

CONDITIONS OF CAPTIVITY  
AMERICANS IN WORLD WAR II, KOREA, AND VIETNAM

WORLD WAR II - GENERAL

American POWs of World War II were the subject of a previous Congressional study authorized by Public Law 83-744. The inter-agency report, entitled The Effects of Malnutrition and Other Hardships on the Mortality and Morbidity of Former United States Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees of World War II: An Appraisal of Current Information,<sup>1</sup> was prepared by the U.S. Departments of: Health, Education and Welfare; Labor; Defense; and the Veterans Administration. The study clearly distinguished between the conditions of internment in the World War II Pacific and European-Mediterranean Theaters. The present study is in keeping with this distinction.

WORLD WAR II - EUROPEAN THEATER

There were 95,532 members of United States military forces reportedly captured in the European theater during World War II. The popular impression of life in German "Stalags" was that conditions in Nazi prisoner of war camps were quite humane. This impression is based primarily on accounts of International Red Cross inspections of "show" camps, used by the Nazis to impress visitors that they were abiding by the Geneva Convention, or on U.S. Army reports of camp life among downed aircrew members, who were treated with respect by the Germans because of their admiration for aviation and their use of pilots as an intelligence source.

These "show" and aviator camps frequently had educational and recreational services, such as libraries, handicraft shops, canteens, sports teams, glee clubs, and theater groups. In these camps, religious services were even allowed to be held. Furthermore, there was apparently no conscious effort to politically indoctrinate internees with the fascist philosophy.

However, the Stalags in which the average American POW - who was a foot soldier, not an aviator - was interned lacked such amenities, as most camps did not abide by even minimum standards for POW treatment set forth in the Geneva Convention, which both the United States and Germany had signed. Physical deprivation for most European Theater POWs was not quite as severe as in the Pacific Theater, which had a sparse and unfamiliar diet, tropical disease, and primitive medical care. Evidence of this fact is that the prison camp mortality rate was much lower than in the Pacific, with 1,124 (approximately one percent) of the 95,532 American POWs

captured by the Germans dying in captivity, compared to a death rate of about 37 percent in the Pacific. However, the psychological stress experienced by European Theater POWs was as severe as that endured by their Pacific Theater comrades.

### Diet and Other Factors

The usual POW camp diet consisted of black bread with sawdust often used as filler, heavy sausage, and potato soup. The meager amount of calories, proteins, and other nutrients in this food resulted in chronic malnutrition, which was alleviated only by the infrequent arrival of Red Cross food parcels. Adequate medical facilities were occasionally found in the Stalags, but American POWs had to be extremely ill before they could be treated. In addition to strenuous labor, inadequate diet, and limited medical care, many European Theater POWs lived with the constant apprehension of impending death, seeing others shot or expecting to be killed at war's end. Buchenwald, Dachau, and Mauthausen, as well as other infamous Nazi concentration camps, sometimes included black and other American POWs whom the Nazis considered "undesirable."<sup>2</sup>

### Transfers

The greatest physical deprivation for European Theater POWs frequently occurred not in camps, but during transfers between camps. The Allied advance toward Berlin resulted in forced marches of American POWs to areas still under German control. One American POW physician recounted how the men in his Stalag were made to evacuate their camp in a blizzard and march 86 days for a total of over 500 miles. These POWs had to subsist on rations of less than 800 calories per day and without sufficient water. Those sick with malnutrition and pneumonia and other stragglers were left behind to die. The rest suffered frost-bite and dysentery in the sub-zero winter weather.<sup>3</sup>

Another such "death march" lasted three months and travelled 150 miles. It was characterized by bayonetting, shooting over the heads of POWs, and other forms of physical brutality by German guards.<sup>4</sup>

### Other Information

A board of inquiry accompanied the advancing Allied armies to investigate conditions of European Theater POW captivity. The board found widespread failure by the Nazis - sometimes deliberate and sometimes circumstantial - to abide by the Geneva Convention. Some repatriated American POWs were skeleton-like figures who were in no better condition than the civilian survivors of Nazi concentration camps.

