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Division of Psychoanalysis,
American Psychological Association

The Story of an Accidental Academic Activist and What She Found Along the Way

by **Shara Sand, Psy.D.**

Chair, Divisions for Social Justice, APA

I am someone for whom focused intentionality is often side-tracked by an intellectual curiosity that hates to be bored and wants to explore all of my ideas and associations. This has led me to be what I sometimes refer to as an accidental

scholar. I write about what I am curious about in a given time and place, mining it for all I can, and then moving on. I recently undertook an academic job search and a colleague looked at my CV and said of my writing, "You may have a hard time, you've written about many things, but not focused on one thing". She was right; the requirements of academic seriousness and commitment often require a narrowness of focus that I find repetitive and at times, tedious. While her comment made me anxious, I thought, "How fortunate that I don't limit my curiosities; if I did, I never would have become interested in the issue of coercive interrogation and psychologists' participation."

consider returning to school to study political science and policy so I could become an activist. Anger makes my head spin, so after I came to my senses and realized I had no interest in becoming a student again or embarking on a third career (my first was as a trombonist) I decided I could become involved in social justice issues within psychology.

In the winter of 2006, I responded to a call put out by Division 44 (Society for the Study of

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FROM THE EDITOR by Steve Botticelli, Ph.D.

This issue of the newsletter features some of the fruits of our members' active involvement in the interrogations issue. Shara Sand, current chair of the Divisions for Social Justice, writes of how she found her way into her research and activism on the issue, and reports on some of what she found. Barbara Eisold conducts an interview with David DeBatto, a retired counterterrorism agent who has spoken out on the role of psychologists in military interrogations. And Lu Steinberg summarizes our lively and well-attended panel at last spring's Division 39 conference on these issues.

With the recent passage of the moratorium referendum and the historic candidacy of Steven Reisner in the current APA presidential election, this is a heady moment for all of us in Section 9 and the many others who share our concerns. At the same time we want to find out about our membership's activist/social justice interests and projects beyond the interrogations issue. Take up our invitation to share these with us, and each other (announcement elsewhere on this page).

Please contact me with feedback at srb224@nyu.edu.

The Psychoanalytic Activist

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After the 2000 election, I was angry. After the 2004 election, when several patients cried in my office over the results, I was livid. The election was won by creating a climate of fear that was used to justify disturbing behavior by the government that eroded and trampled on the democratic principles I hold dear. I became so angry I went so far, albeit briefly, to

SECTION IX INVITATION TO MEMBERS HAVE YOU EVER WANTED TO

- Start a study group?
- Start an interest group?
- Start a reading group?
- Start an activist group?
- Start a dialogue group?
- Start a research group?
- Start an issue related political action group?
- Become more involved in general?

We want to invite you to use the board and the membership to support in the section all these ideas.

Look what happened when just a few people put their minds to changing the mind of the APA!

GET ACTIVE!

We'd like to hear from you with your ideas.

Contact Karen Rosica at krosica@aol.com

A highly significant victory has been achieved in the fight to remove psychologists from their role in interrogations in illegal detention centers. The passage of the referendum over the wishes of the APA leadership brings several things to light. First, the APA leadership does not represent the membership on the most important ethical issue of our time. Despite its propaganda assault on the referendum, the power structure was not able to defeat the petition. The membership does not want to follow the ethical vacuity of those running the organization. While the powers that be in the APA will point to the fact that “only” about 14,000 psychologists voted, the fact is that figure is more than the number of votes cast in two of the last three presidential elections and no one can find a petition on which more members voted. Second, the vote shows that change can be accomplished in opposition to the wishes of those holding leadership posts in the organization. We do not have to accept the dominance of the entrenched interests that have dominated the organization since World War II. The members can potentially have the kind of organization they want if they resolve to put principle above narrow self-interest, frame their conflict with the leadership in these terms, and are willing to make sacrifices for the sake of constructing an ethical organization.

In this regard, a second opportunity to make change is now upon us. In the forthcoming election, there is only one candidate whose priority is the implementation of the new policy of removing psychologists from participation in detention centers unless working for the detainee or an independent third party. If Steve Reisner, Ph.D., is elected president, the top leadership post in the organization will be assumed by the one candidate for whom an ethical APA is the basis of his candidacy.

The passage of the referendum has also presented a dilemma for many members who want the organization to stand for

social justice. Due to the shift in official policy, members who have either withheld dues or resigned outright are confronted with the decision of whether to resume their dues paying membership. While some are tempted to resume paying dues in response to the policy change, the matter

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

by Frank Summers, Psy.D.

is complicated in two ways. First, the commitment of the APA to implementation of the new policy is very much an open question. Although that concern is mitigated to some degree by President Kazdin's quick response informing President Bush of the change in APA policy, Dr. Kazdin's letter is only a first step.

