

Bobby, Curt

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MAR 2 1944

Dear Mr. Bondy:

Thank you for your letter of February 21,
1944, enclosing copies of "Rehabilitating the Internee"
and "Observation and Reseducation of German Prisoners of
War".

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle
Acting Executive Director

Mr. Curt Bondy,
901 West Franklin Street,
Richmond 20, Virginia.

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Hutchinson
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CURT BONDY
901 WEST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 29, VIRGINIA

February 21, 1944

Mr. John W. Pehle
War Refugee Board
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

Enclosed I am sending you an article
which may interest you in connection with
your work with the War Refugee Board.

Very sincerely yours,

Curt Bondy

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REHABILITATING THE INTERNEE

By CURT BONDY

WHEN Allied armies march into liberated territory, they inherit the concentration camps, the internment centers, and the refugee camps—the rotting sores of Nazi rule. Through systematic suppression or neglect, the inhabitants of these camps have been profoundly affected. Some will be hopelessly apathetic, others neurotic wrecks. All will, in some measure, be a special problem for the military administrator. In discussing the rehabilitation of these internees, Dr. Bondy looks not only at the psychological problem of

readjustment but also at the administrative complexities involved.

The author has worked extensively with internees and refugees in this country, Germany, England, Holland, and Belgium, as an administrator and consultant. A refugee himself, he left Germany in 1939. In Germany, before Hitler, he wrote extensively on the rehabilitation of criminals and delinquents. He is at the present time Assistant Professor of Psychology at the Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William and Mary.

THE IDEAL SOLUTION of the problem of such internment camps as are found by the Allied armies in liberated or conquered European territory would be their immediate dissolution. The handling of internees would then not differ much from that of the free population. This ideal solution, however, will not always be possible. Some internees will not be able to go home, either because their home country is still occupied or because no transportation is available; still other reasons may prevent the immediate dissolution of the camp. Certain camps will have to be continued for some time. It may even become necessary, indeed, to establish new camps; for example, for large groups of fresh refugees from the battle zone who otherwise cannot be cared for.

Excluding the millions of prisoners of war, whom we will not discuss in this article, there are probably many hundred thousands of people now interned in the different European countries.¹ There are concentration camps, camps for civil war prisoners, camps for refugees, evacuees, and deportees, and forced labor camps—all varying in kind and size.

All age groups, men and women, are found in these camps. They have been interned for many different reasons: because they belonged to an enemy nation; because they were opposed to the present regime; because they belonged to another party, another creed, another race; because they refused to take the oath of allegiance to Hitler (Jehovah's

¹ For estimates of the number of dislocated Europeans, see Clarence Pickett's discussion of the problem in this issue, pp. 592-605.—THE EDITOR.

witnesses); because they had to flee from their own countries. There are people in the camps who refused to work, or who are vagrants, criminals, or homosexuals. They come from all professions, and from all social and economic groups. The only thing these people have in common is the fact that they are forced to stay in a camp for an unlimited period.

Each camp properly dissolved or managed, each internee properly treated, released, or prepared for release will not only help the individual internee but contribute greatly to the restoration of order and peace.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE INTERNEES

When an administrator enters an internment camp for the first time, he may undergo an experience as stirring as going into active battle for the first time. He should go in with full consciousness and with senses keen and alert. This first impression should not be forgotten. Here are human beings whom he has seen before only in pictures: sick and starving people, clad in rags, backs bent, with undressed wounds and sores, dirty, stinking, unshaved. He will not forget how they look: sad, longing, impudent, insisting, afraid, depressed. *His* first impressions: pity, horror, and aversion. *Their* impression on seeing him well clad, well fed, satisfied: hope and jealousy. This is the situation in many camps; possibly it may be not so bad in all.

The administrator who knows beforehand what to expect will not be discouraged about tackling work in such a camp. He must ask: How did these people become what they are? What can I do to help them recover? He knows that some years ago they looked as he looks, once lived as happily, and are as well educated.

Why have these people changed so much? The reason is the entirely *unnatural influences of internment*. The internee is isolated—isolated from his family, the other sex, his friends, his usual vocation, and from all influences to which he was accustomed. He feels degraded. Here on the one hand are the internees, and there on the other is the "dominant class" of the guards and the free population who have what he has not—freedom, money, social standing and recognition, and usually enough to eat and to smoke.² He is a nothing here, a number. No one cares about him, no one loves him. Worst of all is the uncertainty about the length of his stay in the camp, the "indeterminate sentence." From my own

² Cf. Clarence R. Johnson, *Prisoner of War*, Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1941.

experience in a concentration camp I know that this uncertainty is worse than all other pains of the internment. It can break the resistance of any man. Besides this, other uncertainties nag him: What is happening to his family? Are his children still living? What will happen to his country, to his home? What will he do after the war is over?