As part of administrative processing during repatriation, European Theater POWs completed forms for the American War Claims Office on which they provided details of any inhumane treatment they experienced. An indexed sample of several thousand of these sheets, many of which are still on file in the National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, was used as evidence in Nazi war crimes trials.<sup>5</sup>

## WORLD WAR II - PACIFIC THEATER

There were 34,648 members of United States military forces reportedly captured by the Japanese as a result of the Bataan campaign, the fall of Corregidor and Pacific islands such as Wake, and other military actions in the Pacific. These men were held prisoner in camps principally in the Philippines, in Japan and in Manchuria.

The greatest physical deprivation of any group of American prisoners during World War II was suffered by Pacific Theater POWs. Evidence of this fact is that 12,935 (approximately 37 percent) of the 34,648 American POWs captured in the Pacific died prior to repatriation.<sup>6</sup>

The POWs captured on Bataan and Corregidor present the classic case of POW maltreatment and malnutrition. When Filipino and American forces surrendered to the Japanese on Bataan in April, 1942, their ranks were already depleted by semi-starvation due to dwindling food supplies caused by the siege. After the surrender on Bataan, the Japanese marched these troops to Camp O'Donnell, Philippine Islands. The outcome of this 100 mile, two-week experience was the infamous Bataan "Death March" in which about 17,000 men died.<sup>7</sup> This march was made essentially without food or water. Those stragglers suffering from dysentery and other tropical diseases were clubbed and bayoneted. Men attempting escape were frequently shot and killed in full view of their comrades. The Bataan survivors were joined by those American forces captured on Corregidor in May, 1942. The Bataan-Corregidor POWs were initially interned at Camps O'Donnell, Cabanatuan, Bilibid prison, Palawan, and Davao. What was perhaps the worst part of the harrowing Pacific Theater POW experience occurred from approximately May to October, 1942, during the period of internment at these camps. Brutal conditions resulted in the deaths of approximately 1,500 of the 8,000 Americans interned at O'Donnell during the first six months of their captivity, and approximately 2,700 dead out of the 6,500 at Cabanatuan during the first year of their internment.<sup>8</sup> Harsh imprisonment in the Pacific Theater was not mitigated by "show" camps for Red Cross inspection. Japan had not signed the Geneva Convention.

Of conditions in the Pacific Theater generally, the report of the study mandated by Public Law 83-744 said:

The diet provided was extremely deficient in quantity and quality so that severe loss of body weight and multiple nutritional deficiencies of extreme degree developed, which became chronic and resistant to the limited therapy available. Infectious and parasitic diseases became rampant due to the very inadequate food, crowded living conditions, primitive sanitation, and lack of medical facilities. These men received harsh, often brutal physical treatment. Many died or were killed during forced marches.

### Diet

The diet in POW camps was grossly inadequate, usually consisting of polished rice which was occasionally supplemented by various vegetables and some meat. Red Cross parcels arrived only on special occasions, such as Christmas, and therefore could not really improve nutrition. Many of these parcels were confiscated by the Japanese before they could get to the American POWs.

After the first six months of internment, conditions for the Bataan-Corregidor POWs improved somewhat. The POWs were being used increasingly on agricultural or work details, which meant that they were allowed to receive extra food rations. After October, 1942, the American prisoners were also allowed to purchase extra foodstuffs from the camp canteen, but this was usually limited to a can of milk or a small number of bananas or beans. Even so, with food from other sources, the daily POW diet rarely reached more than 1,000 calories.<sup>10</sup>

### Transfers

As in Europe, some of the worst physical deprivation occurred for the POWs not while they were actually in one camp, but in the course of transfer between camps. Starting in late 1942 and early 1943, prisoners were placed on enemy ships headed for Japan or China. These ships were overcrowded and unsanitary, as many men were kept in the dark holds of the vessels without being allowed to go up on deck to exercise, defecate, or urinate. Rice and some other types of food were thrown down into the holds. Some died of these filthy conditions. Many others drowned when a few of the transport ships were mistakenly sunk by American bombers.

