenneth K. <u>Heroes Behind Barbed Wire</u>. Princeton, N. J., D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1957.
- Hunter, Edward. Brainwashing: The Story of the Men Who Defied It. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956.
- Jones, Francis S. <u>No Rice for Rebels</u>. As told to the author by Lance Corporal Robert F. Mathews, B.E.M. London: Garden City Press, 1956.
- Kinkead, Eugene. <u>In Every War But One</u>. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1959.
- Kinne, Derek. <u>The Wooden Boxes</u>. London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1955.
- Landford, Dennis. <u>I Defy</u>. London: Allan Wingate Publishers Ltd., 1954.
- Marshall, S. L. A. <u>The River and the Gauntlet</u>. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1953.
- McCoy, Melvyn H., Cdr. USN, and others. <u>Prisoners of Japan</u>. As told to Lieutenant Welbourn Kelley, USNR, New York: Time, Inc., 1944.
- Meray, Tibor. <u>Korean Testimony</u>. Budapest: Hungarian Peace Council and the Institute for Cultural Relations, 1952.
- Meerloo, A. M. <u>The Rape of the Mind: the Psychology of</u> <u>Thought Control, Menticide, and Brainwashing</u>. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1956.
- Millar, Ward M. <u>Valley of the Shadow</u>. New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1955.
- Montross, Lynn. <u>War Through the Ages</u>. New York: Harper & Bros., 1946.

- Montross, Lynn and Canzona, Capt. Nicholas A. <u>U. S. Marine</u> <u>Operations in Korea</u>. Vol. I: <u>The Pusan Perimeter</u>. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957.
- . Vol. II: <u>The Inchon-Seoul Operation</u>. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957.
  - . Vol. III: <u>The Chosin Reservoir Campaign</u>. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957.
- Pasley, Virginia [Schmitz]. <u>22 Stayed</u>. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd., 1955.
- Pate, Lloyd W. <u>Reactionary!</u> As told to B. J. Cutler. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.
- Red Cross, China. <u>Out of Their Own Mouths</u>. Peking: Red Cross Society of China, 1952.
- Sargent, William Walters. <u>Battle for the Mind</u>. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957.
- Simmons, Kenneth W. <u>Kriegie</u>. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1960.
- Thorin, Duane. <u>A Ride to Panmunjom</u>. Chicago; Henry Regnery Co., Inc., 1956.
- Tonne, Father Arthur. <u>The Story of Chaplain Kapaun:</u> <u>Patriot Priest of the Korean Conflict</u>. Emporia, Kansas: Didde Publishers, 1954.
- Voelkel, Harold, <u>Behind Barbed Wire in Korea</u>. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1953.
- White, William Lindsay. <u>The Captives of Korea: An</u> <u>Unofficial White Paper on the Treatment of War</u> <u>Prisoners</u>. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957.
- Whiting, Alan S. <u>China Crossed the Yalu</u>. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960.
- Winnington, Alan and Burchett, Wilfred. <u>Plain Perfidy</u>. Peking: By the authors, 1954.

### <u>Articles</u>

- Baldwin, Hanson W. "Our Fighting Men Have Gone Soft," <u>The Saturday Evening Post</u>. August 8, 1959.
- Brinkley, William. "Valley Forge G. I.'s Tell of Their Brainwashing Ordeal," <u>Life</u>. May 25, 1953.

