AMERICAN

PSYCHOLOGICAL

ASSOCIATION

TOWN HALL MEETING

During Mini-Convention on Ethics and Interrogation

AUGUST 19, 2007

DR. MOOREHEAD-SLAUGHTER: Good afternoon. If you will find a seat if you would like one, we will go ahead and start so that we can take full advantage of the time that we have for the town meeting.

Welcome, welcome, glad you're here. And I hope that you are having a good convention in whatever ways that happens for you. Thank you so much for making time to come to this town meeting. I must say that the Planning Committee for the Ethics and Interrogation sessions of this component of convention felt that it was really important to have a town meeting, a space for people, psychologists, to come together to have a dialog, to share thoughts, to share opinions across the Association in this way where we are all here together in person face to face. So, that you have come and taken advantage of that opportunity and I think others will be trickling in I think is simply wonderful.

I hope that you've been able to attend some of the sessions that have been planned for the Ethics and Interrogations series because we very, very carefully assembled that series to offer an opportunity for sharing of knowledge, sharing of science, a sharing of very thought-provoking issues and concerns in this area. We were hoping for both breadth and depth, and hopefully

we have accomplished that.

In this setting we want all thoughts and opinions represented here to be heard. So, if you have a thought that you'd like to share, if you have an issue you'd like to raise, we hope that you will raise it. And we hope that when you have the mike that you will respectfully raise your opinion and those who are listening will respectfully listen to you.

My colleague, Dr. Doug Haldeman -- I don't think I introduced myself. I'm Olivia Moorehead-Slaughter. Just sorry about that. I have been a part of the Ethics Committee. I'm currently a part of BAPPI, Board for the Advancement of Psychology in the Public Interests. I chaired the PENS Task Force. I have continued to work on this effort side by side with many colleagues who have worked tirelessly around these issues, and we shall continue to do so.

But, thank you again for coming. And Doug Haldeman, my colleague from the Board of Directors and I will be co-moderating this session. And we welcome you here.

DR. HALDEMAN: Good afternoon, everybody. I just wanted to make a brief comment about logistics. Obviously this is not ideal that we have one microphone. And so I would ask that we invite your comments in whatever way is most convenient and practical. And one

thought, of course, was to come up to the podium. The other is simply to stand on the floor in front. And if people feel comfortable doing that, that's probably a little bit easier than everybody getting up [inaudible]. The general sense of [inaudible] prefer to come to the podium and have the podium to lean on when you talk.

The other is that we are going to ask that you limit your comments to three minutes. That is because there are many of you here, and we want to ensure that as many of you who would like to speak are able to do so. And I will be the timekeeper, and I'll give you a signal when you have 30 seconds left. And then I will give you another signal when it is time to stop.

And with that, yes, any questions, comments about the format? Yes, sir.

MALE 1: Could you just brief us on what Council is voting on today before we go to the [inaudible]?

DR. HALDEMAN: I'd be happy to do that. Well, there's a lot of history that I'm going to leave out so that there is more time for people to talk, but what had come to the Council agenda was a substitute motion from the Board of Directors that attempted to create a sort of compromise position, if you will, from what was initially the moratorium resolution. It was developed by Dr. Neil Altman and the subsequent feedback from the

boards of committees that came in the springtime. This solution we felt was, at least for what it was, an adequate one. But, when we all got together we realized that there were a number of stakeholders who had yet to really sit down at the table and talk together and work out a solution to the question of psychologists' involvement in interrogations in places where detainees are held without adequate or any civil rights and human rights.

The group that crafted the resolution that was ultimately passed today was one that included the Military Psychology Division, the Peace Psychology Division, the representatives from the Divisions for Social Justice, representatives from the New York State Psychological Association, and a number of other divisions, including Consulting and Counseling and some consultation as well from the Ethics Committee.

That resolution passed and is a document that is too long for me to summarize here, but included all collaboration between these groups with the exception of the clause that would be location-specific in terms of prohibiting psychologists from working at certain detention centers.

I would say it's fair to say that although the resolution itself passed nearly unanimously, the

1 Amendment itself brought a fairly divided sense to the 2 Council of Representatives where there were many people who came down on the side of we withdraw completely from 3 4 these kinds of settings because to participate implies a 5 complicity as I understand it with governmental policies 6 that we find abhorrent and unjust to people. There was, however, a larger group of people who felt that we stay 7 8 engaged and that we cannot be helpful by not bearing witness and by offering whatever consultation and help 9 10 that we can to people who are conducting interrogations. 11 And that is the basic gist of how it went today at Council. 12 13 Okay. Any further questions about the logistics for 14 that? Just one thing is that I'd ask that people 15 REPORTER: 16 identify themselves. Thanks. Yes, please identify 17 HALDEMAN: yourself. State your name and whatever affiliation you 18 19 would like to connect with. Yes, sir. 20 MALE 2: Would you like us just to form a line so that we can take turns when --21 22 DR. HALDEMAN: I would so that we're not waiting for 23 people to come up and grab the mike. The concern is 24 that there is no step here, so let me know if you --

[Off-the-record discussion.]

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DR. HALDEMAN: Okay. If you would form your line starting there, over there. And please come up.

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DR. FIELDS: My name is Dr. Rona Fields. I've been evaluating, studying, examining torture victims all over the world since 1970. In 1972 I gave an interview to the New York Times and Los Angeles Times. I was then on the Committee on Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology at the beginning of it. And I said that psychology has to take responsibility for the way its tools, in other words, its experiments, its research, its findings are used as nuclear scientists did on the This is our atomic bomb. In response to atomic bomb. this, the then-president of Scientific Affairs ordered me censured, and I was subsequently dismissed from the Committee on Social and Ethical Responsibility, which is no big deal because they didn't do anything except to say that sensory deprivation is sometimes very helpful. This appears, by the way, in the congressional record February 16th, 1972. It's therapeutic. therapeutic and causes no harm except when it's done to infants and old people. Okay? And on that basis they pointed out that there were at least 30 journal articles on sensory deprivation, all by reputable psychologists including Hebb and Suedfield [sic]...Suedfeld [sic] and others, and that there were legitimate science.

All right. The story hasn't changed. The story is the same today. At this point I have examined thousands of people in Argentina, in Chile, in Northern Ireland, in Israel, in Palestine, in Lebanon, in Southeast Asia and South Asia as well as refugees coming here for asylum who have been tortured in many, many other places.

The point isn't to diss the military. The point is that the Association has got to take responsibility. In all of these other places there are civilian psychologists participating in the torture. And there certainly were in Northern Ireland. And when you try to do therapy with torture survivors or even interview and test them and you are a psychologist, you're one of the people who tortured them.

Okay. Thank you. That -- I can give you a bibliography of things I've written that have been published in academic presses. But, that's the gist of it. And I'd like to start the discussion on that issue.

DR. JACOBS: I'm Dr. Uwe Jacobs. I'm the clinical director of Survivors International, a rehabilitation organization for survivors of torture.

I have done some work over recent months and further back to help with this process of bringing hopefully to pass resolution that would call for a stop to

psychologists participating in military detention centers. In terms of a compromise I am not all that happy today, and the reason is that for starters the moratorium itself, which is what we all were trying to get to pass, was defeated. I think there are many other points that are also important, but that are not the main point. The main point is that as a nongovernmental organization which should be beholden to international law, nevertheless the APA has decided to side with this government and its own domestic laws where they diverge from international law. That's a big problem.

In terms of some specifics, my experience was, unfortunately, that to the degree that we were trying to be specific about things that are not allowed, the other side, as it were, from within the APA kept pushing back so that, for example, where we felt it was important to have in this resolution that the conditions of detention are identified, not just interrogation processes, that suggestion was taken back out. That's only one example. The reason why that is so important is because at this point nobody really needs to interrogate people much anymore in these places. But, the conditions of detention themselves have been called tantamount to torture by the ICRC and other observers.

And so, it is very difficult for me to understand why some people within the organization would take precisely that kind of language away from a resolution like this if there isn't the intent to make sure that some people aren't going to get into trouble.

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DR. DAN ALBERS: My name is Dan Albers, and I am just another psychologist who thinks that the moral issue of our time has landed at our doorstep. I wanted to say just a few things. One, I think that there has not been today, or in these last number of years, enough discussion about the difference between the culture of science and the culture of an intelligence community. Scientists are committed to openness. Ultimately what keeps us ethical is not our ethical code, is not our internal review boards, but it is that we publish our research, we present things at conferences, and ultimately, the last test on whether or not we have been ethical or not is public scrutiny. This is very different from an intelligence organization which tends to want to control information. And there are these basic incompatibilities, I think, we have not addressed.