The prisoners who survived the trip from the Philippines faced a severe change in climate. From the tropical heat of the Philippines, they now had to endure the sub-freezing cold of a Manchurian or Japanese winter without adequate clothing or shelter and often facing conditions of forced heavy labor. The American POWs transferred to Japanese or Manchurian POW camps were frequently joined by American aircrew members who had been shot down in the Tokyo raids and other Japanese bombing missions.

## Torture

Another factor that remained quite constant throughout the internment of Pacific Theater POWs was physical torture. Striking by hand, rifle, or saber was quite common. Fingernail torture, water torture and other forms of torture were used. At least ninety percent of Pacific POWs received some form of direct physical punishment from their captors, with scarcely a man escaping at least one physical beating during his internment.<sup>11</sup> The ultimate in cruelty was reached with beheadings, usually achieved by a long sweep of a sword striking the neck of a kneeling POW.

## Medical Care

The limited amount of medical care provided by the enemy was quite primitive. One common "remedy" used by the Japanese physicians was the "fire treatment" in which a wounded body area was burned so that a surface ulcer would form, in the mistaken belief that an exposed wound would heal faster. Spinal punctures by unqualified doctors were performed against the will of patients. American physicians who were also POWs could administer care only surreptitiously, without adequate medical equipment or medicine. Patient recovery was also limited by the absence of proper nutritional support and the overall stress of internment.

## Other Information

In late 1942, the Japanese began to permit prisoners in some camps to organize educational, recreational, and religious activities similar to those found in the better German Stalags. This occurred on a very limited scale, and depended entirely on the decisions of individual camp commandants. Unlike the Germans, the Japanese attempted to use these activities for political indoctrination, by showing propaganda films as part of the cultural program.

As in Europe, the repatriated POWs completed data sheets on the inhumane treatment they had received. A sample of several thousand of these sheets, many of which are still available at the National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, was used as evidence in war crimes trials.<sup>12</sup>

## KOREAN CONFLICT

The conditions of capture and internment in Korea were unquestionably harsh. None of the early participants in the war were signatories to the articles of the Geneva Convention of 1949. (South Korea, China and the United States signed the Convention in the years following the Korean Conflict.) Of the 7,140 American POWs captured in Korea, 2,701 (approximately 38 percent) died while in captivity.<sup>13</sup>

The first phase of the Korea experience began with the time of capture, continued with assignment to "temporary" camps, and ended with arrival at the "permanent" POW camps. This phase dates from approximately July 1950 to February 1951, and can be considered the worst period of internment.<sup>14</sup> The first group of Americans was captured by the North Koreans in July, 1950. By September 1950, some members of this group were making propaganda broadcasts from North Korea, urging American forces to surrender. Also in 1950, nineteen POWs were returned to South Korea by the Communists in the hope that they would spread Communist propaganda among the United Nations forces. Such incidents marked the beginning of the long battle of psychological warfare - consisting of group indoctrination and solitary confinement against POWs.

The second distinct phase of Korean POW captivity began with their arrival in permanent camps in approximately March 1951, when the Korean armistice negotiations had begun to make progress.<sup>15</sup> This phase was almost as severe as the initial stage of captivity in terms of physical and psychological suffering.

The final distinct phase of Korean POW captivity began around November 1951 and ended with repatriation in 1953.<sup>16</sup> This period was marked by fluctuations in captor attitudes toward American POWs, which were caused by the uneven progress of the armistice negotiations. Nonetheless, the general trend during this period was one of improvement in POW diet, clothing, and housing.

### Diet

Food consisted mainly of corn or millet and this inadequate diet resulted in an average loss of forty to fifty percent of body weight. While POWs were in transit to temporary or permanent prison camps, food was supposed to be supplied and prepared by local inhabitants along routes of march, but nourishment was frequently not available for several days at a time. Water was also scarce, and was often available only from sources that were contaminated, such as drainage ditches or polluted streams. Later in the war, while diet became somewhat better due to occasional meat or vegetable supplements to the basic corn and millet, malnutrition was still quite prevalent among American POWs.

### Transfers

Korea, too, had its "death marches." Captives were marched off to 20 camps in the North Korean interior.