In addition to all this, the influence of living in a mass has made its contribution. Few men indeed are able to withstand the lowering effect of the mass. Often the worst individuals, not the best ones, exert the strongest influence. The longer the stay in the crowd, the greater the loss of each man's individuality. The general level is always lowering. Moral standards change. Many internees are in the process of losing all shame, are becoming mean and cruel, full of hate and resentment; they are losing all higher interest. It is very difficult to interest them in anything which is not directly concerned with the satisfaction of their drives: self-preservation, hunger, thirst, and sex.

People in the camps become fed up with one another, become restless, nervous, and intolerant; thus quarrels and fights among internees are very common. By and by they develop an absolutely false picture of life. Freedom, family, and fatherland tend to be glorified. They lose all sense of proportion, can no longer discriminate between what is important and what is unimportant. Typical is their attitude towards rumors. The most incredible rumors are spread and believed, arousing a strong feeling of excited elation, usually followed by deepest depression.

But there are also men in the camps who are able to withstand these difficulties, who become greater and wiser, and who may have an enormous positive influence on the other internees. There are others too who, though not strong enough to withstand the impact of internment and mass influence, will recover at once if the situation changes. These are the fortunate ones.

The others constitute the real problem of handling internees. *Three groups need special consideration* by the administrators. (1) Many of the internees will be physically sick, the resistance of nearly all being at the lowest point because of lack of sufficient food. (2) Another group, which will probably be a pretty large one, are those internees who must be regarded as mentally unbalanced or ill. Besides the insane there will be a larger group of neurotics showing sleeplessness, fear, obsessions, and other neurotic symptoms. (3) The largest of the three groups will very likely be those people who have become wayward. Waywardness is the

concentration of the whole psychic energy on the satisfaction of basic drives without interest in such considerations as higher values or moral conduct. Waywardness will appear in different degrees. Many internees will change quickly to normal conduct if returned to normal living. But we must also realize that there will be some whose personalities have changed deeply and who, now potentially dangerous, are very likely to become real criminals.

Such are the people with whom the foreign administrator has to work. He must never forget how they became as they are, nor that the first and most important step in rehabilitating them is to remove them from the harrowing atmosphere of internment.

REORGANIZATION OF INTERNMENT CAMPS

Many of the internment camps found by the Allied Armies will be in a very bad condition indeed. The retreating enemy is not interested in leaving well-organized camps. The camps will very likely be inadequately supplied and in a complete state of chaos. The first tasks, therefore, will be the provision of food, clothing, and medical care for the internees and the restoring of order in the camp.

The final reorganization of the camp has to be prepared carefully. The fact that camps are to be only temporary will have influence on all the planning. That fact should be made clear to all concerned. The internees are generally not criminals, they have not committed any offense, and, with certain exceptions, their internment is not technically legal. Thus the administration should provide the kind of treatment for the internees which is no more restrictive than necessary for the maintenance of order and discipline. The internees should receive as much freedom, responsibility, and opportunity for self-government as possible.

On the other hand, the pitiful and difficult state of mind of the internees will require an especially efficient administration, absolute regularity, and clearly fixed rights and duties. *Everything that is possible should be done to normalize the life of the internees, to help them in their preparation for living at large.* Removal of wire fences, granting leaves of absence, permitting visitors, and paying for work done in the camp—these might be some of the necessary steps.

In larger camps the organization of "departments" has much to recommend itself. A health department would find urgent work in the camp as a whole in sanitation, diet, etc., as well as in the special care of

the insane and sick. A labor department could assume the double task of getting all necessary work done for the camp, and reeducating the internees to regular work—retraining them if necessary. Many may have forgotten how or be unwilling to work. An educational and recreational department would be of the utmost importance for normalizing the lives of internees and for helping them to be able to live again outside the camp.

