The set of practices embodied in the extensional definition of physical torture have been applied throughout the world for more than 50 years. They have also been widely characterized either as psychological torture or as another form of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment—as we will presently see. Stunned by the unlikely confessions made at the Stalinist show trials of the 1930s, at the Hungarian trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in the 1940s, and at the American POW camps in the Korean War, hundreds of studies were published in the 1950s and 1960s to identify the methods whereby Communist regimes could exact implausible confessions from their enemies (and to understand, more broadly, the psychology of coercion). The methods in question, it was soon discovered, were psychological rather than physical in nature. Outlined in Biderman (1956, 6-13), the “basic communist techniques of coercive interrogation” were as follows.

B1. **Isolation**: complete solitary confinement (where prisoner has no social contact whatsoever); complete isolation (where prisoner lives only with interrogator or guard), semi-isolation (where two to four prisoners are isolated from the rest, frequently making sure that one of them is more inclined to capitulation than the rest); group isolation (where eight to 30 prisoners are isolated from the rest under extremely crowded and difficult conditions calculated to promote destructive competition and dissension).
B2. **Monopolization of Attention**: physical isolation (small, bare, windowless cells, sometimes in complete darkness); other restrictions of sensory stimulation (denial of gratifying sensations or the pleasure of movement; forbidding deviations from a fixed posture; hearing real or feigned cries of anguish from another victim; receiving a visit from a “friendly” interrogator); prolonged interrogation and forced writing (regarding answers to very general questions).

B3. **Induced Debilitation and Exhaustion**: semi-starvation (survival rations); exposure (intense cold, intense heat, or dampness); exploitation of wounds and **chronic illness** (which are not immediately life-threatening; offering medical treatment after interrogations are completed); sleep deprivation (through uncomfortable positions, with minimal protection from the cold, and on hard or vermin-infested surfaces; waking prisoners up for interrogation or “bed-checks”); prolonged constraint (forced sitting, standing at attention, or in other forced positions; confinement to a hole or box; shackles permitting only painful, unnatural postures); **prolonged interrogation** and forced writing (lasting many hours a day and over weeks or months, and carried out by successive interrogators).

(Look at this from a thought injection/thought interruption point of view)

B4. **Cultivation of Anxiety and Despair**: threats of death (verbal threats, grave digging, fake executions, death sentences in fake trials); threats of non-repatriation (absent compliance); threats of punishment as a "war criminal" (possibly at civilian hands); threats of endless isolation (or interrogation; prisoners are told that "interrogators are not in a hurry"); vague threats (either by veiling threats in order to fake a benevolent interest in the prisoner, or by threatening with "a fate more terrible than words can express"); threats against prisoner's family; mysterious changes of treatment or place of confinement (of the prisoner and his "belongings"), changes in questioning and interrogators.

B5. **Alternating Punishments and Rewards**: occasional "favors" (to plant the belief that the interrogators are "good people," to remind the prisoner of how pleasant things can be, and to prevent him to adjust to doing without comforts); extreme fluctuations of interrogator's attitudes (either within a single interrogator or within a team playing the good cop/bad cop routine, where the interrogator with higher authority plays the good cop and pretends not to approve of the methods of his subordinate); promises of improved conditions (including POW status, given compliance), special promises (jobs, status, or other rewards in exchange for cooperation), rewards given for partial compliance (all of which would be trivial), tantalizing (displaying prisoners receiving better treatment; offering cigarettes with no matches or appetizing food in miniscule quantities).

B6. **Demonstrating "Omnipotence" and "Omniscience" of Captor**: omniscience (by painstakingly gathering detailed facts about the prisoner, interrogators attempt to create the impression that they know all about him, including the answers to the questions they ask, so that the interrogation is only "a test of the cooperativeness and veracity of the prisoner," who is constantly accused of lying and being caught in lies); omnipotence (displaying overwhelming force, repeated mention of the captor's might; taking cooperativeness for granted and resistance as a foolish aberration; presenting "evidence" that other prisoners, especially acquaintances of his, have capitulated).

