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# "Brainwashing" and the Death of Jean Pasqualini

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Abstract. This article describes some salient psychological Issues related to the concept of "brainwashing."

Jean Pasqualini was a political prisoner within the camp-prison system of the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) for about 7 years between 1957 and 1964. With his recent death in Paris at age 71, one can profit from a reconsideration of his book, Prisoner of Mao, that was published in French in 1973.

One significant contribution of the book is its detailed description and analysis of psychological techniques that radically affect intrapsychic and behavioral processes--commonly called "brainwashing."

The social psychological literature on extreme psychological influence in a political context commonly differentiates among compliance, identification, and internalization. The first most often suggests behavioral conformity without any significant intrapsychic change--structural, dynamic, economic, and so on. Instead, one decides to "look like" or just "looks like" what authorities have requested--frequently to increase the probability of positive and/or negative reinforcement and to decrease the probability of omission training and/or punishment. The second--identification--most often suggests that one believes-consciously and unconsciously--that aspects of the authorities or what they advocate are worthy of emulation. Also, identification may suggest one believes that there is significant similarity between how one perceives oneself to really be and how the authorities or what they advocate are. Along with this suggestion may come some variant of empathy or resonance. The third--internalization--most often suggests a cognitive, emotional, and motivational accommodation. One actually has experienced a significant, intrapsychic modification analogous to taking something outside of oneself and bringing it inside. The result is most often change throughout the self, not some impervious compartmentalization.

Pasqualini posited that the PRC's camp-prison authorities were unsurpassed in effecting internalization through a combination of isolation, manual labor, interrogation, and self-criticism and criticism of others. As opposed to inducing belief that one has committed behaviors that one has not committed, the authorities more frequently intended to induce a change of valuation--from more to less positive--of the behaviors that one had indeed committed.

Human rights advocates have ceaselessly highlighted such abuses in attempts to decrease the frequency of their occurrence. These advocates do this by focusing on a behavioral analysis of perpetrator strategies and tactics more than on the psychological consequences. While these human rights efforts are admirable, they are incomplete. Political, social, and communications psychologists can make a strong case that similar consequences can, are, and will be effected through ever more finely honed strategies and tactics of rhetoric, social discourse, and marketing. In an era of globalization and technological change, one may experience the psychological consequences of "brainwashing" while continually living in a virtual camp-prison system. (See Faison, S. (October 13, 1997). Jean Pasqualini dies at 71: Told of China's Penal Horrors. The New York Times, p. C16; Galanti, G. (1993). Cult conversion, deprogramming, and the triune brain. Cultic Studies Journal, 10, 45-52; Lifton, R. J. (1989/1961). Thought reform and the psychology of totalism: A study of "brainwashing in China. Chapel Hill:

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