Still more important, perhaps, is a department of social work designed to deal with personal difficulties, and above all, with the direct preparation for release: communication with other members of the family, with the home communities of the internees, with the local authorities, with welfare organizations, and so on. In this whole work, needless to say, the specialists must have their place: the administrator, the physician, the psychiatrist, the teacher, and the social worker. Here the cooperation of specialists among the internees themselves is most important.

The right *grouping* of internees is very important, for the smaller the groups, the less the corrupting mass influence, and the easier the handling and regeneration of the internees. How the formation of smaller and more homogeneous groups can be carried out depends largely on the kind, the size, and the facilities of the particular camp. Probably in many camps not even the sexes have been segregated. Now families should be brought together if possible. Children without their parents, and adolescents should be kept and cared for separately. Another grouping could be made according to nationality; often a great amount of disturbance and disorder comes from the indiscriminate mingling of different nationalities and races. Different political groups may also be fighting one another. Finally there is the possibility of grouping according to different needs of treatment. Insane and sick people should be completely separated. A high degree of waywardness and criminality constitutes a constant threat against order and discipline. If criminal and innocent people are kept together, the methods of treatment for both groups would necessarily be determined by the handling of the criminals.

These different principles of grouping, only touched on here, can be skillfully combined, according to experience, and put into action according to the special needs of each camp.

REEDUCATION AND REHABILITATION OF THE INTERNEES

In the treatment of the internees we have to keep in mind that the aim is twofold: to make the unnatural life in camp as endurable as possible, and to help the internees in their preparation for a life of freedom. There is always the danger that an administrator will be satisfied with the smooth operation of the camp, whereas this orderly routine, desirable as it is, should be only a means towards fulfilling the two chief tasks.

The task is to counteract those causes which produce the corrupting effect of internment camps. To diminish the isolation, the internees should be given as much relationship as possible with the outer world by correspondence, by leaves of absence, by contact with visitors, lecturers, teachers, and artists from outside. The feeling of social degradation can be partly balanced by appropriate treatment from the administrators and their helpers, especially by responsibility and confidence. As far as possible, fixed dates for release should be put down, to take from the internees the depressing feeling of being detained with "indeterminate sentence." They should be frankly told why their release is not possible at once, and about all changes in their status. The more the internees know about the facts, the better they are instructed, the more they can discuss the problems with the administrators—the better it is for all. They must be convinced that now they have fixed rights; above all, they must be convinced that their completely arbitrary treatment is at an end, that they are to be restricted no more than absolutely necessary. To overcome the feeling of uncertainty, the social worker should try to help the internees learn more about their families, about what is going on outside, what will be their future.

Extensive reeducation will, of course, be necessary for many internees. The U.S. Army is giving an astonishing demonstration in its rehabilitation centers of how *mass reeducation* and *rehabilitation* can be achieved.² The extremely high figures of success which are reported are probably due to the following facts: (1) the punished soldiers are engaged in sensible work, their training; (2) they are treated as human beings; (3) they have hope of being completely rehabilitated; and (4) the officers in these rehabilitation centers are more or less consciously devel-

² Don Wharton, "The Army's Black Sheep," *Common Sense*, October, 1943, 376-378. Condensed in *Reader's Digest*, November, 1943, 77-80.

oping personal relationships with the men. The last is one of the most important items of all reeducation. It must, however, be clearly understood that such reeducation and rehabilitation are possible only if the men are held legally and if strong force and influence are possible as with convicted soldiers. Other methods of mass and group education can also be learned by what the Special Service Branch, the Red Cross, and the U.S.O. are doing for the entertainment and education of the soldiers. It will be necessary to make a thorough study of these methods to find out which of them can be applied to the internment camps, and whether the necessary personnel and funds are available. It probably will be possible to combine some of the efforts for the occupational army and the internment camps.

Group therapy and case work, especially psychiatric case work, can, doubtless, be highly effective; but the right workers for this may not be available.⁴ Efforts should be made to get qualified internees to do this work.

How far the neurotic internee can be treated and can profit by conventional methods of mass and group education will depend on the depth of neurosis and the number of available special helpers. It would be an interesting study for a psychiatrist to find out whether and how the reports on war neuroses compiled by Army, Navy and Marine Corps medical officers could be applied in the treatment of internees who had suffered various forms of shock before and during internment.