The first ordeal the prisoner had to suffer -- and often the worst -- was the march to one of these camps. The North Koreans frequently tied a prisoner's hands behind his back or bound his arms with wire. Wounded prisoners were jammed into trucks that jolted, dripping blood, along broken roads. Many of the wounded received no medical attention until they reached the camp. Some were not attended until days thereafter . . . Some Americans, with hands tied behind backs were shot by the enemy.

So the journeys to the prison camps were 'death marches.' Especially in the winter of 1950-1951 when the trails were knee-deep in snow and polar winds flogged the toiling column. On one of these marches, 700 men were headed north. Before the camp was reached, 500 men had perished.<sup>17</sup>

In the "Sunchon Tunnel Massacre" a train in which POWs were riding, bound for Manchuria, was set on fire by the North Koreans while it was halted in a tunnel and prisoners inside were burned alive. Others who had been taken off the train were machine-gunned.

### Medical Care and Shelter

During the early phases of the war, housing and clothing were so inadequate that a number of prisoners froze to death. After about a year, conditions improved somewhat. Housing was improved to the point of being sufficient for survival during the bitter cold winter, and clothing issues became more frequent. However, medical care, as practiced by the Communists, remained primitive and inadequate.

Medical care by American physician-POWs had been prohibited by the enemy shortly after arrival in the permanent camps, and thereafter treatment had to be received from enemy medics. These so-called "doctors" had received an average of one to six months medical training, and practiced very primitive folk-medicine. For example, the most widespread treatments were the needle and chicken liver techniques. The former nostrum consisted of placing a needle under the skin of various portions of the head, and then vibrating the needle. This form of "acupuncture" was supposed to be especially effective for headaches and other neurological problems. The latter procedure consisted of implanting a chicken liver under the skin, usually in the chest cavity. This implant was supposed to cure internal medicine problems. While the possibility of infection from such treatment was great, many malnourished POWs volunteered to undergo it, because their food ration would be increased if they submitted to such a procedure.

### "Psychological Weakness"

A myth reached huge proportions in the United States during the period of the Korean Conflict, and for years thereafter, that psychological weakness called "give-up-itis" caused most of the deaths in Korea. Five Army physicians who had been POWs in Korea refuted this theory, as did later informed research.

Sickness and death became so common during the first year and a half of captivity that the prisoners began to feel that any sickness would be fatal. In an attempt to overcome this attitude, the captured physicians coined a very unfortunate term, "give-up-itis." The use of this term had its desired immediate effect on the prisoners. It made them realize that an individual's fighting spirit had to be maintained at a high level for him to survive any illness. The term, 'give-up-itis,' has recently gotten wide circulation in the public press. The erroneous impression has been created that prisoners who were in good physical health gave up and died; this is not true. Every prisoner of war in Korea who died has suffered from malnutrition, exposure to cold, and continued harassment by the Communists. Contributing causes to the majority of deaths were prolonged cases of respiratory infection and diarrhea. Under such conditions, it is amazing, not that there was a high death rate, but that there was a reasonably good rate of survival.

### "Brainwashing"

A factor which made the Korean POW experience somewhat unique was the large-scale indoctrination and propagandizing directed at all captured military personnel. The Communists initially attempted to weaken the prisoners' physical resistance by keeping them cold and hungry, and then break down military organization by separating POWs into groups according to rank, ethnicity, or race. They next attempted to weaken POW psychological resistance through a compulsory group indoctrination program. This program consisted of all-morning lectures and discussion sessions. During these meetings, the following themes were endlessly repeated: the United States was run by racists, imperialists, and warmongers, and Communism was the only truly democratic political system.

In a later phase, the group indoctrination program shifted from a "hard sell" to a "soft sell" approach. Compulsory group indoctrination gave way to so-called "voluntary" self-study. Libraries, stocked with propaganda books and staffed by enemy appointed POW librarians, were established. Camp newspapers were also started, with enemy approved POW editors. The intent of this "soft sell" approach was to have the POWs embrace Communism by becoming logically persuaded of its advantages through reading the propaganda. Also during this period, letters were allowed to be sent home, but could not pass the censor unless they contained some propaganda message.

