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CAPTIVITY PSYCHOSES AMONG PRISONERS OF WAR

Walter A. Lunden

This article is based upon the experiences of the author as a prison officer with the United States Army in England, France and Germany from 1943 to 1946. He was Assistant Professor of Sociology in the University of Pittsburgh from 1931 to 1942. He was with the British 21st Army in 1944 and was Chief of the Prison Branch Office of Military Government for Bavaria in 1945-1946. Since 1947 he is Professor of Sociology in the Iowa State College.—Editor.

In spite of the two major wars in the past 25 years which have involved millions of prisoners of war there is a relative scarcity of material on the subject of captivity psychosis. A number of stories have appeared in the popular magazines in America in the form of personal experiences or diaries. In England and France members of the Army Medical Corps who have been prisoners of war have contributed a few articles to the various army medical journals. Capt. J. K. Drucquer who was wounded at El Alamein in July 1942 and imprisoned later in Italy describes the general behaviour of 600 of his fellow prisoners in a monastery in the Calibrian Hills. Capt. A. L. Cochrane, a British prisoner of war in Crete, analyzes the conduct of the prisoners in his stockade in terms of Gefangenheit. In 1942 Mr. J. Dublineau presented a report on the psychological behaviour of French prisoners of war from the viewpoint of the French army. In addition to these there are two treatises on repatriated prisoners of war after return to England by Major Neuman and Dr. W. H. Wiles.

Captivity Psychosis and Prison Psychosis

In discussing the problem of captivity psychosis it should be made clear that it is not to be identified with prison psychosis which has been explained by Nitsche and Wilmanns. Prison psychosis differs from captivity psychosis in that the individuals concerned and the surroundings are entirely different. Prison

psychosis is the psychological reaction of a criminal who has been sentenced by a court for a crime committed against a law and who serves a sentence in an institution set up specifically for the punishment of offenders. Such prisoners by virtue of the fact that they are criminals are very often a select group of persons generally classified as anti-social. Captivity psychosis is the mental reaction of a soldier who has been captured by an enemy and thus made a prisoner of war. The prisoner of war, while a prisoner, has not committed a crime against society, unless it be that of being captured by an enemy. In general, society places no stigma upon the prisoner of war. In a few instances the military code may attach a certain degree of disgrace to capture by the enemy; not so the civilian population. On the contrary, the general public in Western society has often showered special privileges upon repatriated prisoners of war. The return of a French prisoner of war to his own community in 1944 has often been given a special note far above that of the return of the average soldier discharged after years of combat duty. A prisoner of war stockade may be referred to as “Stalag” so and so, but it is never placed in the same category as the “Big House Up the River.” Another highly important psychological difference between the criminal prisoner and the prisoner of war is in the fact that the criminal knows in advance the date of his release, whereas the prisoner of war never knows when he will be liberated, if at all.

Ordinarily there is very little, if any, esprit de corps among criminals in a prison whereas in a prisoner of war stockade there is often a close in-group relationship. Prisoners of war are bound together into group solidarity much the same as in their original combat organization with ranks and a division of work according to their status. Each camp has a camp commander among the prisoners, a staff and subordinate groups which allow for the administration and self-government within the limits of the enclosure. In addition there are always certain men assigned to “intelligence duty” to collect and disseminate all information relative to the enemy, methods of escape and certain military information. Therefore, the entire psychological outlook, past conditions and future hopes of a prisoner of war are entirely different from that of a criminal prisoner. To a limited degree the same may be said of political prisoners or persons held in concentration camps. These, however, are different types of persons and the entire purpose and method of operation of concentration camps are different from prisoner of war stockades. It may be admitted that the methods em-
employed in the treatment in both are somewhat identical but not as a whole.6