But, there is a second, deeper concern. In the four years during which this battle has been waged, many of us have learned a great deal about the organization that represents us. The alacrity with which the APA leadership dismissed evidence of the potentially unethical and illegal behavior of psychologists along with the vitriolic abuse heaped upon all who expressed concern about this evidence raised the question of whether organized psychology possessed a hidden agenda. My inquiry into the history of the APA convinced me that the organization is so dependent on the military and CIA for research, training, and consulting funds that it cannot operate independently of those organizations (Summers, 2008). The historical and present symbiotic bond between psychology and the military complicates the decision of what to do in light of the passage of the referendum. While the success of the referendum is a major victory in the movement toward creating an ethical APA, the fact remains that the APA is, as the historian Ellen Herman (1995) put

it, “The most militarized of the social and biological sciences.” The dominance of the Department of Defense in providing research, consulting, and clinical training funding for psychologists, especially in a time of the otherwise shrinking federal dollar, has resulted in a wedding of organized psychology to the military that has virtually eliminated the ability of psychology to effect any meaningful independence from DOD and CIA policies. The fact that some in the APA leadership profit from consulting organizations that rely on military funding is but one example of the vested interest psychology has in its relationship with the Department of Defense.

What that means is that even if the referendum is implemented in the way we would like (and that is by no means a given), the structure of the organization as an adjunct of military policy remains. Given the intimate bond between psychologists and the military/CIA, the fate of much psychological work will remain tethered to the DOD and CIA. For this reason, the question of whether to resume paying dues or resigning from APA is more complicated than the reversal of APA policy foisted upon the leadership by the members. Although our section can be proud of its role in this dramatic policy change and the membership has shone above the darkness of its leadership, the embeddedness in the military remains, and whether that will change depends greatly on whether Steve Reisner becomes the next President-elect. □

References

Summers, F. (2008), *Making Sense of the APA: A History of the Relationship Between Psychology and the Military*. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 18 (5), 614-637.

Herman, E. (1995), *The Romance of American Psychology*, Berkeley: *The University of California Press*.

Section 9 hosted a historic panel at Division 39's Spring meeting in NYC. This panel reflected the strong presence of psychologist-psychoanalysts in the struggle against the involvement of psychologists in military interrogations. This presence has led to Division 39 gaining more seats on APA's Council of Representatives than any other division. In my introduction, I reflected upon whether our being psychoanalysts has led us to be less likely than our colleagues to accept the behavioral reward/punishment paradigm, a paradigm that may have had a role in clouding awareness of the implications of psychologists' involvement in interrogations. Torture has been described as a 'crime against the body, but also against the imagination' (Dorfman 2004), and perhaps we psychoanalysts are also more likely to be sensitive to this aspect.

Frank Summers presented an extremely thorough overview of the intimate relationship between psychology and the military and CIA, a mutually beneficial relationship, which has shaped the very nature of American psychology. David DeBatto, a retired counterterrorism agent, then shared his observations and insights on the role of psychology in the military. He pointed out that military psychologists have officer status, since there is no separate chain of command. They answer to military officers rather than those in the health sector, and therefore military objectives take precedence over health objectives. These higher-ups in the chain of command are frequently also significantly younger. He also confirmed that psychologists were involved in the planning and the implementation of coercive interrogation. Although psychologists can technically report abuses they witness, there are frequently consequences for their reporting, including dismissals etc. Although he presented a dire picture, he attributed the recent positive changes to the bad publicity APA has recently received, and to the withhold dues movement.

Four individuals at the forefront of psychology's organized activities against this involvement then spoke. Neil Altman, author of the moratorium resolution that would have forbidden psychologists' participation in military interrogations, described the difficulties and frustrations he faced as he tried to make an argument for the moratorium within the APA Council. He described that the APA has a commitment to

respect human rights and to uphold the Geneva Conventions, particularly given its status as a United Nations NGO. The presence of psychologists at places like Guantanamo, where detainees were held without being charged, was a violation of human rights. This is the problematic context within which the additional concerns of

UN Convention Against Torture and the Geneva Conventions) or the US Constitution (where appropriate), unless they are working directly for the persons being detained or for an independent third party working to protect human rights.

Stephen Soldz, a spokesperson and the movement's scribe through his many postings on his blog and to various list-serves, spoke movingly about his involvement. He described learning of the Red Cross' initial reports describing coercive interrogation as tantamount to torture. The APA's response to these initial horrific reports was to put together a task force, the creation and conduct of which was marked by several irregularities.. Some of the very individuals

who had helped engineer and implement the techniques used on detainees were included on the Task Force; the Task Force's final report was written by someone who was not an official member; and Task Force meetings included the presence of several "observers," more than was customary in such proceedings. These procedural irregularities raised the concerns of several Task Force members. In addition, the APA's response to these concerns, including most recently the development of a Casebook, had been described as too little, too late.