For those Air Force aircrew members shot down over Korea and captured by the enemy, the conditions of captivity were even more harrowing than for their Army foot soldier comrades. This was due to the constant interrogation and solitary confinement, as well as the usual inadequate food, housing and clothing, to which Air Force POWs were subjected. Aircrew members would be incessantly interrogated for up to several days at a time in a Communist effort to wrest political confessions or intelligence information from them. A frequent confession that was sought was that the American aviator had engaged in "germ" warfare by spraying chemicals or dropping



bombs. This interrogation was accompanied by solitary confinement in huts and caves for those POWs who refused to cooperate.

As a result of such abuse, 21 Americans refused repatriation.<sup>19</sup> This unprecedented situation, along with the accusations of collaboration leveled at returning POWs during the "McCarthy era," led to a prevailing public opinion that Korean POWs had been "brainwashed" by the enemy. A subsequent Congressional investigation concluded that no actual cases of "brainwashing" occurred in Korea - brainwashing being defined as the activity of erasing an individual's past beliefs and substituting new ones. Rather, the Congressional report stated that what had happened among Army POWs was group indoctrination and what had occurred among Air Force POWs was solitary confinement. Group indoctrination achieved only a minimal amount of success (with only 21 POWs refusing repatriation) and solitary confinement, while more closely approaching true brainwashing, was completely unsuccessful.

#### Other Information

An accounting of the inhumane treatment suffered by POWs in Korea, treatment which constituted gross violations of the Geneva Convention, was given in testimony by repatriated POWs before Congressional committees. Such accounts of enemy brutality also resulted in a Department of Defense study which produced a new Code of Conduct for the American fighting man.<sup>20</sup> While the new Code of Conduct attempted to maintain the military discipline and organizational integrity needed in the POW situation, it also recognized that more flexibility beyond the rigid "name, rank, serial number" system of past wars was needed to survive under such extremely harsh conditions as those that existed in Korea.

Repatriated POWs gave depositions for intelligence purposes and to substantiate the widespread abuse of international laws of warfare and humanitarian principles. Due to the sensitive nature of the peace talks, concern for POWs who had not yet been released, and the inconclusive nature of the conflict, war crimes proceedings were not instituted.

#### VIETNAM ERA

The Congressional report, Communist Treatment of Prisoners of War describes the inhumane treatment to which Vietnam Era POWs were subjected.<sup>21</sup> This treatment was clearly in violation of the Geneva Convention. Nonetheless, the North Korean and Vietnamese considered their actions justified on grounds that their internees were not military prisoners but "war criminals" who must be dealt with harshly and unsparingly. Americans captured during the Vietnam conflict comprised a distinctive group. The majority were officers, aviators, somewhat older and more

educated as a group than American POWs captured during other wars, and most faced much longer periods of internment than Americans in earlier wars.

The experience of American POWs in Vietnam differed according to whether they were captured in North or South Vietnam. The POWs interned in North Vietnam were mostly downed aviators, while those captured in the South were largely foot soldiers. The North Vietnamese POW experience was marked by somewhat inadequate food, housing and medical care and by severe physical and mental torture for intelligence or propaganda purposes. Approximately five percent of the POWs died in captivity.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, the South Vietnamese experience was characterized by severe physical deprivation, with somewhat less emphasis on torture. Approximately twenty-five percent died during internment.<sup>23</sup> North Vietnam had signed the Geneva Convention, as had the United States.

### South Vietnam

Those American POWs captured by Viet Cong guerrilla forces in South Vietnam were held in small groups, and were continuously moved through the jungle to avoid ground and air attacks. While they suffered less torture and fewer interrogations than their comrades in the North, they were faced with the more compelling, immediate problems of daily survival. They were usually at the end of the enemy supply distribution chain, which resulted in chronic shortages of food and medicine. Starvation was averted only by catching fish, or eating plants in the jungle. The POWs were allowed to treat each other - one of them was a military physician. Interrogation of POWs in South Vietnam was generally limited to the first months of captivity. Beatings and slapping were common interrogation methods. South Vietnamese POWs were frequently placed in bamboo huts - so-called "tiger-cages" - and placed in leg irons or otherwise chained at night.