The second point I want to make is about this moratorium that did not pass. We have made an enormous mistake, and I think it's -- not only did we do the wrong thing morally, we did not act in our best

interests. We are now standing against the American Psychiatric Association, the American Medical Association, the British Psychological Society, numerous human rights organizations, the UN, the Council of Europe, and this detention and interrogation policy is going to go down. And once it does go down, we will find that we have secured the best cabin on the Titanic. Thank you.

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DR. WILLIAM McCONOCHIE: My name is Bill McConochie. I'm a psychologist from Eugene, Oregon. I served in the Army for three years many decades ago, and I recall that we were instructed to refuse to obey laws -- or rather commands from officers above us or sergeants that we deemed to be illegal, such as modeled on the issue that was raised when Lt. Calley was responsible for, the My Lai massacre in Viet Nam. And I suggest that the APA Ethics Committee revise or craft the ethics to quide a psychologist that is working in the military setting when he is aware of or confronts a situation where his conscience or conflict between what he's asked to do and what he thinks the Constitution says is appropriate or what national laws say is appropriate or international laws say are appropriate, that the psychologist would be encouraged to recognize that dilemma and then turn to the APA Ethics Committee for

1 counsel and guidance about how to get through it.

I don't think we can just say psychologists shouldn't work for the military or shouldn't work in situations where these issues might come up. Any responsible psychologist is going to be involved in issues that occasionally become ethical dilemmas. And it's been my practice as a clinician simply not to have an answer for every one of those possible dilemmas but to know that I can turn to my attorney and to the Oregon State Psychological Association attorney for guidance and the Ethics Committee when something like that comes up.

DR. MARK COVEY: I am Dr. Mark Covey out of Paynesville, Kentucky. I'm also a captain in the Army Reserve.

I was called up 2004 to 2005 to Germany at Landstuhl Hospital and then worked at brigade nearby at Baumholder. And during my time there I bumped into a problem. 2004, as you may recall, was the year that Abu Ghraib broke. I just happened to have been deeply affected by that, and talking to some of my colleagues, I think some of them were deeply affected by that as well. It prompted me to write an article on Abu Ghraib, taking it more from a psychological perspective, drawing from some different theories; also Zimbardo. And unfortunately, I didn't realize at the time that I was

hitting a major landmine because when it went through the review process in order to be approved for publishing, it was denied.

And I can say to you that that single event changed my life, and it prompted me ultimately to write a book since the articles that I was attempting to publish I ran into some difficulties. And so I would say Abu Ghraib was the centerpiece and the being denied publishing, that was the main feature of the book.

And I just want to say that there were some other psychologists that I worked with there who had been SERE-trained. I think they were some great people. As far I know I don't think that they were involved in any of the goings on with some of the psychologists that were later identified as being directly involved or indirectly involved in the interrogation thing.

But, I do want to say that I think that what I bumped into is a major flaw of the system. And what it is is that we are bound as military people under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and so we can't simply go out and publish when we'd like to; we have to go through that process. And as I wrote in the book, I think that it's a major problem for people that are in the know that know what's going on in the military circles that they are prevented from being able to speak the truth

- 1 and to actually help modify things so that we don't have
- 2 to wait three years later for all of this to come out.
- Thanks.
- 4 MS. GOODMAN: Excuse me, just a point of procedure.
- 5 We're told that reporters are only allowed to record for
- 6 ten minutes, and Pamela Willenz of the APA said that she
- 7 will call Security on us now, because we're going to be
- 8 recording for more than ten minutes. So, I was
- 9 wondering if there could be any sense of the meeting, or
- 10 a rationale, since this is a town hall meeting, for not
- being allowed to record for more than ten minutes.
- 12 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE 1: Can we vote to allow
- recording at the town hall meeting? Can we all vote to
- 14 allow recording?
- 15 AUDIENCE MEMBERS: Yes.
- 16 UNIDENTIFIED MALE 2: It's our town hall meeting.
- It's our town hall meeting, isn't it?
- 18 UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: We want the press to witness
- 19 this.
- UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 3: Yeah, absolutely.
- 21 UNIDENTIFIED MALE 3: No more crimes in silent.
- UNIDENTIFIED MALE 2: No more secrecy.
- UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: Transparency, openness.
- 24 UNIDENTIFIED MALE 3: Nonsense.
- MS. CARLENAS: Can everyone who approves of allowing

- the reporters to record please raise your hand?
- 2 UNIDENTIFIED MALE (Dr. Haldemann or Dr. Behnke): Okay,
- folks, the recording will continue through the session.
- 4 [Applause.]
- 5 MS. IRENE CARLENAS: My name is Irene Carlenas. I'm here today as a guest, but I studied social psychology 6 under Philip Zimbardo whose work I very much admire. 7 8 And I would ask if I am any given mental health 9 professional and I have trouble facing traumas that I've 10 been through, because that's the nature of trauma, how 11 can I be expected to recognize when someone else has 12 been traumatized to diagnose them correctly or is being 13 traumatized by something that I consider psychological 14 treatment, whether it is in a military detention 15 facility or in a mental hospital or in a therapeutic setting where someone could be re-traumatized? 16 17 since we know that psychologists are humans with

Thank you.

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DR. ARRIGO: My name is Jean Maria Arrigo. I'm a social psychologist. For 12 years I studied ethics of political and military intelligence, working very closely with people from the military and intelligence.

blindspots, is giving one person the power to determine

if someone has been or is being traumatized or not

giving them amount of power that is open to abuse?

In particular, in November of last year I was one of the primary organizers of a seminar for psychologists and interrogators, one of whom I brought to this conference, Ray Bennett. And we have discussed intensively what interrogators, at least of his acquaintance, senior interrogators, want of psychologists. And their message was really unambiguous, which is that they wanted the assistance of psychologists at the training level, at basic training at Fort Huachuca, places like that, not anywhere in the detention center, and that was it. So, I'm here to bring the message from those interrogators.

DR. UHL: Hello. My name is Doug Uhl. I'm a clinical psychologist from Bellingham, Washington. And I can remember some time ago when someone asked me what psychologists' role was in interrogation. And naively I said, that's a no-brainer: None. And then I found out we are involved. And here we are, we're trying to get our organization to change. I feel like a Democrat after the last election, trying to get the politicians to respond to what we want.

DIANE: Hi, I'm Diane [inaudible], representative for the clinical psychologists. I wanted to say a couple things about it seems to me the question becomes such a moot point that we don't even need to discuss whether our psychologists should be there. First, just a moment

that the American Medical Association does not have psychiatrists allowed to be at detention centers. What does that tell us? I don't think they're advocating the responsibility to be legally and morally bound by not being there. They did not advocate nor would we by leaving. The laws are in place that we can follow and have to follow morally and legally. International human rights laws and the Geneva Convention state clearly that we should not be involved as psychologists. We offer mental health care. We have rules and regulations in place already. So, therefore, we tell them, follow those rules and regulations. We should not be enforcing it by saying if psychologists are there, they will enforce it because we are not lawyers, we are not enforcers. We are psychologists who have enormous amount of data information. So, therefore, we can point to that, but we don't need to be there.

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We need to really find our shining moment in APA that's a very respected organization. Many of us have been members for many years. Nationally and internationally very well-respected. Let's reclaim the high road and talk about we shouldn't even have to give credibility to whether we should be there or not when we should not be there. We should be against any kind of use of psychologists when those psychologists are

violating our moral, legal and ethical rules. We
absolutely have to speak up before it's too late.

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And lastly, we also put that military psychologists, and I'm very respectful of those military people, in a horrible dilemma to listen to the military law, to their society law, to the international law. Which law do they follow? What a horrible dilemma, and what is that doing to their mental health? And what about all the patients we see who are so traumatized by what's going on and for people who have been experiencing these kind of -- we just heard a wonderful talk about all the data about when there is a terrorist act, counter-terrorism prevails. And we are contributing to all of that. It's really time we reclaim APA for the incredible organization it is, take it back in a humane, moral, legal way and not have psychologists there at all. The laws are in place. We need to follow the laws.