B7. **Degradation**: personal hygiene prevented (withholding of combs, and shaving equipment; individual may even be forced to live in his own filth); filthy or infested surroundings (prisoners are kept in filthy, vermin- or rodent-infested places of confinement), demeaning punishments (slapping, ear-twisting, and other degrading but physically mild punishments may be inflicted); **insults and taunts** (repeating insults
that seem to affect the prisoner; casting aspersions about wife's morality; issuing false diagnoses of venereal diseases), denial of privacy (subjection to constant surveillance; if vulnerable to embarrassment, prisoners may be forced to perform private functions in public).

B8. **Enforcing Trivial and Absurd Demands**: forced writing (and rewriting answers to numerous, exceedingly trivial questions; very general instructions are given out, but prisoners are forced to rewrite their answers over and over again until an "acceptable" answer is completed), enforcing rules (numerous rules are handed out; punishments are meted for unstated rules; rules may include the positions to be assumed when sleeping, with the prisoner awakened if he changes position; permission is required to perform almost any act, including washing or going to the latrine), "upping the ante" (pretending that only a

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**KUBARK MANUAL**

After outlining these techniques authoritatively, Biderman (1956, 16) goes on to qualify them as "abominable outrages," adding that "[p]robably no other aspect of communism reveals more thoroughly its disrespect for truth and the individuals than its resort to these techniques" (Biderman 1956, 3f). Yet, by 1963, several of these techniques had become recommended CIA practice.

In July 1963, the CIA drafted a comprehensive interrogation manual titled KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogation. It is a systematic presentation of successful and unsuccessful interrogation techniques drawn from the author's review of the literature on the psychology of coercion produced between 1950 and 1961.

Originally secret, the handbook was declassified in 1997 through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request initiated by the Baltimore Sun.

The KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogation manual recommends a number of the interrogation techniques identified in Biderman (1956), namely:

**C1. Monopolization of Attention**: The more completely the place of confinement eliminates sensory stimuli, the more rapidly and deeply will the interrogatee be affected. An early effect of such an environment is anxiety. . .The interrogator can benefit from the subject's anxiety. . .The deprivation of stimuli induces regression [of the interrogatee's to his childhood] by depriving the subject's mind of contact with an outer world and thus forcing it upon itself (90).

**C2. Induced Debilitation and Exhaustion**: An over-stuffed chair for the use of the interrogatee is sometimes preferable to a straight-backed, wooden chair because if he is made to stand for a lengthy period or is otherwise deprived of physical comfort, the contrast is intensified and increased disorientation results (45, emphasis supplied) I When the individual is told to stand at attention for long periods... [t]he immediate source of pain is not the interrogator but the victim himself. The motivational strength of the individual is likely to exhaust itself in this internal encounter (94, emphasis supplied).

**C3. Cultivation of Anxiety and Despair**: The interrogator can and does make the subject's world not only unlike the world to which he had been accustomed but also strange in itself-a world in which familiar patterns of time, space, and sensory perception are overthrown (52). 1 A pale face indicates fear and usually shows that the interrogator is hitting close to the mark (55). 1 What we aim to do is to ensure
that the manner of arrest achieves, if possible, surprise, and the maximum amount of mental discomfort...The ideal time at which to arrest a person is in the early hours of the morning because surprise is achieved then (85, emphasis in the original). The circumstances of detention are arranged to enhance within the subject his feelings of being cut off from the known and the reassuring, and of being plunged into the strange. Usually his own clothes are immediately taken away, because familiar clothing reinforces identity and thus the capacity for resistance. Detention permits the interrogator to cut through these links and throw the interrogatee back upon his own unaided internal resources.... Control of source's environment permits the interrogator to determine his diet, sleep pattern, and other fundamentals. Manipulating these into irregularities, so that the subject becomes disorientated, is very likely to create feelings of fear and helplessness ... In any event, it is advisable to keep the subject upset by constant disruptions of patterns (86f). It is usually useful to intensify [the subject's feelings of guilt] (103). (see also Monopolization of Attention).