### North Vietnam

Living conditions for North Vietnam POWs were relatively better than in the South, with conditions improving after 1969 as the Paris peace talks got underway.<sup>24</sup> POWs were in prison buildings in or near Hanoi. These prisons provided shelter, although they were poorly ventilated and without plumbing. The most infamous of these prisons was called the "Hanoi Hilton." Before 1969, the prison diet usually consisted of a half loaf of bread, or rice, and then vegetable or pumpkin soup served twice daily. Medical care was provided by paramedics. Lack of sanitation in food preparation and living conditions resulted in cases of intestinal worms and parasites. Other than aspirin or diarrhea pills, POWs rarely received medication until they were desperately ill. Once ill enough to warrant being taken to North Vietnamese hospitals, the POWs were kept there seldom more than a day or so. POWs also received immunizations to prevent the outbreak of cholera and typhoid.

The pre-1969 situation was also characterized by physical and mental torture. One frequently used method was the "ropes" in which the POW was bound in an unnatural and painful position for up to several hours. Other POWs were manacled in chains to their beds for months at a time. Still others were placed in solitary confinement ranging from several days to several years. Lengthy interrogations, beatings and slapping were also common. Fractures and other orthopedic injuries resulted from such mistreatment.

After 1969, internment conditions in the North improved. The quantity of food increased, with occasional pieces of meat being added to the diet. Also, an early morning meal consisting of bread and sweetened milk was added. Para-dental personnel began to provide rudimentary dental care to the POWs. Solitary confinement, the ropes, manacles, and interrogations became less frequent. These conditions generally continued until repatriation in 1973.

Prisoners have been tortured, publicly paraded through the streets, pressured into making broadcasts of alleged confessions, and denied proper medical treatment. There are several documented cases of prisoners who have not been listed as POWs in accordance with the prime requirement of the Geneva Convention.

Colonel Norris Overly, who was shot down over North Vietnam in October 1967 and released a year later, said that -- "The North Vietnamese have on occasion tortured some of our men -- but I think there is danger in dwelling on that particular aspect of it because the North Vietnamese are much more subtle than that. The subtle inhumanity of the whole situation was placing men in a small 8 by 10 cell and not pressuring them to do anything one way or the other, but just put them away and feed them a subsistence diet for 3, 4, 5, 6, and in several cases almost 7 years. I think we can all answer the question what kind of physical and mental condition they are going to be in when they come out of this sort of environment."<sup>25</sup>

### The U.S.S. Pueblo

The U.S.S. Pueblo was an American naval intelligence ship that was captured by the North Koreans in January, 1968. During the boarding of the vessel, one member of the crew was killed. The treatment received by the surviving 82 crew members at the hands of the North Koreans was as severe as that of their comrades then held in Vietnam. The Pueblo crew was initially incarcerated in the North Korean capital of Pyongyang for a period of six weeks, during which time they were interrogated, beaten, and forced to sign a confession that they had intruded into the territorial waters of North Korea.

After this initial period, they were transferred to their permanent prison, which was a structure similar to the so-called "Hanoi Hilton." The officers were placed in solitary confinement and were allowed to see the other members of the crew only during daily recreation

periods. The enlisted crewmen were assigned to rooms housing four to eight people each. The new prison was damp and vermin-infested. The beatings and interrogation continued at the new prison site.

Medical care was provided by a North Korean physician and nurse who held regular "sick call" for Pueblo crew members. However, the Pueblo POWs were reluctant to report medical problems to them because of the inadequate care they provided. Typical medical treatments included were administering penicillin for hepatitis, "white tablets" for diarrhea, and some sort of white powder for urinary tract infections. Shrapnel wounds, even when reported, went unattended. The unsanitary conditions resulted in frequent cases of worms and intestinal parasites.