We have to remember, too -- I'm so sorry -- so much of the policy was based on deception by the White House. And I'm sorry, we have to get political. It was based on deception. That's a premise. We can't just throw away and start debating whether we should do this or that. We were lied to. Deception was used. They used psychology techniques to get people polarized, to get us to not listen to what's really going on, and to make us

think that 9/11 and Iraq are related. I responded to 9/11 as a Red Cross responder. And everyone knows they're not related, but that premise is brought together again. It's repeated here today by DoD in sessions. It's [inaudible] Fox News. It is really time that we listen to the facts and the reality and reclaim our country before we go to the ways the Argentines did or the Nazis did. Stand up now, please, I beg you.

Thank you.

LEN RUBENSTEIN: Hi, I'm Len Rubenstein. I'm a guest. I'm with Physicians for Human Rights. I'm a friend of APA.

And what I'd like to do for a moment is talk about the fact that this resolution has been passed. There are elements in it that a lot of us don't like and some of us do like. It is a quite a mix. But, the resolution has passed, and it seems that there are things the organization needs to do in response to the resolution.

There are three elements to the resolution that are particularly important. One is the condemnation of 20 specific interrogation techniques that we know have been used and probably are still being used by the CIA.

Second, it expresses grave concern over the fact that human rights violations are taking place in American-run

detention facilities. And it recognizes that those violations include not only violations of interrogation, but in conditions of confinement. Those are all in the resolution.

So, what does the Association need to do? I'd like to suggest there are a few things that need to be done. One is absolutely, as the resolution calls for, to condemn the CIA for using these interrogation techniques and operating black sites where there is no due process, where people are kidnapped, where people are kept incommunicado, and where the ICRC is denied access. That follows first in the resolution. That seems a bottom line.

A second is while the amendment was defeated concerning participation in places where human rights violations have been committed, it seems that the Association, given the three points I just raised about what's in the resolution, needs to say, what is a psychologist supposed to do in a CIA black site? What is the ethical guidance that the psychologist can get from this organization given the circumstances under which that facility is run?

Third, there are going to be hearings this fall by the Armed Services Committee in the Senate. And it seems to be -- and concerning the roles of

pyschologists, including SERE psychologists. And it seems the APA, given this resolution, has an imperative to publicly cooperate with that committee and provide whatever guidance and suport it can to its investigation.

Fourth, there are particular psychologists whose names we know who have been identified in the public who may or may not be members of the APA, often not, but that doesn't seem to me to be relevant, that they need to be investigated by the APA on the basis of this resolution.

Finally, there has to be a way of moving forward with the general problem which was addressed in the amendment. And it goes back to the first point I made: how do you operate in an environment that is replete with human rights violations, sometimes gross violations, sometimes war crimes? These are not just violations of ethics, but they're actually war crimes which can be prosecuted. And how psychologists -- what guidance will be given to psychologists in those settings to make sure that they are not complicit in those abuses? I think that all follows from the resolution, and we at Physicians for Human Rights will be delighted to work with the Association, moving forward on all five counts.

1 Thanks.

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- DR. NEIL MASSOTH: Neil Massoth. Just two quick
 things. When Dr. Rubenstein I think raised the very
 important issue about what guidance APA can give, and
 part of the resolution that was passed was reaffirming
- 6 that the Ethics Committee will be writing a case book to
- 7 help psychologists with these ethical dilemmas.

the one amendment that was not passed.

- 9 everyone here to read the resolution. There are very
 10 important issues that are being raised. And I think
 11 some of the questions about what was done in the
 12 resolution is being lost in some of the feelings about
- So, I would just like to ask everyone to please,

 plese read the resolution that was passed. I'm not sure

 when it will be on the APA website, but I'm sure it will

 be very soon. Does anyone know from -- who's here when

 it might be on the website? But, it should be -
 Dr. Behnke, do you know?
- 20 DR. BEHNKE: You know, I've not had a chance to check. You know, by tomorrow.
- DR. MOSSATH: Probably by tomorrow. So, please,

 please read the resolution that was passed. We're

 focusing a lot on the amendment that was not, and

 there's much in the resolution that I think everyone

- will find being very positive.
- 2 Thank you.

DR. JACKSON: Hello. I'm Mary Ann Jackson. I'm from New York, and I'm active in NSPA. And I'd like to talk to another aspect of this what I consider a problem, and that is that as I went through the convention today, I took the time to chat with people on the bus, waiting for Bob Newhart and other kinds of places, and I was really amazed at how many people didn't know or kind of just vagely knew what was going on here. And I agree with the man who said this is the moral question of our time for our profession. I sincerely believe that.

And I was very dismayed to see how few psychologists at this convention -- I heard that there are 15,000 of us, and yet there are only a couple of hundred here -- how few of them either knew the issue or understood the issue or were concerned enough to find out about the issue. Now, of course, there's the additional problem that the population in general doesn't know too much about this, and I'm very glad to see the press is here to record this and get it out because I think it's very important.

But, you know, as I leafed through the Division newsletters and the APA's house organ -- I'm reluctant to call it our house organ because I don't think it

revealed this controversy, this very important issue, to APA members. Now, those who are active and those in the social justice divisions and those of us that are kind of like seeking out what's going on are aware of it. But, I think that many, many of our members just didn't know or only knew very slightly what was going on, and I'm very upset about that. I feel that our organization has to be more transparent, and I would like to see that in the coming year.

We read about this in the Monitor, and we read the facts of the situation as well as the organization's interpretation of it. So, and I would like to see that there is some action being taken as Dr. -- no, Mr. Rubenstein from Physicians for Human Rights, why is it that he had to tell us, okay, these are the steps you have to take? You know, I think that we have to make sure that our organization actually does take the steps that are necessary to get this resolution out to the public, out to our members so that we could all move forward.

Thank you.

MR. AHRENS: My name is Mike Ahren. I'm retired, been retired for eight years from University. And my wife and I now spend much of our time in Europe, and I do have relations with psychologists in Europe.

So, what the doctor over there just finished saying that many of our colleagues here in San Francisco don't know much about this, I can tell you that some of the psychologists that I've known in Europe do know about this. They do read the newspapers. And this is the interesting implication because we share the same field, even if not the same nationality. This is a reflection on everybody in psychology everywhere in the world. So, decisions that you are making right here are reflecting on the entire field. Now, already, as everybody knows, already the credibility of our country, the trust in our country, the leadership in our country has bottomed out, and so this is just one more thing that lies on the top of it.

DR. NANCY WECKER: Hi, my name is Nancy Wecker. I'm in private practice in San Francisco. I just want to propose a conflict that we have. It's like we're embedded in the military, you know, like the journalists who are embedded in the war? That's our problem. Most of our internships are all in the military, DoD or mostly the VA. So I think we have this problem with ethics are really high fallutin'. You know, it's hard for us to imagine people being tortured, for a lot of us. And then we have our affiliation and our loyalty. So, these are in conflict, and I think people couldn't

imagine, you know, withdrawing from our responsibilities
and our teamwork with these people in the military
because of some high fallutin' kind of ideals.

And I just want to put that out. I think it's a conflict. I think people could resolve them in the way of saying, well, you know, we'll take a real definite stand. So, that's why it's fuzzy.

8 Thank you.

DR. CARTER MEHL: I'm Carter Mehl. I'm a psychologist, have been a psychologist in public service in Alameda County just across the Bay from here for 27 years; I just retired a few months ago.

I'm one of the people that -- I'm sorry, I don't remember the woman's name, but -- who was not aware of all this very much. My brother, who's not a psychologist, about a year ago posed a question to me:

How come psychologists haven't come out the way psychiatrists, the AMA, and other organizations have against not participating, you know, in these kind of interrogations? I said, yeah, I don't know anything about this. I can't believe what you're sort of implying with this. So, I looked it up and I found the PENS report. And I felt very reassured. The words were very nice, and it looked good. I read it pretty carefully I thought. I said, okay, great. I talked

back to him, called him back and said, you know, I don't know, you must have a misunderstanding of this. That was certainly the end of it till he prodded me again more recently about these issues. And I began paying attention more to things that are coming out in the press, Vanity Fair issues, the recent New Yorker and so on.

Anyway, I don't know quite where I stand on all of this, but I have to say I am more troubled by the fact that was stated that I don't feel that the leadership of APA made this very well known among the membership. This is a huge issue. It is, I think, the central issue of our country at this time, and I didn't know about it. You know, I have to take responsibility. I didn't dig. I will dig now. I will read this new resolution very carefully. I'm eager to see what it says.

But I'm most troubled by the things -- I've been attending all the sessions in this little workshop. And I was most disturbed by Jean Arrigo's comments about her experience and the process of how the PENS report came about.