The treatment of criminals in prison may be severe but it is never subject to the range of circumstances surrounding the war prisoners. The vicissitudes of war reduce life in the prison stockade to the barest necessities in spite of the agreements which have been set up under the Geneva articles. Again much depends on the location of the camp and the development of the war, whether at the beginning, the end or in a winning or a losing nation. German prisoners held in the United States were given quite different treatment than German prisoners held by the Allies on the mainland of Europe after the invasion. Allied prisoners of war held by the Germans in the south of Germany were treated better than the prisoners held in the north of Germany. At the same time Italian prisoners held in England received many more liberties than German prisoners in the same areas. Almost invariably, Allied prisoners held by the Japanese were treated much more inhumanely than prisoners held by the Germans and the Italian armies. To a very large degree the treatment of prisoners of war depends on the camp commander. One may operate a stockade humanely while another in the same country may not. Some of the French prisoners held by the Germans in southern Germany were assigned to farms where they lived much as hired farm hands. Most of these were in good health and normal when they were later returned to France and, in a few instances, some preferred to remain in Germany. In a few cases the French army forcibly repatriated prisoners who remained in Bavaria. Of those German prisoners of war who have been returned from Russia almost all are in very poor health and show marked physical deterioration.

Some authorities have assumed that the psychological reactions of the prisoner of war and those of the criminal prisoner are the same. Further they have pointed out that since both are prisoners more or less identical administrative practices and procedures can be set up for the prisoner of war stockade and for the civil prison.

It is true that the criminal and the soldier, in an enemy stockade, are both prisoners, both are behind walls or barbed wire and both suffer from isolation or confinement but beyond this there are vast psychological differences. A guilt complex

seldom appears among prisoners of war where as it often does among criminal prisoners. The imprisoned soldier can face society without fear or uneasiness, whereas the criminal, unless he is an unusual type, always looks upon society as a “hand turned against him.” The soldier is held by virtue of a tactical error or the result of an unwise military operation. When troops are taken as prisoners of war their loss is charged against the command or tactical responsibility of the commander of the troops so captured. For the criminal, his actions and his designs are the primary element which places him “behind bars” in a civil prison. It is true that such a prisoner or his accomplice may have made a “mistake” in plans but they are responsible for the end result. These factors play an important role in the reactions of men in confinement. In rare instances a platoon commander may feel the responsibility for the capture of his men, where or if there may have been an opportunity to have saved them. In such cases an officer may develop a certain type of a guilt complex but this is entirely different from the reactions of the criminal. The platoon commander is concerned with the safety and welfare of his men and not for himself as in the case of the criminal.

Beyond these considerations it should be made clear that the administration of a prisoner of war stockade and that of a civil prison are different. With few exceptions the internal affairs of the war prison are managed by the captured officers and men within the enclosure. In most installations the captor guards deal only with the superior or ranking enemy officer in the stockade. Orders or instructions are given to him and he in turn passes the orders on to his comrades. In a certain sense this ranking officer in the stockade is responsible for his men to the captor guards. This whole situation of internal responsibility for conditions within the stockade and the concern of the captor guards for external affairs sets up a different pattern of controls and discipline which makes a prisoner of war camp very different from a civil prison in which criminal prisoners assume no or very little responsibility for the affairs within the walls of the prison.

Confinement, inactivity, and isolation may develop a form of “stir craze” among both criminals and war prisoners. If or when it happens men may be treated somewhat alike but in the war stockade it is the men in the enclosure who deal with the situation. The captor guards do not trouble themselves about the problem unless it endangers the security of the
stockade. In a civil prison the guards are responsible of treating men for "stir craze" or similar developments.

War prisons and civil prisons, therefore, even though they both are prisons and both confine prisoners cannot be considered from the same psychological basis and cannot be held to be identical from an operational point of view. It is the well known situation of the "Two Bricks." Two bricks may have been made in the same factory from the same mold and may look alike, but if one brick is built into a prison wall and the other into a garden wall the whole configuration changes. The bricks are bricks and the walls are walls but beyond this there are vast dissimilarities.

*MENTALITY AT TIME OF CAPTURE*

In general the mental or psychological stability of a prisoner of war varies according to the stage of captivity or the time factor. With few exceptions most prisoners of war are taken in combat or intense fighting when most of their energy has been spent and they are near the end of their endurance. Strange as it may seem, very few soldiers, if any, anticipate or prepare for capture. It comes as a completely unanticipated misfortune. Capt. Cochrane stated that in spite of five days of rear-guard fighting of British troops in Crete none of them thought of capture, although all of them had known what happened at Dunkirk. Most of the men had thought of death but never of capture.