Signs of waywardness in lighter forms probably would disappear as a result of organized mass and group influence strengthened by casual personal talks with the social worker. In cases, however, in which waywardness has already very deeply influenced and changed the whole personality—and there will be some such cases—there are no special methods of treatment which can be applied in an internment camp. If these people are really dangerous, a way must be found to bring them into proper institutions.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE FOREIGN ADMINISTRATOR

There is scarcely any administrative or social work more difficult but at the same time more interesting than running a liberated internment camp. The camp leader, and through him his staff, determine the

⁴ S. R. Slavson, *An Introduction to Group Therapy*, New York, 1943. (This book deals with children and adolescents.)

whole atmosphere of the camp. Thus the right selection of the camp leader and his co-workers is of first importance. They must be men who, conscious of their own abilities and limitations, possess strong self-discipline. Harmonious cooperation between staff members, and clear-cut distribution of responsibility are essential.

The power of the camp officials is nearly unlimited. There is a considerable danger here—and a peculiar attraction, especially for a young administrator—of enjoying and misusing the enormous power which is given him over the internees.

The administrator will be in great danger of becoming distrustful and contemptuous of his charges. Internees usually are not very pleasant company. They will not be frank with him. How can they be? They have been disappointed so often. They have learned to use all possible means to get food and clothes and extra advantages. In their choice of method, they are not particular. In spite of all this, the administrator must not become altogether distrustful; on the contrary, he must try to give and gain as much confidence as possible.

That the administrator will have a very hard time in getting the real esteem, respect, and confidence of the internees can be predicted with certainty. He should not overestimate the enthusiasm with which he will doubtless be welcomed at first. It is obvious that if he brings food and hope of freedom, he will be loved more than anyone else. But he will generally be unable to fulfill the exaggerated hopes placed in him by the internees. He cannot possibly bring *enough* food *fast* enough, cannot cause their release at once as they have hoped. Deep depression, distrust, and often hate and resistance will be the natural consequences. He must realize this beforehand, for he must not be personally offended but must try to remain objective and understand such a reaction.

If he has genuine friendliness for and real interest in his charges, they will find it out. Eventually they will feel for the administrator a real trust which will be more solid than the first enthusiasm; for that enthusiasm was given to the food and hope of freedom, not to the person.

Immensely nervous and sensitive as internees are, the least injustice can excite them greatly. They will not tolerate any kind of favoritism. The administrator should be more than cautious in selecting his helpers. Although there will be among the internees excellent personalities who could be of very great help to him, they generally will not be those persons who push themselves forward and with whom the administrator

becomes acquainted at first. The Allied experiences right now in Italy demonstrate well the difficulty of finding the right helpers among the Italians.⁵

There is a great danger that the administrator may act the way many parents and teachers do if they feel unable to cope with the difficulties of their children. He will begin his work with great enthusiasm, great hope, much effort. He will make promises which later on he may not be able to fulfill. The internees, up to now inhumanely treated, will take advantage of his friendly attitude. But internees find it difficult to react appropriately in the new situation; they misuse the freedoms given them. Difficulties arising from all sides, the administrator will become disappointed, discouraged, and nervous. Suddenly he will change his attitude and methods completely. Becoming a martinet, he will now use nothing but severity, punishment, and sharpness. The result can be only growing resistance from the internees, and still stronger methods against them from the administration.

All this can be prevented. There are in education always the two opposite principles of authority and freedom, friendliness and firmness, nearness and distance. These two principles are not, as is often believed, exclusive of each other, but must be applied together. The administrator must have authority and power, but he can and must combine them with the other principles: friendliness, interest, and all the other elements of freedom.

A great task stands before the foreign administrator: to care for mistreated people and help them to leave the internment camp able to cooperate in building up a peaceful and better world. To achieve the goal, wisdom and skill will have to be drawn upon as never before. We have the skills. Do we have the wisdom?

⁵ "Guilt of Italians Complex Problem," *The New York Times*, November 5, 1943, p. 3, col. 3.

LABOR IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY

By J. B. S. HARDMAN

EUROPE'S labor movement has, during the period of Nazi domination, been the backbone of the underground. With liberation in sight, the dynamic force of labor and the underground can be turned to the constructive task of stabilizing and rehabilitating occupied territory. In the following article, a prominent leader in the American labor movement discusses the potentialities of labor in occupied territory.

J. B. S. Hardman, author of *American Labor Dynamics* and President of the American Labor Press Association, has been editing labor newspapers and magazines since 1923. He is currently at work on a book, *Rendezvous with Destiny*, a study in the development of democracy.