And I have to say I'm most disturbed at this meeting now about what we just experienced, about the press was going to be cut off. Why are we being secretive? I understand why the CIA needs to be secretive. We are a

- 1 public organization. And I would like someone from APA
- 2 leadership to explain their rationale, why they thought
- a town meeting like this should be cut off, that the
- 4 press should be excluded after ten minutes. I would
- 5 really like to know. I'm trying to understand. That is
- 6 my problem, is what is the leadership coming from?
- 7 Thank you.
- 8 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Can we please have a response?
- 9 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Can somebody answer?
- 10 DR. HALDEMAN: Is there someone from the staff who
- would like to respond to this? I mean, I would like to
- respond to it I suppose if I had known it existed, but.
- 13 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Go ahead.
- 14 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: What do you know?
- DR. HALDEMAN: Not very much. I did not know until
- 16 this session started that there was a ten-minute limit
- on press coverage of these sessions.
- 18 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Why?
- 19 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Why?
- DR. HALDEMAN: And I am sorry, I cannot explain this
- to you because I don't know why.
- UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Who [inaudible] that from? Who
- told you?
- 24 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Who did -- yeah, where did it
- come from, Doug?

- DR. HALDEMAN: The reporter here. So, [inaudible]
 and I've got the microphone. We're highlighting some
 other communication problems within the Association,
 seriously, because I truly don't know how to explain
- 6 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Well, doesn't someone?

this to you. I didn't know it existed.

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- 7 DR. HALDEMAN: But it's been resolved satisfactory.
- 8 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: But, can I ask a question? Can I 9 ask that you find out where that came from and then put 10 an announcement on the APA website explaining it? 11 Because it is now national news. I think it's a matter 12 of transparency, face-saving. Explanation is all part 13 of the process of trying to keep this very important 14 issue active and alive so we can all address it as 15 professionals.
- DR. HALDEMAN: I will put it at the top of my to-do list, sir.
- 18 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Thank you.
- DR. HALDEMAN: I have told you what I can tell you about this. Do you want to continue?
- 21 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Thank you, Doug.
- DR. HALDEMAN: You're welcome.
- DR. REISNER: I think it is very important that there are decisions being made and nobody seems to know who made them.

My name is Steven Reisner. I've got a couple of questions. My first question, I just want to say that I'm sure many people in this room know that many of us are trying to grapple with the fact that the amendment wasn't passed today, and I wanted to ask this group a question. I wanted to take another vote. The Amendment states that psychologists should not be participating as part of a military operation or a CIA operation at sites where human rights are being violated. And I would like to know in this room how many people would support such an amendment? How many would be opposed?

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: What are the parameters?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Could you say it again?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: One more time.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Read the Amendment.

DR. REISNER: Do you want the actual wording? Here's the actual wording. Okay. This is the wording. "Be it resolved that the objectives of the APA shall be to advance psychology as a science and profession and as a means of promoting health, education and welfare. And, therefore, the roles of psychologists in settings in which detainees are deprived of adequate protection of their human rights should be limited as health personnel to the provision of psychological treatment." How many are in favor? How many are opposed?

I want to know why the Council of Representatives is so different in how it votes from the members of the American Psychological Association. So, that's my first question.

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Μy second question, following uр on what Len Rubenstein asked. Len Rubenstein spoke about, if we are taking this resolution seriously, where we have to go as an organization. I would like to pose this differently. I would like to know, if we take this resolution seriously, where we are as an organization. I want to know -- and there are ethicists in this room, there are people who were involved in the careful wording of this resolution -- I want to know if passing this resolution prohibits psychologists from being involved in the enhanced interrogation techniques that the President of the United States authorized can take place at CIA black sites. Enhanced. The APA leadership, many of the spokespeople for the APA position, has said that the APA only wants to use rapport-building interrogation techniques and that these techniques do no harm. Yet the President has authorized enhanced techniques, which means that they are more aversive than those techniques that are approved even in the Army Field Manual, which are no picnic. And I want to know from people here who know, the ethicist

psychologists in this room who worked on this language:

does this resolution prohibit psychologists from

participating in enhanced interrogations at CIA black

sites?

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I have 30 seconds. And I want to say one more thing. We, as an organization, have seen -- the answer to this question of whether this resolution prohibits this participation goes to the essence of who we are as ethical psychologists. If we cannot say, no, we will not participate in enhanced interrogations at CIA black sites, I think we have to seriously question what we are as an organization and, for me, what my allegiance is to this organization, or whether we might have to criticize it from outside the organization at this point. I would very much like to be able to continue to call myself a member of the American Psychological Association, but it is only possible if the ethical standards of this association are something that I am willing to pay dues to.

DR. SOLDZ: My name is Stephen Soldz from the Coalition for an Ethical APA. I want to reiterate what Steve Reisner just asked. This is the central question. We have been told throughout the day, throughout the week that the APA has an unequivocal policy against torture. There is no doubt that torture is occurring in

the CIA black sites. We may have some questions about what's going on in Guantanamo these days because we know very little about the interrogation. But, we know that the President has reauthorized torture. We need the leadership of the APA to state unequivocally that it's unethical for psychologists to participate in these enhanced interrogation techniques. That will be the measure of whether we got a real resolution here, or did we get stabbed? So, we know, we will find out. You know, we will conduct an experiment. We're scientists. We look at data. We will find out what this means. Remember that. In the next few days and next few weeks we need to know that.

I would like to call attention to one minor detail in here, however, that I hope that the answer is yes and that this will be a major weapon in the battle against torture at the CIA sites. In fact, I believe that that will be case and that our leadership will come through on this. But, there is a minor detail in here that has certain implications that were not discussed in Council today, that have not been discussed at all that I think we as psychologists need to know because this resolution throws out Principle A of the Ethics Code. In the list of the techniques on Lines 97 to 98 it says, "An isolation sensory dep..." -- this is a list of banned

techniques. "Isolation sensory and/or sleep deprivation used in a manner that represents" -- they changed "severe" to "significant pain or suffering or in a manner that a reasonable person would judge to cause lasting harm." So, all of a sudden the APA has voted that it is not unethical to cause any level of harm less than significant pain or suffering or something that does not cause lasting harm. This I think is a black day for the profession of psychology and for ethics in psychology.

DR. MIKE WESSELS: My name is Mike Wessels, and I just wanted to say that we're talking about a lot of the particulars of the resolution, which I think is terribly important. But, we also have to look a little bit deeper at some of the core documents. You may not be aware of it, but if you read carefully the APA Code of Ethics, which was not sculpted to address international issues, one finds a discrepancy, a contradiction that actively undermines psychologists' commitments to international and human rights standards.

It goes like this: "We support human rights principles of beneficence and non-maleficence do no harm." So far so good. Continue reading down. "When there is a conflict over ethics, the psychologist can take active steps to resolve. And if those steps don't

provide an easy resolution or maybe a difficult resolution, it is within the purview of the psychologist to follow national law."

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Well, the problem with that doesn't require a Ph.D. in political science or international human rights to understand. The way that the Suddam Husseins of the world and the tyrants of the world get their warrant to torture is by saying national law trumps international and human rights standards. The power of international and human rights standards derives precisely from the fact that no state and no military can trump them. And yet this Administration, the Bush Administration, has chose to establish a regime where it claims that national law and U.S. policy trumps international and human rights standards. And guess what? The APA, you and I, we have not actively opposed it. We need to change the Ethics Code to bring ourselves in line with international and human rights standards.

The second point is that every time international and human rights standards are compromised, it is not just that harm gets done. It is that the international movement to establish human rights standards are actively weakened. The APA took such a step today by ruling that psychologists could potentially continue to be active at Guantanamo Bay and at other sites operating

outside the Geneva Conventions. The door was opened for the sanctioning of psychologists operating in direct contravention of international human rights standards. To hold people in indefinite detention without recourse, without any civil and political rights is itself a form of torture and abuse.

So, just to finish up, my question that I would add along with the good question Steven raised is, what is the Association going to actively do to stop fiddling around with relatively minor resolutions when it's not even on the path of actively supporting international and human rights standards in everything that it does? It's of grave peril of making international and human rights standards a matter of rhetoric than of action, and that's the wrong stance.