At the moment of capture, there occurs a strange psychological experience which few men have been able to describe. All prisoners are disarmed and immediately evacuated to a place in the rear of the fighting. Surrender itself is a shock which often causes soldiers to become docile in the hands of the captors. Coming out of combat some men are wounded, disabled or suffering from one or another type of physical or mental shock. The able help the disabled and the mortally wounded remain to die where they have fallen. During this mobile stage there is little time for reflection, for anyone who shows signs of hesitation or delay is immediately shot by the captors. Each group of captives moves blindly according to orders to a certain temporary position pending preliminary screening and further movement. There is no time to think and there is only grim silence connected with a certain amount of disappointment bordering on a mild feeling of disgrace at being taken by the enemy. The behavior of the prisoners depends very largely on the position of the battle or the stage of the war.

Early in the war most German prisoners were well clothed,
well fed, usually healthy and strong with a high degree of morale as to the issues of the war. They were certain of victory and felt that their period of captivity would be only a matter of days or months. But German prisoners taken in the late summer and fall of 1944 had a changed mentality. Some of them were younger, in their teens, poorly clothed and ill fed. Many felt that the war had already been lost and would soon be at an end. Consequently they were resigned to their fate as captives and were relieved now their fighting days were over. Most of the men at this stage, became large masses of inert, silent uncommunicative groups. By this time many of them had heard through various sources that the Allies did not mistreat prisoners as they had been informed earlier in the war. In the final stages of the war there were, of course, large contingents or units which surrendered en masse without resistance. They were prisoners of war but entirely different in their behavior. A few, expressed a feeling of joy and relief. They were no longer the German soldiers the Allies had encountered months before.

Collection Center “Stupor”

In the initial stage in the collection centers, pending future movements to the interior, almost all prisoners lie down alone or in small groups. They remain silent with no apparent interest in anything, even escape. Escape very seldom takes place at this stage because of the captives’ physical condition and the presence of numbers of the enemy. In some cases prisoners at this stage are prone to criticize their own commanders. Their criticism is a complaint against conditions or an attempt to rationalize their situation. British prisoners in Crete felt that the High Command were “dithering incompetent idiots.” This frame of mind together with the physical exhaustion generally brings about complete inertia among prisoners such that they want to be left alone. To the captors this seems like a form of mass stupor often misunderstood as docility.

The mentality of prisoners of war in this first stage, therefore, may be characterized as a stunned stupor and a mild form of chagrin with some degree of anger. Beneath this most prisoners conceal a basic fear of the unknown or of “what comes next.” Also at this stage the mentality of the captives depends on the quality of their leadership. If officers are separated from the enlisted men the situation is much more serious. An alert officer or enlisted man, aware of the situation may be able to orient his comrades to their new situation and maintain a degree of confidence or morale. This requires a rare type of leadership
found only in highly integrated platoons or companies of soldiers who have had much combat experience together.

The detention in the collection center after capture is usually only for a short period of examination, classification and preliminary interrogation. Apart from the effects of physical exhaustion, lack of food and shelter there is little change in the mentality of the prisoners. A few who suffer from combat shock may "go to pieces" but these cases are rare. In one case a German prisoner of 17 years broke down and cried like a child of five continually asking for his mother.

In the Permanent Camp

Subsequent to the screening at the collection center the prisoners are moved farther to the rear to a more or less permanent camp where they remain for an indefinite time, depending on the conditions and the military operations. During these long marches, sometimes called the "Death March" by Americans, prisoners undergo extreme hardships, especially in winter months. Movement toward an objective is the primary factor and there can be no delays. Stragglers or those who fall in the line of march are shot or left to die. Food is at a minimum and there is little if any time for rest. Physical exhaustion, hunger and cold may reduce men to mere machines, motivated only by the urge to keep on their feet and the hope that once they arrive at the stockade there may be time for rest, relaxation and perhaps letter writing. Only the extreme types show peculiar mental traits at this stage. This is due to the fact that captives are combat men, highly trained and selected to the point where the weaker have already been eliminated. Here it is a sheer struggle for survival and to keep moving.