AT THE RECENT CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor in Boston, Delegate Thomas A. Murray of the New York State Federation of Labor spoke as follows:

The leadership of the underground Italian labor movement has asked that its legitimate representatives be put in charge of the former fascist labor unions until such a time as elections are possible. This request might well be honored by our government. The American Federation of Labor is keenly interested in having a sound and constructive Italian labor policy for the workers of Italy, aimed not simply at destroying the fascist labor unions, and thus creating a dangerous vacuum, but in transforming the fascist unions into free unions, democratically self-governed and constructively administered.

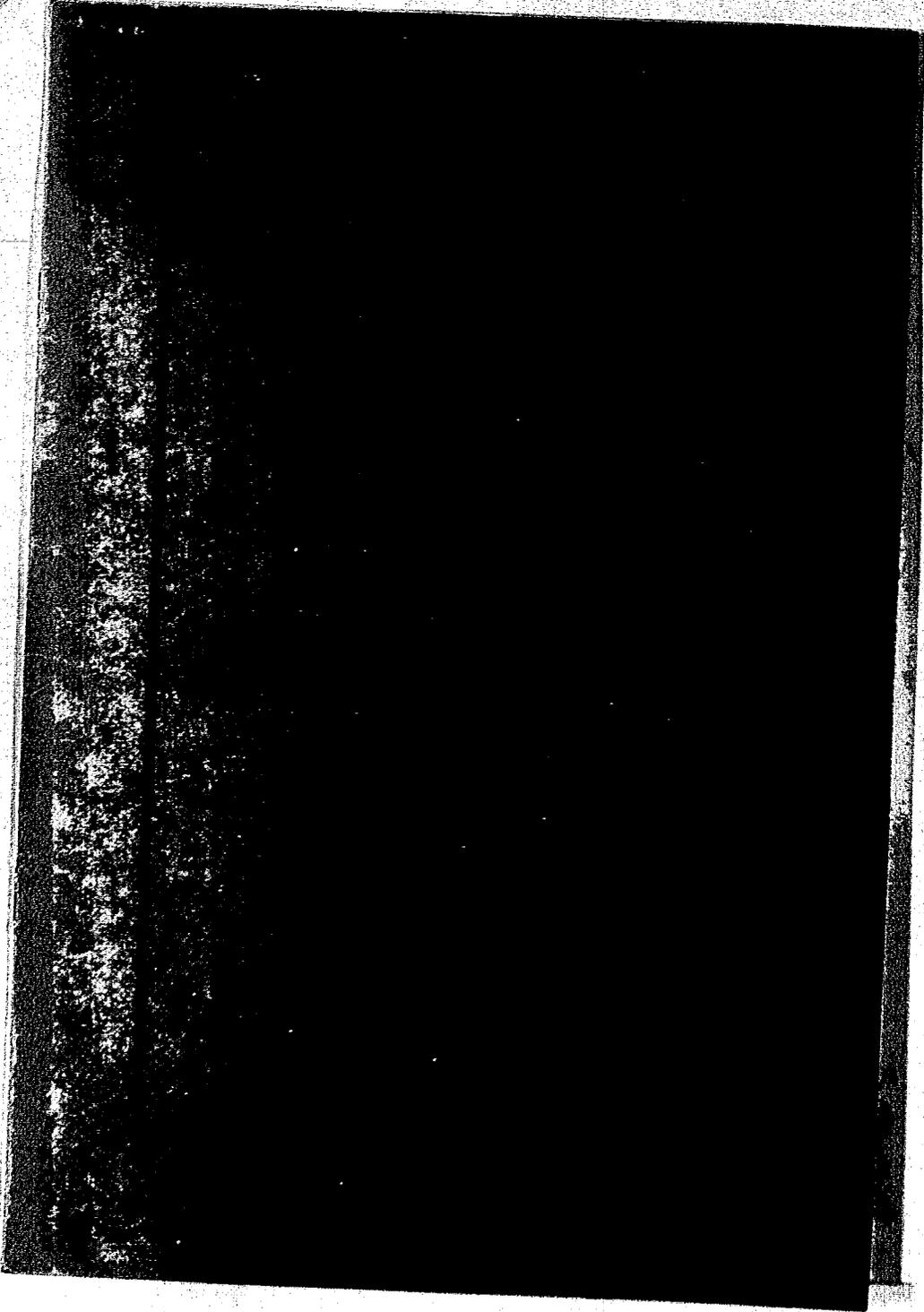
It is unfortunate and to be regretted that such organizations as the American Federation of Labor and the Italian-American Labor Council or the General Confederation of Labor delegation, have not been consulted on the labor policy of the Allied Government.