DR. WILLIAM TODDMANCILLAS: My name is William Toddmancillas from Chico State. I have a brief observation, a simple observation. If we want to follow ethics that are more closely aligned with what we would accept as an internationally bona fide paradigm, why not endorse in language as close to the Geneva Convention as possible all those particulars concerning what can and cannot be done with the treatment of detainees? It strikes me that it's a very, very possibly a preferred course of action because that is language that is well-

known internationally. And I'm also quite pleased with
the fact that the Administration tries to rewrite that
language every chance it gets. So, that's a pretty good
litmus test that it must be okay.

DR. BLIZZARD: My name is Ruth Blizzard. I'm from Boulder, Colorado, and I was 25 years in Binghamton, New York.

I'm concerned that there's a certain amount of double-talk and double-think going on here in terms of what APA is saying it supports. The speaker a few minutes ago said that APA condones psychologists who consult on rapport-building interrogation? Well, it so happens that there was an excellent investigative reporting series of articles in the Christian Science Monitor just this week on the treatment of Jose Padilla who has been kept in solitary confinement for over two years and on the effect that this solitary confinement has had on his mental state. And this is before the court now.

One of the points that was made was that the proponents of using solitary confinement contend that it is a rapport-building technique of interrogation and that the solitary confinement causes the subject to want to talk more with his captors. If psychologists are permitted to consult on the use of solitary confinement

- to build rapport, then I don't even want to have a
 license as a psychologist.
- 3 Thank you.
- DR. EHRENSAFT: My name is Diane Ehrensaft and this
 is Ruth Fallenbaum, and we're going to speak together as
 part of the Coalition for an Ethical APA, and Ruth is
 going to speak first.

8 DR. FALLENBAUM: The issues around Section 301 or 9 whichever -- now I've forgotten what the section was --10 102 -- 1.02, which has been my obsession for the last 11 year, and the entire changes in the Ethics Code from 12 2002, all the language and, you know, the missing 13 clauses, the changed words, the resolutions, the 14 amendments, the votes, the machinations have led me to 15 feel very strongly that there needs to be some house-16 cleaning and some exploration and investigation into the 17 whole ethics apparatus of the APA. The fact that it has 18 taken, you know -- the press has taken a bunch of -- a 19 rag-taggle bunch of busy psychologists to bring even the 20 resolution that we're getting, which is sort of flawed, 21 when we've got someone apparently, you know, paid to do 22 ethics, a whole committee of ethics people for the APA, 23 who have given such poor consultation to this 24 organization and then led us into this abyss of shame 25 and, you know, just something we ought to feel

absolutely appalled by I think means that we need some house-cleaning here. And I don't know how that's going to do it, but that has to be our next project, and that has to be something that we hope you'll join us with.

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DR. EHRENSAFT: And I'd like to tell you my personal story as a fellow member of APA. When I read the first resolution that was put out by APA, and I'm on a list serve, my immediate knee-jerk response is, I'm quitting. I do not want to be part of this organization. And then my colleagues calmed me down and said, no, no, no, don't quit, but let's think about what we want to do. So, we did. And the first thing we did was decide to withhold our dues in protest, and organize a group to withhold And we all wrote letters, and in my personal dues. letter I talked about being Jewish and having been born in the 1940s and having learned never again, that we are not going to allow people to be maltreated against their human rights and that our collective it was responsibility to stop it whenever we could.

So, from there we went on to form the Coalition for an Ethical APA. And I believe that our coalition has been responsible for the forward movement in this resolution, but it's not good enough. And we have a lot more work to do. When I read the amendment, and I won't read it to you again, I see it's clear and simple. It

is unethical to be a psychologist in an unethical setting that violates international human rights. There is no place for us there. As a clinical psychologist when I'm with a patient, I pay attention to distortions. Why is somebody hearing something so different than how it was said, which is what I heard at the Council meeting this morning in terms of the interpretation of this Amendment. And I would also like to ask people to think about, why did that happen?

Mostly, I would like you all to join our coalition. We have a lot more work to do, as you can hear in this town meeting. And we need all of us together who raised our hands yes on the Amendment to keep working. And the more of us who work together, the more strength we will have to change this into an ethical APA.

Thank you. EthicalAPA.com.

DR. MASSOTH: Neil Massoth again. Of all the boards and committees that I currently serve on and have served on at APA, my proudest moment as a psychologist were my three years on the Ethics Committee; I'm a former member. So, I wanted to just say that first.

One of the last speakers referred to, quotes, "all of the changes that have been made since the 2/02 Ethics Code." There have been no changes made. The Ethics Committee, just so I'm understanding the process,

people, let's not confuse the Administration and the APA Ethics Committee, and I think some of that's going on. The Ethics Committee does not have the power to rewrite the Ethics Code. The Ethics Committee probably wishes they could insert some language in 1.02. It would solve some problems. The Ethics Committee cannot rewrite the Ethics Code. When the membership of APA decides that the time has come for a new Ethics Code, committees are brought together and there is a whole process. It's out for public comment. It goes out for public comment again. It's a multi-year process. The Ethics Committee cannot rewrite the Ethics Code. There have been no changes made since the 2002 Ethics Code, and I just get furious when I hear people assume that the Ethics Committee is running around doing this stuff.

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The Ethics Committee is a voluntary committee like everyone else. There's a small staff that works ridiculous numbers of hours. And the Ethics Committee are a bunch of volunteers, like all the rest of us, no one is paid. So, there needs to be some changes made. The Ethics Code does, is not thought about international law. The section that refers to when this conflict between law and the Ethics Code, go with law, was written because our Ethics Code says you can sleep with patients after two years, even though I'm not so sure

that's a good idea, cautions you to think about the patient in doing no harm. But there are some states that say you got to wait longer. So, you have to go with your state in violation of our Ethics Code. That's why that's there. It's not to protect people. It was not done for subterfuge to allow people to go out and do unethical things. Well, we're living in a different era, and there probably needs to be some changes made. And my guess is that the new Ethics Code written by you folks, not by the little old Ethics Committee or the Ethics Office, will look a little bit different. And I think that's a positive thing. And I just wanted to explain the process and be supportive of our very hardworking Ethics Committee and Ethics Office.

DR. LONG: I'm Jancis Long, and I'm an officer of Psychologists for Social Responsibility and a member of Ethical APA. I would like to see this become more of a town meeting, and I would like to challenge those people in the APA who wrote the very admirable language and passed the very admirable language in the resolution that was passed this morning to square it with turning down the very moderate language in the Amendment which did not say there could be no psychologists present. They said there could be no psychologist involved in anything other than health work at these sites. I would

like to ask APA why they thought to turn this down at this point, those members who did. And furthermore, I would like to ask whether they consider that it is now ethical for psychologists to be present and to be there at these interrogations because it would seem that turning this down is saying that it is allowed. And to me it seems that it is entirely in contrast to all the language of the resolution that was passed this morning. I challenge the APA to answer the questions of the last four speakers, including this one.

Thank you.

DR. SUMMERS: Hello. My name is Frank Summers. I'm a psychologist from Chicago. First of all, I want to respectfully disagree with some of the statements that have been made. The fact is that two years ago the Council of Representatives voted to change the Ethics Code. They called on the Ethics Office to change the Code. Nothing has been done, okay? So, that clarifies something that people should understand, okay?

At the beginning of this meeting somebody said, you know, clarify for us what the vote was this morning, okay? And I think people should understand that 1.02, which is a basic source of conflict for many of us, as speakers have said very articulately, does allow one to follow orders and violate the Ethics Code under that

condition. But, there was language in this Amendment as

I saw it yesterday that said that this would contravene

any law or any order given. I don't see that in here

today. How did that get taken out? When did that get

taken out? Why did that get taken out?

- Now, with regard to the Amendment itself, we were told at the beginning of this meeting that the Amendment said there was no participation at all. That's not what the Amendment says. Any of you can read it. It says that under conditions in which liberties are violated, people don't have basic human rights, you can participate only as a healthcare personnel promoting healthcare services or providing healthcare services. It does not say you can't be involved, okay?
 - Now, my question is, how is it possible to be ethically involved in a situation where there are no basic human rights, where there is no due process, where there are none of the protections of the law that we enjoy here?
- 20 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: We didn't do it.
- UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Well, who did? We want some accountability. And everyone in APA says we didn't do.
- It wasn't --

didn't do it?

24 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: That's what we say, right; we

DR. SUMMERS: So, the argument was made this morning that the reason to turn it down, primary reason, is because we have to be involved, okay? And we have to be involved because we make these interrogations safe and ethical and legal.