- Francis, Dale. "March Contest Feature." <u>The Catholic Boy</u>. March, 1956.
- Harrison, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas D., USAF. "Why Did Some G. I.'s Turn Communist?" <u>Colliers</u>. November 27, 1953.
- Heren, Louis. "The Korean Scene," <u>Brassey's Annual: The</u> <u>Armed Forces Yearbook</u>, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951.
- Johnson, Captain James R. "If You Are Captured," <u>Marine</u> <u>Corps Gazette</u>, November, 1952.
- Kinkead, Eugene. "The Study of Something New in History," <u>The New Yorker</u>, October 26, 1957.
- Martin, Harold H. "They Tried to Make Our Marines Love Stalin," <u>The Saturday Evening Post</u>, August 25, 1951.
- Mayer, William E., Major, USA, MC. "Why Did Many G. I. Captives Cave In?" Interview in <u>U. S. News and World</u> Report, February 24, 1956.
- McCarthy, Captain Robert C. "Fox Hill," <u>Marine Corps</u> <u>Gazette</u>, March, 1953.
- Montross, Lynn. "Ridgerunners of Toktong Pass," <u>Marine</u> <u>Corps Gazette</u>, May, 1953.
- Murray, J. C. "The Prisoner Issue," <u>Marine Corps Gazette</u>, August and September, 1955.
- "POW Collaboration Charges Exploded," <u>Army-Navy-Air Force</u> <u>Register and Defense Times</u>, April 16, 1960.
- O'Connor, Father Patrick. "Faith Behind Barbed Wire," <u>Hawaii Catholic Herald</u>, October 16, 1953.
- Scouller, Captain R. E. "Prisoners of War," <u>The Army</u> <u>Quarterly</u>, London: Vol. LXVI, April and July, 1953.
- "Snafu at Valley Forge," <u>Newsweek</u>, May 18, 1953.
- Stevenson, Charles. "The Truth About Germ Warfare in Korea," <u>The Reader's Digest</u>, April, 1953.
- Thorin, Duane. "Code of Conduct Training," <u>Naval Training</u> <u>Bulletin</u>, Spring, 1958.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Solitary Comfort," <u>U. S. A.</u>, New York: U.S.A. Publishing Co., July 3, 1959.

Wolff, Harold G., M.D. "Every Man Has His Breaking Point -(?)" <u>Military Medicine</u>, February, 1960.

#### Newspapers

Chicago Daily Tribune. July 30, 1960.

Hawaii Catholic Herald (Honolulu), October 15 and 16, 1953.

Herald Tribune (New York), May 1, 1951.

<u>Keesing's Contemporary Archives: 1950-1952</u>. Vol. VIII. London: Keesing's Publications Ltd., 1950.

<u>New Life</u> (Kanggye POW Camp, North Korea), January, 1951.

<u>New York Times</u>. 1950-1955.

People's China (Peking), May 16, 1952.

The Call Bulletin (San Francisco), December 19, 1951.

The Evening Star (Washington), January 21, 1960.

The Minneapolis Star. May 25 and 26, 1951.

San Diego Union. July 7, 1951.

Washington Post. 1950-1953.

Wichita Eagle. November 27, 1955.

#### Other Sources

- British Army. Training Film, Prisoner. 907 MT4(e). Unclassified, copy held by Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D. C.
- Chief of Chaplains, Department of Defense. Biographical file, case of Captain Emil J. Kapaun, USA.

Fink, Gerald, Major, USMC. Personal notes.

Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps. Public Information News Release 81, September, 1950.

\_\_\_\_\_. Division of Information Position Paper, n.d., made public in April, 1954. Copy held by the author.

MacDonald, J. Angus, Major, USMC. "Religion in POW Camps." Unpublished MS. Copy filed in Historical Branch, G-3 Division, HQMC.

- Mayer, William E., Major, USA, MC. "Communist Indoctrination-Its Significance to Americans," Speech before the Freedom Forum, Searcy, Arkansas, April 15, 1957.
- McCool, Felix J., CWO, USMC. Tape recording. Enclosure 1 to letter to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, September 24, 1954. Filed with G-2 Division, HQMC.

Naval Aviation News, Nav Aer No. 00-75R-3, November, 1953.

- U. S. Army Chaplain School, Fort Slocum, New York. Student Handout 2-CD-FD (December, 1957). Copy filed in Chief of Chaplains Office, Department of Defense.
- Thornton, John W. "POW Story," Unpublished MS. Copy filed in Historical Branch, G-3 Division, HQMC.