C4. Alternating Punishments and Rewards: The commonest of the joint interrogator techniques is the Mutt-and-Jeff routine: the brutal, angry, domineering type contrasted with the friendly, quiet type. This routine works best with women, teenagers, and timid men...An interrogator working alone can also use the Mutt-and-Jeff technique. (72f). I Half-hearted efforts to cooperate can be ignored, and conversely, he can be rewarded for non-cooperation. (For example, a successfully resisting source may become distraught if given some reward for the “valuable contribution” that he has made.) (77) 1 Meals and sleep granted irregularly, in more than abundance or less than adequacy, the shifts occurring on no discernible time pattern, will normally disorient an interrogatee and sap his will to resist more effectively than a sustained deprivation leading to debility (93).

C5. Demonstrating "Omniscience" of Captor: [The interrogator] can create and amplify an effect of omniscience in a number of ways. For example, he can show the interrogatee a thick file bearing his own name. Even if the file contains little or nothing but blank paper, the air of familiarity with which the interrogator refers to the subject's background can convince some sources that all is known and that resistance is futile (52) 1 The interrogator... explains to the source that the purpose of the questioning is not to gain information; the interrogator knows everything already. His real purpose pose is to test the sincerity (reliability, honor, etc.) of the source. The interrogator then asks a few questions to which he knows the answers. If the subject lies, he is informed firmly and dispassionately that he has lied. By skilled manipulation of the known, the questioner can convince a naive subject that all his secrets are out (67).

C6. Demonstrating "Omnipotence" of Captor: [The interrogator] exercises the powers of an all-powerful parent, determining when the source will be sent to bed, when and what he will eat, whether he will be rewarded for good behavior or punished for being bad (52). In addition, it recommended four of the practices listed in Al-A13 above, namely:

C7. Temporal Disorientation: The subject may be left alone for days; and he may be returned to his cell, allowed to sleep for five minutes, and brought back to an interrogation which is conducted as though eight hours had intervened. The principle is that sessions should be so planned as to disrupt the source’s sense of chronological order (49f). 1 There are a number of non-coercive techniques for inducing regression. Some interrogatees can be regressed by persistent manipulation of time, by retarding and advancing clocks and serving meals at odd times—ten minutes or ten hours after the last food was given.
Day and night are jumbled. Interrogation sessions are similarly unpatterned; the subject may be brought back for more questioning just a few minutes after being dismissed for the night (76f).

C8. Sensory Disorientation: The confusion [or Alice-in-Wonderland] technique is designed not only to oblitrate the familiar, but to replace it with the weird... When the subject enters the room, the first interrogator asks a double talk question-one which seems straightforward but is essentially nonsensical... the second interrogator follows up...with a wholly unrelated and equally illogical query... No pattern of questions and answers is permitted to develop as the process continues, day after day if necessary, the subject begins to try to make sense of the situation, which becomes mentally intolerable (76). [As an example of the magic room technique,] the prisoner... is given a hypnotic suggestion that his hand is growing warm. However, ever, in this instance, the prisoner’s hand actually does become warm, a problem easily resolved by the use of a concealed diathermy machine. Or it might be suggested that... a cigarette will taste bitter. Here again, he could be given a cigarette prepared to have a slight but noticeably bitter taste (77f).

C9. Threats: The threat of coercion usually weakens or destroys resistance more effectively than coercion itself. The threat to inflict pain, for example, can trigger fears more damaging than the immediate sensation of pain. The same principle holds for other fears: sustained long enough, a strong fear of anything vague or unknown induces regression, whereas the materialization of the fear, the infliction of some form of punishment, is likely to come as a relief. Threats delivered coldly are more effective than those shouted in rage (90f).

In 1983, another CIA manual was produced. It was the Human Resource Exploitation Training Manual-1983.

F1. Isolation: Total isolation should be maintained until after the first "questioning" session (F-4).