I urge all of you to read a study that was done by the United Nations. The United Nations Commission studied Guantanamo, and what they said was that there was widespread use of techniques that amount to torture under international law, that healthcare personnel were complicit in the use of those techniques, and that they had deleterious effects on the mental health of those people, and that there were in the year 2003 alone over 350 acts of self-harm. There were massive suicide attempts. There were massive hunger strikes. Where were the psychologists? Where were these psychologists that are making these interrogations safe, ethical and legal?

Thank you.

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DR. BEHNKE: My name is Steve Behnke. I'm director of the Ethics Office of the American Psychological Association. I'd just like to respond to Dr. Summers with whom I've had a number of conversations. I'd first like to respond to Len Rubenstein if Len is still here. And, you know, Len has provided the APA a number of very

helpful materials that are related to this issue. And Len has once again, as he has been doing for two years, offered his assistance on this issue. And we will be very grateful, as we have been, to accept that we don't always see completely eye to eye, but we're grateful, and Len has shown an enormous of personal commitment to this issue and has provided I think at this point 12 or 15 letters to APA on this issue. So, thank you for your offer. We will absolutely accept that.

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The second thing I'd like to say is that Dr. Summers said that Council had directed the Ethics Committee to change Ethical Standard 1.02. In fact, that is not correct; that is not what Council directed the Ethics Committee to. And I would really just encourage people please read these texts. You must read the texts. I would just read from a text that was just passed this morning, and I know that everyone -- it's clear that there is much difference of opinion about what APA should do. But, please do read this document. I hope I can say that it is a positive step in the right direction. I know that it does absolutely not go as far as many people think APA ought to go, but I do think I can say on behalf of the Association that we can all agree it is a step in the right direction.

And I just want to read one passage from that. It

- 1 says -- the passage I'd like to read says that: "Be it 2 resolved the American Psychological Association affirms 3 that there are no exceptional circumstances whatsoever, 4 whether induced by a state of war or threat of war, 5 internal political instability or any other public 6 emergency that may be invoked as a justification for torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or 7 8 punishment, including the invocation of laws, regulations and orders."
- 10 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Stephen, see, does that trump 11 1.02 in the case of torture?
- 12 DR. BEHNKE: It's very clear, there is no --
- 13 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Okay. But I just wanted to know
- 15 DR. BEHNKE: No justification --

because the Ethics Code --

16 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Okay.

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- 17 DR. BEHNKE: -- whatsover.
- 18 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: What about CIA black sites? 19 Enhanced interrogation at CIA black sites?
- 2.0 DR. BEHNKE: The list that was contained in the 21 resolution had two sources. One source, again, was a 22 letter that Len Rubenstein had written Executive 2.3 Director of Physicians for Human Rights to the APA. The 24 other source was a program that was out here that 25 Uwe Jacobs was kind enough to invite me to participate

in on a panel at Survivors International. The other panelist was Professor Alfred McCoy, and I'm quite sure that many of you are familiar with Professor McCoy's book, "A Question of Torture." And what Professor McCoy does and what he did on that Saturday morning here at the Wright Institute was he laid out a history of torture, and he said that if you take a look, there are certain tenchniques that appear, that continue to surface across time and across context. And then he specified what those techniques are. And they bear a very close resemblance to the specific techniques that Len Rubensten wrote to the APA saying you must identify these specific techniques as constituting torture.

Now, on that panel on that Saturday morning I asked a question that I wanted to know. It seemed to me that torture and abusive treatment are limited only by the human imagination. So, why would you have a specific list? And the answer came back -- and I know Dr. Fallenbaum was there; a number of folks here were there -- said that, no, in fact, if you take a look at the history, we can get a good deal of specificity about the kind of techniques that we are talking about. And the message came across very clearly from both Professor McCoy and for the audience that APA's next step must be to specify specific techniques that are

1 always prohibited. That's what APA did this morning.

But I also want to be very clear that if you look at the language of the resolution -- and again, I hope that everyone reads it -- what it says is that, that this unequivocal condemnation includes all techniques defined as -- and then it says, "This unequivocal condemnation includes, but is by no means limited to," so that there are specific techniques identified, but that is not a closed set, very explicitly not a closed set.

One final point about the resolution. Again, just encourage people to read it. But the Ethics Committee has been directed by Council. It says: "Be it resolved that the APA Ethics Committee shall proceed forthwith in writing its casebook and commentary that shall set forth guidelines for psychology that are consistent with international human rights instruments." And then it actually specifies what those instruments are. The first is Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions.

One of the points in the discussion this morning that the chair of the Ethics Committee made very clear is that this issue is at the center of APA's radar screen, and it is going to remain at the center for a very long time to come. And in writing the casebook and the commentary, the Ethics Committee is going to reach out to APA, to members and to you to get your involvement in

- 1 that process. We realize that this has been an 2 enormously difficult time for the Association, that we 3 want this process to be as open, as transparent and as 4 participatory as it possibly can be. And the Ethics 5 Committee is going to do that. And we are going to look 6 -- the Ethics Committee is going to look for your 7 involvement, and we're going to come and seek you out in 8 that process.
- 9 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Would you answer one question 10 real fast?
- 11 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: [Inaudible] in the Monitor?
- DR. BEHNKE: Pardon?

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- UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Will this be in the APA Monitor [inaudible]?
- DR. BEHNKE: Well, it can be -- you know, yes, it 15 16 will be in the APA Monitor. It will also be up on the 17 APA website. And one of the things that the Ethics Committee is going to be talking about -- and I know 18 19 that there's been discussion about the Ethics Code 20 revision. Dr. Massoth talked about that. But, I can 21 say it's made part of that revision process. When the 22 1992 Code was revised, that was a process that went on 23 for a period of five years. The current language in 24 Ethical Standard 1.02 was written in the fall of 2000

before September 11, before the terrorist attacks. It

- bore no relationship whatsoever to this Administration,
 to the global war on terror. Those are two completely
 separate issues. The language was already set at that
 point in time.
- 5 But, we went through seven revisions. We had 6 repeated requests to have comments on it. We put those in the APA Monitor. We set up a website so people could 7 8 visit it and come and give their comments directly. And 9 we had the entire drafts printed in the Monitor for 10 commentary. And absolutely we will recreate that 11 process for the casebook and commentary. We want it to 12 be as open and as participatory as it can possibly be.
- 13 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Would you explain why the reporters had only ten minutes?
- DR. BEHNKE: You know, let me -- I don't know the origin of that rule. I simply don't know it, but --
- 17 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Why don't you know it?
- DR. BEHNKE: Why don't I know that rule? That is an excellent question. I don't know. But here's someone who does know that rule.
- 21 Let me also point out that when we were requested to 22 change the rule, the rule was changed, but --
- 23 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Dr. Behnke, can I ask one 24 question before you leave?
- DR. BEHNKE: Actually, I think I'm going to let

1 [inaudible].

Dr. MOOREHEAD-SLAUGHTER: I can just speak to the camera's rule. And it really has to do with the space access and fairness issue. We often have less space for cameras than we have crews wanting into a session. So, in fairness we try to rotate every ten or 15 minutes to allow crews to come in. That's not the case in this room, so the rule was changed, and everyone has full access.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I think you need to change the rule permanently. It's not been the case in any room in this whole convention.

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: It was my pleasure to wait. And I'll tell you why. I find it very frightening to be sitting in the room now where the last speaker is the only person who's speaking in favor of what was voted on this morning. There's an entire audience of people here who are not happy with the resolution or would like to see things that are very different. And I find it very frightening that the very people who voted for that overwhelmingly somehow now feel that they no longer need to participate in public in this process. And that's very scary. And I hope that will not be the case.

DR. BOULANGER: Hi, I'm Ghislaine Boulanger. I'm not going to take up a whole lot of time. Along with

Ruth Fallenbaum and Diane Ehrensaft, and Martha Davis, who's not here, we started this movement to withhold APA dues. And really it is so wonderful to be here today and to be very alienating as I experienced it, experienced this morning when the proposed Amendment was voted down, by a vast majority voted down, to hear so many of you clearly feeling that you would have passed it and indicating that you would have. And I want to suggest that perhaps you join us in pledging to withhold your 2008 and 2009 dues until an amendment like this is passed.

Furthermore, we have a list serve where you can communicate with us and with your ideas, and it's withholdapadues.com. Some of us are wearing these blue ribbons. We will be happy to give you the number again. But, we really, really urge you to join us. It is a list serve. It's an open discussion about these issues. Thank you.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: [Inaudible] take me off the list serve because I didn't agree to withhold my dues.