One of the main tasks of the AMG is related to labor. American-British labor must have some sort of voice in helping to determine AMG labor policy, if the liberated peoples of Europe are to have confidence in AMG decisions. . . .

In this statement four important points are raised: (1) There is a functioning labor movement in Italy, arising out of the underground existence into which it was forced by the fascist regime, this movement being represented by the once suppressed General Confederation of Labor; (2) Labor proposes to take over the fascist unions and administer

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Observation and Reeducation of German Prisoners of War

By CURT BONDY

Dr. Curt Bondy, who is now Assistant Professor of Psychology and Sociology in the College of William and Mary, devoted much of his previous research to the psychology of prisoners and juvenile delinquents. Here he discusses problems of observation of German prisoners of war in an effort to learn more about the state of mind of the German people and the possibility of influencing them after the war.

The only means now available of learning more about the state of mind of the Germans and the possibility of influencing them is to work systematically with German prisoners of war. They constitute an important and typical part of the whole German people. Thus the observation of prisoners of war and efforts to reeducate them provide opportunities to discover more about the possibility of reeducation of the German people after the war.

Opinions about the Germans and how to deal with them differ widely. Some writers contend that the people have not been influenced very deeply by Nazi ideas and education, and that after they are defeated and deeply disappointed, they will gladly accept a new form of government, a new philosophy, and a new attitude toward other nations. Others contend that the Germans are fundamentally different from other peoples and that their aggressive and sadistic tendencies are illustrated in centuries of their history. Therefore they must be forced to accept a new order. Many of them cannot be changed. These must be executed, segregated from the others, or sterilized. Still other writers do not believe in any

I
THE possibility of a lasting peace depends to a large extent on the success of the reeducation of the German people and their satellites. Once defeated, they cannot be held down and prevented by force alone from renewing their attacks.

During the last years many articles and pamphlets concerning the reeducation of the German people have appeared. They are all more or less unconvincing because most of what has been thought and written about the subject has had to be guesswork. No one outside Germany can really know the psychological situation of the German people, and especially that of the children and youth.

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fundamental difference between the German and other peoples. They believe, however, that the devastating influence of Nazism has been very profound, and that German children and young people in particular lack the most primitive experiences and knowledge of democratic life and philosophy.

As to the question of who should participate in the reeducation of the German people, the opinions are equally divergent. According to one view, there are enough anti-Nazi educators in Germany; foreign educators would only arouse antagonism if they tried to work in Germany after the war. Opposed to this is the opinion that foreign administrators and educators armed with strong authoritative power must take over the whole educational system in Germany.

I personally assume that the German people have been deeply influenced by the Nazi doctrine, that reeducation for most of them is possible but extremely difficult, that only a small number must be segregated because they are dangerous and cannot be influenced, and that a certain number of carefully selected and trained foreign educators and social workers (reconstruction workers) could contribute valuable help to the reeducation of the German people. But I am not and cannot be sure in my assumptions, and I also lack verification for my hypotheses.

II

Not much has been made public about the actual state of mind of the German prisoners of war. What information the public has is very scant and extremely unreliable. What casual observers of these prisoners see and hear cannot be generalized and must be taken only as symptoms which can be variously interpreted. If a young German soldier defends Nazism vehemently, if he repeats opinions he has been taught all his life, the reasons for this can be numerous. Without systematic study, it is extremely difficult to discover them. His utterances may be the real expression of a firmly founded conviction which can hardly be changed. It may also be that extremely stubborn and defiant retention of the Nazi ideals is only the consequence of inner uncertainty, which makes necessary this strongly defensive position. It is also possible that the soldier is talking in this manner because of fear of his superiors, or of his comrades, or even of Gestapo agents among them. We do not know what orders were given to these soldiers in case of capture, and how they may have been threatened and frightened, or what other methods were used to make them act as they do.

It may be found that certain age groups react differently from others. It may be that the younger boys who did not participate in building up the Nazi system are more dissatisfied than the older ones are. But it may be equally true that at the same time they are much more difficult to reeducate because they never knew or experienced other standards of value than those of the Nazis.