F2. Monopolization of Attention: [Cell] window should be set high in the wall with the capability of blocking out light. (This allows the "questioner" to be able to disrupt the subject’s sense of time, day and night.) (E-3) I [The "questioning" room should have] no windows, or windows that can be completely blacked out (E-5). I Deprivation of Sensory Stimuli. Solitary confinement acts on most persons as a powerful stress. A person cut off from external stimuli turns his awareness inward and projects his unconscious [sic] outward. The symptoms most commonly produced by solitary confinement are superstition, intense love of any other living thing, perceiving inanimate objects as alive, hallucinations, and delusions. Deliberately causing these symptoms [sic] is a serious impropriety and to use prolonged solitary confinement for the purpose of extracting information in questioning violates policy (K-6).

F3. Induced Debilitation and Exhaustion: Heat, air and light 4mmld may be externally controlled but not to the point of torture (E-3).
F4. **Cultivation of Anxiety and Despair**: Cell doors should be of heavy steel. The slamming of a heavy steel door impresses upon the subject [sic] that he is cut off from the rest of the world (E-3). Bedding should be minimal—cot and blanket-no mattress. The ideal time at which to make an arrest is in the early hours of the morning. When arrested at this time, most subjects experience intense feelings of shock, insecurity, and psychological stress and for the most part have great difficulty adjusting to the situation (F-I). Subject should be made to believe that he has been forsaken by his comrades (F-4). The effectiveness of most "questioning" techniques depends upon their unsettling effect. The "questioning" process itself is unsettling to most people encountering it for the first time. The "questioner" tries to enhance this effect, to disrupt radically the familiar emotional and psychological associations of the subject. Once this disruption is achieved. The subject's resistance is seriously impaired. He experiences a kind of psychological shock... during which he is far more open to suggestion and far likelier to comply, than he was before he experiences the shock. Frequently the subject will experience a feeling of guilt. If the "questioner" can intensify these guilt feelings, it will increase the subject's anxiety and his urge to cooperate as a means of escape (J-1 and J-2). [The "questioner"] is able to manipulate the subject's environment, to create unpleasant situations, (J-2).

F5. **Demonstrating "Omnipotence" and "Omniscience" of Captor**: Throughout his detention, subject must be convinced that his "questioner" controls his ultimate destiny, and that his absolute cooperation is essential to survival (F-4).

F6. **Degradation**: If there are no built-in toilet facilities, he should either be given a bucket or escorted by a guard to a latrine. The guard stays at his side the entire time he is in the latrine (E-3).

With a nation traumatized from the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush announces, a month later, the initiation of military strikes against al Qaeda and Taliban positions in Afghanistan. On January 16, 2006, the first suspected al Qaeda and Taliban prisoners arrive at the detention facilities of the Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Nine months later, on October 11, 2002, LTC Jerald Phifer sent a memorandum to the commander of Joint Task Force 170 (Guantanamo) claiming that current guidelines for interrogation procedures at the detention facilities were limiting the ability of the interrogators to counter "advanced resistance" from the detainees. He therefore requested the base commander to approve the use of the following "counter-resistance resistance strategies" at the base (if the "direct approach" to interrogation failed).

G1. **Yelling at the detainee** (not directly in his ear or to the level that it would cause physical pain or hearing problems).

G2. **Techniques of deception** (multiple interrogator techniques; the interviewer may identify himself as an interrogator from a country with a reputation for harsh treatment of detainees).

G3. Use of stress positions (like standing), for a maximum of four hours. **(Thought injection/interruption)**
G4. **The use of falsified documents or reports.**

G5. Use of isolation facility for up to thirty days (permission may be requested for isolation to cover medical visits of a non-emergent nature and extend beyond the initial thirty days).

G6. **Interrogation of the detainee in an environment other than the standard interrogation booth.**

G7. Deprivation of light and auditory stimuli.

G8. Detainee may also have a hood placed over his head during transportation and questioning. The hood should not restrict breathing in any way and the detainee should be under direct observation when hooded.

G9. **Use of twenty-hour interrogations.**

G10. Removal of all comfort items (including religious items).

G11. Switching the detainee from hot rations to MRE.

G12. Removal of clothing.

G13. Forced grooming (shaving of facial hair, etc.).

G14. Using detainees' individual phobias (such as fear of dogs) to induce stress.

G15. **The use of scenarios designed to convince the detainee that death or severely painful consequences are imminent for him and/or his family.**

G16. Exposure to cold weather or water (with appropriate medical monitoring).