DR. BOULANGER: Well, that's right. You have to agree to withhold your dues in order to be on the list serve. That is absolutely right. That is the purpose of it. That is absolutely the perfect purpose of it so that we who agree to withhold our dues can consider, for

1 instance, how to pass this Amendment.

MS. CARLENAS: I'm here as a guest, and I spoke before briefly, so I think I have the remainder of my two minutes. And I just want to say that I'm looking at this from the outside, and I notice that everyone in the organization has more power than the leadership. And I'm noticing that, you know, it's not clear what's going on with the leadership. But, I know you have more power because the leadership was saying no reporters for more than ten minutes. And I asked people to raise their hands. And when it was seen that, you know, the consensus pretty much everyone approved of the reporting, it was immediately said, okay, let's allow the reporting.

And so when people disagree with leadership, you have a couple of choices. You can oppose the leadership. It's said that the best way to defeat what is bad, which is a general term, is to go forward in what is good. Or you can go forward and you can do what you want to do because you are more people, you have more energy, and it's just natural that you have more power. And I don't know what the group is, for people to collect, if they want to say, look, we are the members of the APA and this is what we resolve, whether it's the Ethical APA, you know, the withholding dues; that's bound to be

controversial. But, I just want to say if everyone gets
together and declares your voice, that's the voice of
the most power.

DR. LERMAN: I'm Hannah Lerman. I identify primarily as a feminist psychologist and personally was involved in not the most current Ethics Code revision, but the two previous ones, and feel like I contributed a lot to the fact that it is now unethical -- listed specifically unethical to sleep with your clients. What -- I was a member of Council at that time, and I have some knowledge of the APA structure, although I'm not currently in any position of power.

I was moved to speak by the question that came up about why the vote in this room was so different from the Council vote. I know that since then the process has moved in a whole bunch of other directions. But, I would like to respond to that because if we're beginning to talk about how APA might be changed, I think that raises one particular issue. The members of Council are elected by divisions, state organizations. I think much more than 50 percent of APA members do not belong to either one of those, and they, therefore, really have no vote on Council.

You know, so, I have heard APA described at various times one as Byzantine with structures being formed on

APA structure as an amoeba. Poke one of the pseudo-pods and it responds, but the action doesn't translate into the whole rest of the structure.

So, either we have to talk about whether you want to work on a large process of changing how APA members are represented in the larger organization -- in the governance of the organization or you need to join the subdivisions through which you can make your vote known. Those are -- I mean, there are two different ways of doing it, and they're both possible.

The other point that I wanted to make, however, someone was talking earlier that we were scientists. You know, neither the vote of Council nor the vote in this room is a scientific vote.

MR. RAYMOND: My name is Nathaniel Raymond. I work for Physicians for Human Rights, and I didn't plan on speaking today because, as you can see, Len Rubenstein does a heck of a job on his own. But, I wanted to make one point today, which is we've been talking a lot about what's happening in here. And by "here" I mean the American Psychological Association. I want to speak to the larger context of what's happening out there. And as my colleague, Len Rubenstein, mentioned, there's an investigative process going on in Washington in the

Senate, and there is a series of disclosures which have happened in the media and also through the Inspector General's Office of the Department of Defense.

The point I want to make is just to be clear about what we're talking about. We're not talking about bad apples. We're not talking about psychologists who are acting independently or individuals within the chains of command of CIA or DoD acting independently. We're talking about a government which since after September 11th has created a systematic regime of psychological torture with the assistance of mental health professionals and mental health expertise.

While we're glad to see the resolution pass today, and we look forward to working with Dr. Behnke and the rest of the APA, I really want to keep the focus on what happens out there. And I hope that we can really see today as the beginning of a change for APA from passing a resolution to becoming advocates for the end of what is not simply unethical, but illegal.

One last point. The language that was passed in reference to the tactics is not exactly as we had initially written it from PHR. Be that as it may, we feel that from a legal and ethical perspective one message has to be clear: These tactics prohibit what we know of the CIA enhanced interrogation program. Let's

not see this as an end. Let's see this as a platform.

Let's put the rocket ship on the platform and take off.

Where does that go? Well, that goes one way. The APA needs to advocate actively in Washington to say psychologists and psychological expertise cannot be used as a weapon that violates the law, the ethics, and the Geneva Conventions.

DR. SAND: Hi, my name is Shara Sand, and I'll actually be brief. I just want to read a few sentences and -- and pose a question after those sentences. On May 18th, 2007 the Office of the Inspector General of the Department of Defense released its investigative report. It was declassified. And to my knowledge it's the only place where there's actually an indication that psychologists perhaps have been involved in the development of these techniques. And I will read you directly from that report. None of these words are mine.

"Between June and July 2002 the Chief of Staff of the Joint Personnel Recovery Agency, the agency responsible for organizing SERE training, working with the Army Special Operation Command's psychological directorate, developed a plan designed to teach interrogators how to exploit high-value detainees. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in September 2002 recommended that the

Federal Bureau of Investigation Behavioral Science Unit, the Army's Behavioral Science Consultation Team, and the Southern Command Psychological Operations Support Element, the group at GITMO, and JTF 170 clinical psychologists develop a plan to exploit detainee vulnerabilities." Once again, this is the government speaking, not me.

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"On September 16th, 2002, the Special Army Operations Command and the Joint Personnel Recovery Agency cohosted a SERE psychologist conference for JTF 170 interrogation personnel. The Army's Behavioral Science Consultation Teams, BSCTs, from Guantanamo Bay also attended the conference. The JTF 170 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 if the Command approved those practices." They also supported a SERE psychologists competency area.

My question is, why has APA not addressed exactly what is said in this report, which does indicate that

- there has been some psychological involvement in these
 practices?
- 3 DR. ALBERS: Because I had time to speak before, I'm going to be very brief. I wanted to thank Dr. Behnke 4 5 for showing up and answering questions. And I have a 6 very simple question about this resolution that has just passed. If I am a member of BSCT that is working under 7 the direction of the CIA and I am told to waterboard 8 somebody, and I have made efforts to resolve the 9 10 conflict between this resolution and the -- what I 11 believe to be U.S. law, may I then choose to adhere to U.S. law and, therefore, waterboard? 12
- DR. BEHNKE: You may not.
- DR. HALDEMAN: No.
- DR. BEHNKE: It's unethical. It's prohibited and it's sanctioned.
- DR. ALBERS: So, I cannot.
- MR. SHUMAN: My name is Aaron Shuman. I coordinate 18 19 something called the Prisoners Solidarity Project at 20 Prison Activists Resource Center. And this is a folder 21 of complaints about torture and mistreatment that we've 22 received from one state prison. I've also done time for 2.3 protesting at the School of the Americas and have had 24 the privilege of going across the country with former 25 torture survivors from El Salvador and members of

1 Torture Abolition and Survivors Support Coalition.

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So, my first question in sitting in on the discussion about the resolution today is, why was it strictly limited to enemy combatants and not raising the issue of conditions in prisons in the U.S. and detention centers in the U.S.? One of the things that we do for the Prisoner Solidarity Project is mail in the U.N. minimum standard rules for the minimum standard treatment of prisoners, which we know the U.S. violates. We know the New Jersey American Friends Service Committee has a long-standing campaign talking about maximum security prisons as torture. They're talking about things -- we talk about things like solitary confinement, talk about things like sensory deprivation, talk about things like isolation, talk about things like being denied food, shelter. You know, those are all things that I read letters about everyday from prisoners inside the U.S. There is an article by a professor named Alan Eladio Gomez on The Marion Control Unit, which was one of the first maximum security prisons, if not the first, inside the U.S., where he talks about [inaudible] prison seminar that was conducted called "Breaking Men's Minds" back in the early '60s, and talks about in a way that's very compatible with the argument that Alfred McCoy makes about psychological torture in the book that was

mentioned earlier about what is going on inside U.S.
prisons and maximum security prisons everyday.

So, my question is, why is the American Psychological Association being so conservative that it's only talking about enemy combatants? And I didn't hear anything about prison conditions or conditions in detention centers inside the U.S.

Just to rattle off a few things very quickly, we know in Chicago reported by The Chicago Reader, a case of systematic police torture for a generation that Richard Daly is implicated in. We know just down the street at 850 Bryant there are former Black Panthers being held who were tortured into confessing and whose torturers were rehired by the Department of Justice to investigate them decades later. We know from a book writer Mark Dow did called "American Gulag" on the condition — on detention centers inside the U.S. that took almost ten years of research that — about the conditions that go on inside.