The Adjustment to Stockade Life

In general the arrival at the prison stockade or enclosure is a complete de mal en pis (from bad to worse) for stockades are always without food. They have very little if any water, no place to sleep and they offer very little medical or surgical service. At this stage the prisoner undergoes a peculiar mental process. He is stripped of his reputation, his prestige and often of his friends. The psychological effect of the propaganda of his own army fades into thin air and he becomes keenly aware of the power and force of the enemy. In some stockades the captors make special efforts to disabuse the minds of the prisoners of any and all ideas of the glory of his own army or the justness of the cause for which he has been fighting. In some
cases planned misinformation in the form of counter propaganda has been forced on the prisoners through a system of address and public announcements. In a few stockades prisoners have been required to stand formation to listen to the “news” relating to the defeat, capture, or surrender of certain of their own forces. In some instances the captor guards assume a “trigger happy” attitude toward the prisoners and shoot into the enclosure killing prisoners who, supposedly or actually, are too close to the barbed wire surrounding the enclosure. In a few cases guards have fired into the prison to “maintain discipline” or to let the “damned prisoners know who is boss around here.” All these conditions of orientation by the captors create a general condition of tension and disorder but it soon wears off. After a few days the captives and captors make a kind of adjustment.

Captivity psychosis, if it arises, will appear after the prisoner has arrived at this more or less permanent stockade where men are held for long periods of time. In a certain sense life in the stockade has some semblance to a military pattern. Theoretically the soldier’s pay goes on, he retains his rank and is still a soldier and a member of a “great army.” While he is out of combat the fighting still goes on somewhere and he is vaguely aware that the day will come, if he lives, when he will be liberated.

After the first few days of “captor conditioning” the prisoner begins to make his first adjustment in a new world where old standards no longer exist. Major Newman points out that he “licks his wounds and wakes up.” He begins to take an interest in his surroundings and tries to make his camp as habitable as possible. Men begin once more to shave, if they have the equipment, and to undress for bed, provided they have a place to sleep. Each prisoner attempts to make his situation as home-like as possible by placing a family picture on a ledge and by a kind of orderliness of his personal effects. In this stage of recovery or return of morale prisoners may develop a sense of revenge or grudge against their own government or superiors. Much depends on the treatment as well as the general nature of the enclosure. Also at this stage certain antagonisms arise in the camp, especially so if there are mixed nationality groups in the enclosure. Often German and Austrian prisoners fought in the same stockade and north Germans from Prussia quarreled violently with prisoners from the south of Bavaria. Among British prisoners Australians and New Zealanders were opposed to the Englishmen in the camp and Scottish and Irish troops opposed both groups. In a few stockades the captor guards fos-
tered these quarrels as a matter of sport as well as of general policy to divide the enemy.

With few exceptions prisoners of war are confined *en masse* or in herd fashion and not in a solitary manner; therefore the peculiar mentality of solitary confinement does not enter into the psychological problem. The amount and the type of captivity psychosis among prisoners depends very largely on a number of factors surrounding the place of confinement, the numbers within the camp, the method of treatment, as well as the degree of group solidarity. Capt. Deucquer indicated that of the 600 prisoners in his group there was no psychological problem, and that the problem itself has been over-emphasized. The prisoners lived a surprisingly normal life in the old monastery. In general the disorders are much the same as among other groups of men such as ships' crews at sea or persons on extended polar expeditions. Admiral Byrd has pointed out some of these conditions in his report on his first South Pole Expedition. The seriousness of the mental condition depends on the individual, the length of time in the stockade and the gravity or intensity of a man's reaction to the situation. Some individuals are able to stand enclosure life better than others. The prisoner's age, social background, and social status also play an important part in mental stability. Much depends on the number of contacts with the outside world, especially through mail or relief agencies such as the International Red Cross. Working prisoners have a better chance of remaining normal than non-working prisoners. If the prisoners work outside the stockade a part of the day the change diverts the attention of the individual and helps him to remain normal. In some of the prisoner of war stockades in southern Germany prisoners worked in the nearby villages and cities clearing rubble and debris. This gave the men a limited contact with the civilian population and an opportunity to see life "on the outside". If prisoners are able to initiate some local theatrical talent or types of recreation the routine may be broken and life may be kept almost to a normal level. In an installation in eastern Germany at Tittmoning, not far from Salzburg, a mixture of English, Dutch and Americans were interned in an old castle. Certain prisoners developed a local theater, others instituted games in the castle yard while others circulated the limited amount of reading material available. An officer with a flair for art painted a large mural in one of the rooms showing the Capitol building in Washington while on the opposite wall he painted a large picture of Washington crossing the Delaware River. In addition, prisoners were permitted to go to the nearby town where they obtained the food rations and other supplies for the
enclosure. In spite of primitive and crowded conditions these prisoners lived for almost two years without serious immediate mental difficulties.