Thus we must understand that general facts are not known, that casual observations can be considered only as symptoms, and that all deductions which are made from them can be taken only as hypotheses which have to be proved in order to become theories on which solid plans for the treatment of the German people can be built.

III

There are four groups of highly controversial problems. They will not be treated here in detail because it is the aim of this article only to suggest procedures in the camps which will reveal clearer and more substantial answers to these problems.

1. What philosophy of life (*Weltanschauung*) should take the place of the Nazi philosophy? What does education for democracy mean in practical reeducation work?

2. Can people, and if so how, renounce the satisfaction of their aggressive and sadistic drives after they have been allowed freely to satisfy them for a long period?

3. Are there methods of mass reeducation, and what are they? How can methods of individual and group education and reeducation be applied to mass education and reeducation?

4. Who should do the reeducation work in the prisoner-of-war camps and later on in Europe? Prisoners themselves, native born Americans, Americans with German ancestry, German born Americans, political, religious, racial refugees from Germany?

These four groups of problems comprise the most important issues which have to be solved. The psychological and educational work in the camps must be organized so that they can be seriously studied.

IV

Education and still more reeducation are possible only if the exact state of mind of the persons to be studied is thoroughly known. Thus we need at first *psychological studies* in the camps. It must be decided

whether, and if so when, the prisoners should be informed of the psychological studies that are being made of them. On this decision depends whether we must rely only on systematic observation or whether tests, questionnaires, etc., can be used. The whole work should be done under the guidance of experts. Much depends on the knowledge and human faculties of the leading man. All testing and, above all, the working out and drawing of conclusions from the material should be done with scientific exactness.

The best observers will be those who live in closest contact with the prisoners. These are—besides the interpreters—the guards. In my work in reformatories and prisons, I learned most about the real feeling, behavior, and ideas of the prisoners during the time when I served as a jailor. He is the man who has daily contact with the prisoners. He has to open and close the cells, to transport the prisoners, to guard them during their walks in the prison courtyard, during work hours, etc. As a social worker, and still more as a superintendent, I did not meet the prisoners on the same normal and unaffected footing. Every prison official knows how differently the inmates act and react if they are in the daily routine, or if they are brought before a high official. The same is certainly true of prisoners of war. Their behavior in the barracks, during their work, or on the playground, gives much better clues for understanding them than if they are brought into the office for a special interview.

V

If we understand education as the building up of character, providing a philosophy of life, and forming a certain attitude, then *reeducation* is the attempt to offer new hope, new ideas, new faith, and new values, and to have them accepted. In other words, reeducation tries to build up character, to provide a new philosophy of life and a new attitude, and at the same time it fights against false ideas, false attitudes, and wrong behavior.

Three successive steps are necessary in reeducation: (1) to provide new experiences; (2) to make people conscious; (3) to give them new aims and new hope.

First, the German prisoners of war must have experiences which they have not had before: general experiences of life, moral experiences, and above all, experiences which let them realize how far Nazi propaganda

ven them a completely false picture about other nations and the outside of Germany.

German prisoners of war brought to this country have experienced the same as if their ship has not been sunk on her way across the Atlantic, that their work has not been bombed, that there is plenty of food, etc. They have new moral experiences through right treatment from the American officers and men who come in contact with them. Therefore, it is enormously important that the right men are selected for dealing with the prisoner-of-war camps. German soldiers can learn much from the attitude of the American army: the good relationship between officers and enlisted men, the difference between necessary discipline and false leniency, etc.

German soldiers must themselves experience what freedom of means in this country, by reading periodicals, newspapers, listening to the radio, and by having discussions. In my opinion, however, it would be a false policy to give the prisoners too much freedom. They should generally not be allowed to listen to short-wave messages from Germany, to have further national-socialistic education, or to be otherwisely influenced by their superiors; or to have their barracks decorated with national-socialistic emblems. Separation of enlisted men from commissioned officers will not be sufficient. Certain non-commissioned officers and supposed agents of the Gestapo exercise an enormous influence on the men. Clever differentiation and separation, therefore, is imperative for successful education.

Responsible American officers in the camps should understand, that a policy of laissez-faire would be a bad one; that too much freedom, too little discipline, and too little influence would only strengthen the prejudices of the prisoners that the Americans are weak and sissified, and that they are afraid of the Germans. They should understand very well that the exercise of authority and to give freedom are two principles which should be applied together in education, and still more in reeducation. They are not mutually exclusive but complementary.