So, I would challenge people as part of this discussion that it really needs to be widely opened up. In the state of California you already have the state prison system in federal receivership. You already have the healthcare system in federal receivership. And you already have doctors, environmental professionals

- 1 raising the issue that the prison system is a public
- 2 health crisis, that constructing more prisons will
- 3 create a health crisis. And you have statistics from
- 4 things like the Commission on Safety and Abuse in
- 5 America's Prisons that says a million and a half
- 6 people --
- 7 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: You'll make more --
- 8 MR. SHUMAN: -- get cycled through the prison and
- 9 jail --
- 10 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: -- friends if you stop when your
- 11 time is up.
- MR. SHUMAN: Well, I'm on my last sentence.
- 13 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: You're right, but you should stop
- when everybody else stops.
- MR. SHUMAN: Okay. But I'm not interested in being
- 16 right. I'm interested in changing the situation.
- 17 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: But we're also interested in
- hearing other people who are waiting and --
- MR. SHUMAN: Okay.
- 20 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: -- keeping to the time limit.
- 21 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Thank you.
- 22 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Just some information. In terms
- of what you are asking about conditions in the U.S.
- jails and prisons and U.S. correctional facilities, of
- all the APA-governed groups that reviewed what was

- originally the moratorium resolution, it was the Committee on Ethnic and Minority Affairs that said that any resolution must be more broadly than simply detainees. It must look at how people, and in particular, people of color, are treated in U.S. jails and prisons. And that is right up on the APA website. It's the Committee on Ethnic and Minority Affairs. speaks directly to your point.
- 9 DR. HALDEMAN: I want to observe we have minutes left
 10 and four people lined up to speak. If you can be very,
 11 very brief, everybody will be able to do it.
- 12 UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Why does this always happen to

 13 me? No, I --

- UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Is there something else in the room? Can we stay till the four people are done?
 - UNIDENTIFIED MALE: I've looked at the text. We were told to look at the text of the resolution, and I've come to the conclusion that the winner today, were the people who backed the KUBARK style of interrogation, and the losers today, were those who backed the SERE style of interrogation. And the playing field was the APA. The SERE -- the resolution which condemns a number of different types of participation in -- or different techniques of torture that were absolutely banned, which as Dr. Behnke pointed out as waterboarding, rape,

simulating drowning, mock executions, cultural and religious humiliation, these were the landmark techniques of the SERE style of interrogation and torture. KUBARK, which means CIA, which developed over a period of 50 years, a style of torture is based on sensory deprivation, isolation, hypnosis, and the induction of debility and including sleep deprivation. You'll see that division in the resolution because those things are not prohibited as conditions of detention. They're prohibited as conditions to be used in interrogations. But, you see, they don't use sleep deprivation while they're interrogating you. it before they interrogate you as part of the conditions of detention to soften you up for the interrogation.

So, the winner today, and I'm sure their lawyers are very happy, is the CIA, and I think that's why it is so important to see how the APA is going to react to the question of the enhanced interrogation techniques. But, I would say not just the interrogation techniques, but the entire use of these techniques in the secret sites, including the detention conditions, because otherwise it's a farce.

Thank you.

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DR. SAWYER: My name is Jack Sawyer. I'm curious about the process here. I wonder how many members of

- the Board of Directors are here with us. One? You're to be commended for that. There are how many on the board, a dozen or more? Thirteen. I'm curious why the others aren't here. They weren't instructed not to come, I'm sure. Were they invited to come? Do you have any idea? You're here probably 'cause you were conducting a meeting. But -- why aren't your fellow
- 9 BOARD MEMBER: President Sharon Brehm was here
 10 earlier. Others were here, our president of the APA was
 11 here. And I think [inaudible].

board members here to hear at the town hall?

- DR. SAWYER: Good. The president was here and one other board member was here earlier.
- DR. HALDEMAN: President-elect was here.

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- DR. SAWYER: President-elect, yes, Al Kazdin. Good

 for Al. Do you have any thoughts as to why so few have

 interest in this?
- DR. HALDEMAN: Well, you are asking me a question I,

 I know an unanswerable question. But, you're asking me

 why people who aren't here aren't here. And I have no

 advance knowledge anyone was not planning to come or

 planning to come. I didn't poll them to see who was

 coming. It's not really a board event; it's a town hall

 meeting for you.
- DR. SAWYER: Well, is it for us or is it -- it's not

- to help the Board get the idea of the opinions of the
 people?
- 3 DR. HALDEMAN: I've gotten a lot of ideas about your 4 opinions. And I will convey them I hope faithfully to 5 my board colleagues.
- 6 DR. SAWYER: Well, you've got a big job. Good luck.

DR. FRIDHANDLER: I'm [inaudible] gonna be on channel 7 8 seven... I'm Bram Fridhandler. I'm a San Francisco 9 psychologist, and I'm also a member of the California 10 Psychological Association Ethics Committee. And I just 11 want to make the point that I think a lot of our 12 experience dictates that so much depends, ultimately 13 everything depends in a situation like this on 14 interpretation and implementation. We have a resolution 15 that was passed that we're only just now getting a 16 chance to read. There seem to be, from what I've heard, 17 elements of it that are really disappointing to me 18 personally and to people who pay the closest attention 19 to this issue. But, there also seems to be language in 20 it that at a very minimum is interpretable as supporting 21 a really progressive stance for this organization. 22 if the organization is pressured to implement those -- a 23 truly progressive interpretations of this language, then 24 a great deal can be achieved. If that activity doesn't 25 take place, then far less will be achieved. And that's,

it seems to me what ultimately everything depends on.

We've heard that so clearly and so helpfully from the
representatives from Physicians for Human Rights who
have really, you know, articulated a plan for us it

seems to me. And we can do much to learn from them.

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And the exchange that took place a minute ago in which Dr. Behnke was -- well, the group was asked; Dr. Behnke responded -- does 1.02, does the exception of 1.02 permit a psychologist to violate the language of this resolution that just passed and to participate in any of these activities? And we heard absolutely unequivocally that 1.02 does not permit that to happen, that such a psychologist would be behaving unethically by the official policies organization and would be sanctioned. That was a step forward to hear that so clearly stated. And I would say that we need to pressure and -- support and pressure the Ethics Committee Office to produce the casebook, not only to consider it, but to produce it, as well as the Office of Governmental Affairs, to do as Physicians for Human Rights have said, to advocate in Washington for the spirit of this resolution.

DR. OLSON: Hello, everyone. I'm Brad Olson. I'm the chair for Divisions for Social Justice. We're 13 divisions of the American Psychological Association

working together to put forth and make sure that social justice becomes a central part, not just an ethics in interrogation issue, but absolutely every component of the APA.

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I wasn't going to talk today because there's such energy in here and so many people are talking, and I've been talking for so long. Steven Reisner, Stephen Soldz and I talked so much. I was standing in the room with Stephen Soldz the other day, and he was on the cell phone with his son and his son says, yeah, mom and I were talking and we were so happy when we remembered the days when Brad wasn't calling. But, you know, psychologists, you know, we -- I mean, everybody has been so tough and yet good-hearted in here today. vou know what? Psychologists, we know reinforcement increases the probability of behaviors. And we need to remain vigilant, and we need to make sure there's action on this -- the good parts of this resolution that happened today. But we also need to reinforce the people who helped set up this miniconvention within the APA and who are holding this town hall, and sometimes funny things go on, ten minutes with the camera, but some beautiful social action nipped that in the bud, and that's what we just need to keep on doing again and again and keep pushing through until the

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Now, today I was told that -- I was just at a Division for Social Justice meeting, and I was told that -- I have very mixed feelings about what happened today, I think mostly positive. But, a couple of council members said that they were threatening DSJ with removing the Division because of our tactics. Well, I don't know what our tactics are other than authenticity and honesty. I mean, that's what we try to do. I mean, we've taken Linsky's roles and said, no, those are not right. But we need to keep pushing and we need to just make sure that we're positive, too. And I would really like everybody to thank the APA members who are here, thank the military who are going up at those different sessions in the mini-convention. It's not always easy to hear this for them. And I've learned a lot from them. And we all need to keep talking and keep working together. So, let's thank Steve Behnke and Dr. [inaudible]. Thank you.

DR. HALDEMAN: Thank you for coming. We are at our time. But we are certainly in an evolutionary point in our discussion and in the process of all this. I appreciate your comments on behalf of the Board of Directors, and I appreciate your attendance at the other sessions during Ethics and Interrogation, Confronting a