G17. Use of a wet towel and dripping water to induce the misperception of suffocation [or waterboarding].

G18. **Use of mild, non-injurious physical contact such as grabbing, poking in the chest with the finger and light pushing.**

These 18 techniques were put into three categories in the Phifer memo. Category I included techniques G1 and G2. Category II techniques covered techniques G3 through G14 and required permission of the OIC, Interrogation Section. Category III techniques involved G15 through G18 and required approval of the commanding general and information to the commander of U.S. Southern Command.15

Category III techniques "and other aversive techniques, such as those used in U.S. military interrogation resistance training or by other U.S. government agencies, may be utilized," the memo proposed, "to help interrogate exceptionally resistant detainees." Thus, defensive programs designed for the resistance to interrogation would become offensive programs for the enhancement of interrogation. As detailed in an August 25, 2006, report from the Department of Defense Inspector General, one of these defensive-turned-offensive training programs was **SERE (for Survival-Evasion-Resistance-Escape)**. This is a program that incorporates physical and psychological pressures that "replicate harsh conditions that the Service member might encounter if he or she is held by forces that do not abide by the Geneva Conventions."
Indeed, a month prior to LTC Phifer's memo, a SERE psychologist conference was organized in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, for Guantanamo interrogation personnel. At that conference, Guantanamo personnel understood that they were to become familiar with SERE training and be capable of determining which SERE information and techniques might be useful in interrogations at Guantanamo. Guantanamo Behavioral Science Consultation Team personnel understood that they were to review documentation and standard operating procedures for SERE training in developing the standard operating procedure for the JTF-170 [Guantanamo], if the command approved those practices.

And, on at least two occasions, "SERE instructors from Fort Bragg responded to Guantanamo requests for instructors trained in the use of SERE interrogation resistance techniques.

On December 2, 2002, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld approved all the techniques G 1 through G 14, as well as G 18. On that very month, Dr. Michael Gelles, chief psychologist at the Naval Criminal Investigative Service, said that Guantanamo interrogators were using "abusive techniques" and "coercive psychological logical procedures" on one of the Guantanamo prisoners (Mohammed al Qahtani; on his interrogation, see Gutierrez, Chapter 11). Furthermore, Alberto Mora, general counsel for the U.S. Navy, told his superiors at the Pentagon that these methods were "unlawful and unworthy of the military services," and that the use of "coercive techniques" placed all involved in risk of prosecution (McCoy 2006, 128).

Six weeks later, on January 15, 2003, Mr. Rumsfeld rescinded his blanket permission to use previously approved categories G3 through G14, and category G18 (but allowed their use on a case-by-case basis and with approval of the secretary of defense). He also convenes a working group of top legal advisors from the U.S. Armed Forces to assess legal, policy, and operational issues relating to the interrogation of detainees. On April 4, 2003, this working group issued a report recommending the following 35 techniques "for use with unlawful combatants outside the U.S."

H1. **Direct**: Asking straightforward questions.

H2. **Incentive/Removal of Incentive**: Providing a reward or removing a privilege, above and beyond those [POW privileges] required by the Geneva Convention, from detainees.

H3. **Emotional Love**: Playing on the love a detainee has for an individual or group.

H4. **Emotional Hate**: Playing on the hatred a detainee has for an individual or group.

H5. **Fear Up Harsh**: Significantly increasing the fear level in a detainee.

H6. **Fear Up Mild**: Moderately increasing the fear level in a detainee.

H7. **Reduced Fear**: Reducing the fear level of a detainee.

H8. **Pride and Ego Up**: Boosting the ego of a detainee.

H9. **Pride and Ego Down**: Attacking or insulting the ego of a detainee, not beyond the limits that would apply to a POW.

H10. **Futility**: Invoking the feeling of futility of a detainee.
H11. **We Know All**: Convincing the detainee that the interrogator knows the answer to questions he asks the detainee.

H12. **Establish Your Identity**: Convincing the detainee that the interrogator has mistaken the detainee for someone else.