In contact with American soldiers, the German soldiers must realize that their ideas about the superiority of the Germans and the Nordic race which they probably take absolutely for granted, are wrong. Also the extremely strong anti-Semitism may be changed by new experiences with American Jewish soldiers. This hatred is not built up on real contact with Jews. Anti-Semitism, like many other prejudices, has not grown

out of the personal experiences of the prisoners. They were firmly inoculated with them from their earliest childhood. This inoculation is combined with fundamental fears, resentment, and threats. Fears and superstitions which are developed in early childhood are deeply fixed and difficult to fight against. A selected group of well educated and well behaved Jewish soldiers should be mingled with other guards and have the German soldiers experience the fact that the Jewish soldiers are as good and as bad as other American soldiers are.

Second, many people lead normal and law-abiding lives without much consciousness. Now these German soldiers, together with the majority of the German people, have acquired patterns of life which make them incapable of living peacefully in the society of other nations. These patterns are also probably such that these men are not able to lead a normal civil life, even among themselves. They must be made conscious of these false patterns of life before the building up of a new life is possible. This step to consciousness, therefore, is absolutely necessary. Here their treatment is similar to that of wayward and neurotic people.

These are the two most important differences between normal education and reeducation: experiences must be undergone which in normal life generally belong to the time of childhood and youth; consciousness of the false pattern of life is a prerequisite for the building up of a new life. Methods to bring the prisoners to this consciousness would be selected lectures, moving pictures, and discussions with them. These discussions should be also in smaller groups, or with individual soldiers, both casually and officially.

Third, building upon new experiences and on higher consciousness, the final step is to draw new generalizations, to formulate ethical principles, and to find new ideals. In other words a new philosophy of life has to be built up. What can rouse as much enthusiasm as, for instance, national socialism did at its beginning? What rôle can religion have? Are there new ideas, aims, and tasks which can possibly replace old ideas of world domination and race superiority? Can the reconstruction of Europe or a new form of international understanding and coöperation be such an aim? Without a real ideal or at least a specific aim and definite task, reeducation will probably not be possible.

Here also the methods of lectures and discussions would have to be used. A special study would be necessary to determine how far methods of mass and group education could be applied with these prisoners. The

methods of the armed forces in this country as used in basic training, the Army Specialized Training Program, and in rehabilitation centers must be investigated as to their usefulness for these prisoner-of-war camps.¹

VI

In the beginning, such work should be attempted in only two or three camps or parts of camps, used as experimental stations. Methods and results of one camp should be compared with the others. These stations would not demand a great new organization and would therefore not be difficult to develop rapidly.

I have mentioned that the function of the guards is best fitted to carry out the observations. The men who do the observation and reeducation work should be very carefully selected. Special training is absolutely necessary. It should be given, however, only after the men have served already for a certain time in camps for war prisoners.

The training would have to be divided into three parts—psychological, educational, and general. The psychological training would consist of psychology of the human personality; mass psychology with special emphasis on psychology of internment camps; methods of observation, recording, and evaluation. In the educational field the trainees should learn how to handle people: single, in groups, and in masses; how to lead a discussion, and certain other selected parts of group education. In the general part, the trainees would need courses in the language, geography, and culture of Germany or the satellite countries. From this plan it is quite obvious that only highly educated soldiers should be selected for this task. Special training of some months probably would be sufficient, provided that it be continued in the camp itself.

The work would certainly be interesting, but at the same time very difficult. Many setbacks will occur, but this should not discourage the workers. The whole camp situation is such an unnatural and artificial one that observation and, still more, reeducational work will be rendered extremely difficult.² However, these difficulties have to be accepted, as these camps are the only places where such studies are possible.

I do not contend that the experiment in reeducating the prisoners will

¹It is not intended that any coercion be exercised on the prisoner. I did not find any article in the "Convention of Geneva Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War" of July 27, 1929 which indicates that such work with prisoners would be against the Convention.

²Conf. my article "Problems of Internment Camps," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1944.

have positive results. But even from a negative result important deductions can be made. The results in these experimental camps will determine whether more camps should be included. The initial camps can then be used as training stations and the trained and experienced men sent to other camps. After some time, the results should be evaluated, and cooperation with those military and civil agencies who have to do with the problems of reconstruction and reeducation should be established. If the educational work in the camps should prove positive, these experiences should have an enormous influence on the whole reconstruction work, and should make a real contribution towards establishing a lasting peace.