Unless prison work has some connection to immediate advantages or is related to escape or sabotage most prisoners develop a malingering attitude about labor. Slowness or minimum effort becomes a duty. In fact, guards often become suspicious when prisoners work too hard. As a general rule a "happy" singing or whistling prisoner is never trusted. Some captors have overcome this condition by hanging a fellow prisoner by the arms while other prisoners are engaged in a work project. The prisoner is allowed to hang until the work is completed. Without an exception work is speeded up rather than allow a fellow prisoner to be tortured. It sometimes happens that prisoners develop a peculiar "Barbed wire" madness and refuse to work altho their efforts may benefit themselves and other prisoners.

**The Abrasion of Time**

The isolation and the indefiniteness of the time of confinement within the stockade creates a certain sense of futility among prisoners which becomes more acute as the months pass. American prisoners who were sure that their families in the States were "safe" were able to maintain a better balance than those Dutch, French or other Allied soldiers who had families in or near the combat zone. The endless hoping and waiting creates a restless expectation, uncertainty and a demoralizing melancholia which is often hard to combat. Some men refuse to talk or take part in camp affairs. Others busy themselves with various types of manual work in order to break the monotony and the tension. One prisoner with some musical ability drew a full length piano key board on a table at which he fingered each day in an effort to "keep up" his musical technique as well as to break the monotony.

Prisoners tend to divide their thinking in terms of the past, the present and the future. Talk centers about conditions at home or with the other men still in combat. The present problem of how to keep going, how to get enough food, clothing, shelter, plans for escape and contacts with the outside occupy most of the time. When the food is not sufficient for normal life the prisoner at first makes an effort to sustain himself. If the shortage persists physical deterioration sets in and then finally general apathy. Carried to an extreme the prisoner may prefer death rather than continued imprisonment.

If the confinement becomes long with few or no contacts with
The outside prisoners become irritable. They get tired of seeing the same "damn faces" every morning and night. Men who have been very good friends may quarrel or fight over small matters which later seem meaningless. Men either become sullen and dull or "blow their top" in an effort to relieve the pressure. They often lose their perspective and fail to understand ordinary procedures. They develop a mild form of mania for talk or endless chatter about anything. One of the most common symptoms among prisoners in this stage is the daily complaint of "brain fag" and the inability to concentrate for any length of time. This may manifest itself in a constant getting up and sitting down in the midst of a meal, a theatrical production or group discussions. Every prisoner finds that his memory fails him in some way. He cannot remember dates, names, streets, addresses or his own phone number in his home. The past seems to fade out and there is only the present. Often as a matter of banter one prisoner asks another if he knows his first or middle name this morning. The usual reply is, "Well, as long as I know my first name, I'll get by another day." These tests for "Stir craze" may assume all forms and varieties. Connected with "Brain Fag" is a feeling of physical exhaustion and a need for more sleep. Prisoners are often more tired when they wake up in the morning than when they go to sleep. Some prisoners complain of defective eyesight, hearing and of smell. During this period they also become suspicious of comrades and often misinterpret their actions. Unless the tension is relieved intense hatred develops against some person either among the prisoners or the guards. In one stockade in which Americans were held a near riot was averted by the chance appearance of a stray animal within the limits of the enclosure. The prisoners became so concerned about the animal as an oddity and a possible source of food that they forgot the accumulated anger.