H13. **Repetition Approach**: Continuously repeating the same question to the detainee within interrogation periods of normal duration. H14. **File and Dossier**: Convincing the detainee that the interrogator has a damning and inaccurate file that must be fixed. H15. **Mutt and Jeff**: A team consisting of a friendly and harsh interrogator. The harsh interrogator might employ the Pride and Ego Down technique.

H14. **File and Dossier**: Convincing the detainee that the interrogator has a damning and inaccurate file that must be fixed.

H15. **Mutt and Jeff**: A team consisting of a friendly and harsh interrogator. The harsh interrogator might employ the Pride and Ego Down technique.

H16. **Rapid Fire**: Questioning in rapid succession without allowing the detainee to answer.

H17. **Silence**: Staring at the detainee to encourage discomfort.

H18. **Change of Scenery Up**: Removing the detainee from the standard interrogation setting (generally to a location more pleasant, but no worse).

H19. **Change of Scenery Down**: Removing the detainee from the standard interrogation setting and placing him in a setting that may be less comfortable; would not constitute a substantial change in environmental quality.

H20. **Hooding**: This technique is questioning the detainee with a blindfold in place. For interrogation purposes, the blindfold is not on other than during the interrogation.

H21. **Mild Physical Contact**: Lightly touching a detainee or lightly poking the detainee in a completely non-injurious manner. This also includes softly grabbing of shoulders to get the detainee’s attention or to comfort the detainee.

H22. **Dietary Manipulation**: Changing the diet of a detainee; no intended deprivation of food or water; no adverse medical or cultural effect and without intent to deprive subject of food or water; e.g. hot rations to MREs.

H23. **Environmental Manipulation**: Altering the environment to create moderate discomfort comfort (e.g. adjusting temperature or introducing an unpleasant smell). Conditions would not be such that they would injure the detainee.

H24. **Sleep Adjustment**: Adjusting the sleeping times of the detainee (e.g. reversing sleep cycles from night to day). This technique is NOT sleep deprivation [sleep deprivation is a separate technique; see H31 below].

H25. **False Flag**: Convincing the detainee that individuals from a country other than the United States are interrogating him.
H26. Threat of Transfer: Threatening to transfer the subject to a third country that subject is likely to fear would subject him to torture or death. (The threat would not be acted upon nor would the threat include any information beyond the naming of the receiving country.)

H27. Isolation: Isolating the detainee from other detainees while still complying with basic standards of treatment.

H28. Use of Prolonged Interrogations: The continued use of a series of approaches that extend over a long period of time (e.g. 20 hours per day per interrogation).

H29. Forced Grooming: Forcing a detainee to shave hair or beard. (Force applied with intention to avoid injury. Would not use force that would cause serious injury.)

H30. Prolonged Standing: Lengthy standing in a "normal" position (nonstress). This has been successful, but should never make the detainee exhausted to the point of weakness or collapse. Not enforced by physical restraints. Not to exceed four hours in a 24-hour period.

H31. Sleep Deprivation: Keeping the detainee awake for an extended period of time (Allowing the individual to rest and then awakening him, repeatedly). Not to exceed four days in succession.

AN EXTENSIONAL DEFINITION In principle, there are two ways in which we could define PT. One of them is to list all (and only) the practices that constitute PT. The other is to identify the property or properties that practices must satisfy in order to count as instances of PT. The former is the extensional definition of the term; the latter is the intentional one. Intuitively, when we think of PT we think of a set of practices that include:

A1. Isolation: solitary confinement (no human contact whatsoever) or semi-solitary confinement (contact only with interrogators, guards, and other personnel ancillary to the detention).
Table 1.1
Comprehensiveness of the Extensive Definition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extensive Definition Practices</th>
<th>Bideman</th>
<th>Kubark</th>
<th>Ulster</th>
<th>Caballero</th>
<th>HRETM A3</th>
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*Note: Well-documented practices of cruel, inhuman, degrading psychological treatments (or torture) fit within the proposed extensive definition of psychological torture. See preceding text for an explanation of the codes to the practices. Multiple practices like B2 are entered separately onto the table as B3a, B3b, etc.*

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