The crew members' diet during captivity was mostly a watery soup. Weight loss was up to 100 pounds.<sup>26</sup> However, no severe malnutrition was reported as those members who lost the most were slightly overweight to begin with, so that they attained their ideal minimum weight. Those who were already at the right weight did not lose enough to experience any real avitaminosis. The Pueblo crew members were repatriated in December 1968, after eleven months of internment.

#### PRISONER EXCHANGES

Loss of hope can be a critical element in the life of the prisoner of war. Experience has shown that captured Americans have had little reason to hope for repatriation before the end of any particular conflict, since major interim repatriations of Americans is not the norm. Being confined "for the duration," not seeing others released, experiencing the total control of the captor and not knowing the true status of the war effort are factors which have added to the dilemma of POWs.

The experience in World War II was possibly somewhat better (than World War I) at least in the European theater, with ten major repatriations of sick and wounded as well as a smaller number of 'protected personnel,' civilian internees and merchant seamen, beginning in April 1942. These involved some 20,000 Germans and Italians and about 13,500 Allied personnel. For the most part, however, prisoners had to await the end of hostilities before being repatriated. Just as Japan refused to consider any prisoner exchanges in World War II, in the Korean conflict, North Korea and Communist China showed little interest in an exchange agreement until it suited their purposes to use discussions on the POWs as a way to begin negotiations to end the war.

In the Vietnam War, as in the French-Indochina War<sup>27</sup> of 1945-1954, prisoner exchanges during hostilities have been virtually nonexistent.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Effects of Malnutrition and Other Hardships on the Mortality and Morbidity of Former United States Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees of World War II: An Appraisal of Current Information, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965. Hereafter referred to as "HEW."

<sup>2</sup> American Ex-Prisoners of War, Inc., The European Story, Packet No. 8, 1978, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Stan Allen, "V.A. Owes All Ex-POWs Service Connection, Says Death March Medic (Leslie Caplan)." Disabled American Veterans Magazine, January 1969, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> United States Army, Office of the Surgeon General, Internal Medicine in World War II, Volume III: Infectious Diseases and General Medicine, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> Modern Military Records Branch, National Archives, "Inventory of Records of World War II American Ex-Prisoners of War in the National Archives and Federal Records Centers," 1968, p. 2. hereafter referred to as "Modern."

<sup>6</sup> Charles Stenger, "American Prisoners of War in World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam: Statistical Data," Veterans Administration Central Office, Washington, D.C., June 30, 1979, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Eugene Jacobs, "Residuals of Japanese Prisoners-of-War - Thirty Years Later," The Quan, March, 1978, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> HEW, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Jacobs, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> HEW, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Modern, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Stenger, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Clarence Anderson, Alexander Boyson, Sidney Esensten; Gene Lam, William Shadish, "Medical Experiences in Communist POW Camps in Korea," Journal of the American Medical Association, September 11, 1954, p. 120.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>17</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, POW, The Fight Continues After the Battle, The Report of the Secretary of Defense's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War, Washington, D.C., August 1955, p. 5, hereafter referred to as "DOD, POW."

<sup>18</sup> Anderson et al., p. 120 - 122.

<sup>19</sup> Stenger, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> DOD POW, pp. 19 - 23.

<sup>21</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Communist Treatment of Prisoners of War, A Historical Survey, Committee Print, 92d Congress, 2d Session, 1972, p. 23, hereafter referred to as "Communist."

<sup>22</sup> William Berg, "Captivity Mortality Among Vietnam Prisoners of War," (unpublished), 1979, p. 8.

23 Ibid., p. 8.

24 William Berg and Milton Richlin, "Inquiries and Illnesses of Vietnam War POWs I. Navy POWs," Military Medicine, July 1977, p. 514.

25 "Communist," p. 21.

26 Raymond Spaulding, "The Pueblo Incident: Medical Problems Reported During Captivity and Physical Findings at the Time of the Crew's Release," Military Medicine, September 1977, p. 682.

27 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs. Appendix II: Prisoners of War: Repatriation or Internment in Wartime — American and Allied Experience, 1775 to Present. Hearings before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 92d Congress, 1st session, 1971.