If the period of imprisonment extends into three or four years the problem of mental balance becomes serious for some prisoners. Capt. Cochrane calls the condition, "Acute Gefangenitis". The first year in the stockade is largely a matter of adjustment, the second is easier after the adjustment has been made. In the third year strain begins to tell on the men and in the fourth year "no one comes out 'unscathed' unless he is an unusual individual."

Sex Habits of War Prisoners

Some observers contend that prisoners of war develop certain
sex complexes or irregularities if confined for a long period. Major Newman points out that the lack of feminine life is “the” important factor not so much because of the physiological factor but more because of the feminine outlook and companionship. Again much depends on the general character and location of the camp. Prisoners isolated from the civilian population appear to make a better adjustment than those who are in enclosures near cities. Some Italian and a few French prisoners developed a fear of insanity and impotence from the lack of the actual physical act. No cases have been observed where German or English prisoners have suffered from this point of view. The sex life within the enclosure is related to the sex life of the prisoners prior to imprisonment. Men who have been homosexuals before imprisonment continue their practices. In a few stockades there appears to have been an increase of masturbation although it is impossible to determine the amount with any degree of accuracy. Capt. Drucquer stated that homosexuality was not a problem and in fact was much less among the 600 prisoners in Italy than in the army in peace times in India. In many stockades the lack of food and prison life is such as to reduce the normal sex stimulus. Also as long as men have few if any contacts with women or if none are seen and there are no “pin-up girls” about, sex stimulus tends to be reduced to a minimum. In one stockade when a “new” prisoner arrived who had recently been in England just prior to capture he told his fellow prisoners “and now remember boys, the girls still love you”. This comment revived recollections which had long been forgotten.

The Extent of Captivity Psychosis

The incidence or severity of captivity psychosis cannot be stated with any degree of certainty or generality, for conditions vary from camp to camp and from individual to individual. Severe cases have always been connected with persons suffering from some type of physical disability or brutality of treatment. In the worst prison stockades it appears that captivity psychosis appears to affect about 10 per cent of the prisoners with about one percent becoming serious enough to require treatment after release. Of course, it is impossible to include those who have died while in prison. Except for a few cases men usually recover within a period of weeks or a few months after repatriation. The actual effects of captivity psychosis, it must be remembered, are often not evident during the time of imprisonment. Some prisoners who make easy and good adjustments while in the camp have found greatest difficulties after repatriation and re-
turn to their home communities. Major Newman speaks of this condition as "Cassion Disease". He points out that underwater workers and divers suffer from the "Bends" or Nitrogen bubbles in the blood if they are returned too rapidly to the surface after hours of work under the water. Prisoners of war living under certain conditions of pressure and restraint in the stockade find life in their own community upon return very strange. They become extremely restless, irritable and manifest certain peculiar traits of dishonesty. They often fear crowds, small rooms and display a certain cynical embarrassment. Of the 100 prisoners of war returned from the Far East to England which required special treatment Dr. Whiles reported that 24 of the men suffered from psychological disturbances which had developed under combat or stress prior to capture. Half of these men had come from abnormal homes. Of the same group 44 showed definite signs of behavior which had developed while in the prison stockade. Over half of the men suffered from a guilt complex because of their capture while others were troubled because they were afraid that they would not be wanted in their homes. About 20 of the men found that their problem was related to the fact that their own family had been broken by the war during their period of service in the army. Some developed a fear of becoming a bore in talking to people who they thought would not understand them while others assumed a "Rip Van Winkle" attitude about life in general. Almost invariably captivity psychosis was more acute among those cases where delays occurred in the return to their home after arrival in England. This delay increased the anxiety which was very difficult to overcome at a later date.

According to the Geneva Convention of 1917 prisoners of war suffering from captivity psychosis who have been confined for more than 18 months were to be evacuated to neutral control to be treated under a system of gradual parole in order to help them to return to normal life. In World War II there is no information available at present to indicate how widely these provisions have been carried out by the respective nations at war.