Audience discussion was passionate and thought provoking, and included comments by many who have been integrally involved with this issue. Laurie Wagner argued for the creation of a space to dialogue between those on different sides of this issue, although she expressed support for the different actions that have been taken. She was commended for her role on the APA Council. Others felt that change would only be possible through the negative publicity, withholding dues, rallies and other grassroots efforts.

The Section 9 panel ended with the presentation of the Section 9 Achievement Award to section founder Neil Altman. Frank Summers presented a moving tribute to Neil for his inspiring leadership in re-forging the link between psychoanalysis and social justice. In accepting the award Neil acknowledged the inspiration of Lew Aron, who had approached Rachel Peltz and himself a decade ago to begin Section 9. □

Dorfman, A. (2004). *The Tyranny of Terror: Is Torture Inevitable in Our Century and Beyond? Torture: A Collection* (S. Levinson, ed.) New York: Oxford University Press

Section 9 Panel
**The APA and Coercive Interrogations:
 Psychoanalysis Fights for an
 Ethic of Do No Harm**
By Arlene (Lu) Steinberg Psy.D.,
Past president, Section 9, Division 39, APA

psychologist participation and implementation of coercive interrogation exist. The troubling responses he received included being told of the need for psychologists who could serve as 'safety officers' at these settings.

Steven Reisner, now running for APA President, having garnered more votes for the nomination than any other candidate, described his awakening to this issue, as he observed psychologists' role being defined in accordance with military strategic purposes rather than a healthcare role. He mentioned recent changes to the APA Ethics Code lowering the standards of protection for research subjects, from banning anything causing discomfort to only banning that which would cause severe pain. He feels that his observing the organization as an outsider has enabled him to see things more clearly, which has encouraged his activism and his running for APA President.

Ghislaine Boulanger, a founding member of the Withhold Dues movement, described two paths of activism including working within the organization as Neil Altman and others have done, or working outside APA by taking actions like withholding one's dues. She chose the latter in order to express protest after discovering that one can withhold one's APA dues and remain a member in good standing with voting privileges for 2 years. She also announced a proposal to conduct a referendum among the APA membership that has since been held and passed. An excerpt from the referendum follows:

Be it resolved that psychologists may not work in settings where persons are held outside of, or in violation of, either International Law (e.g., the

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GLBT Issues) to participate on a panel for the Divisions for Social Justice (DSJ), a consortium of APA divisions whose goal is to focus attention on both specific and broad issues of social justice. It was a panel on the position of the APA on coercive interrogation and psychology's role, something about which I knew little. One suggested topic was, "Are coercive interrogation techniques effective?" When I realized I didn't know the answer to this very basic question, I was engaged, wanted to know the answer, and volunteered to be on this panel. The issue of interrogations is such an emotionally volatile one that I wanted to be able to speak from a more knowledgeable, empirical perspective in addition to a more emotional and moral stance. Not surprisingly, no one else volunteered and the job was mine. I dove in to the subject without having much experience or involvement in forensic psychology. I applied for a Summer Research Grant from the Rabbi Arthur Schneier Center for International Affairs, Yeshiva University and was awarded funds for the proposal, "International Perspectives on the Use of Physically and Psychologically Coercive Interrogation Techniques: The Involvement of Psychologists and Physicians and the Effectiveness of the Methods."

This is how I became what I call an "academic activist". I subsequently volunteered to be Division 44's liaison to the Divisions for Social Justice and stepped into the explosive fray of the debate regarding psychologists' participation in interrogations at sites where detainees' fundamental human rights are violated. I participated in the APA's 2007 Mini-Convention on interrogation and organized a conference in 2007, "War, Torture and Terror" sponsored by Yeshiva University. I have served as Chair of DSJ during the 2007-2008 Convention Year and will continue in the position until December 2008. During that time I have tried to bring a greater sense of cohesiveness to DSJ, as opinions were divided and relationships frayed over this very volatile issue, while still insuring issues and opinions could be aired. I met with the Ethics Committee in October 2007 to articulate DSJ's position regarding the August 2007 Resolution and what needed to be clarified and addressed when writing the

casebook that the PENS Task Force recommended be developed. I have traveled further into the workings of a large organization than I generally venture (for all sorts of reasons), but I continue because this matters. It matters because of what I learned about our profession's history, perhaps what might be called psychology's sadistic side. It matters because of the rest of this essay's content.

The more I researched the subject of interrogations, and read the historical data, the more I felt horrified and disheartened. I felt ashamed

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of being a psychologist; I felt ashamed because as someone who enjoys history and recognizes its importance, I didn't know my own. I knew about the misuse of IQ tests in the early 20th century, experienced psychology's long history of homophobia firsthand, but I didn't know that psychologists were involved in developing many of our modern day torture techniques. The more I read, the more I wanted to know and ordered countless books from Amazon, tracked down decades old journal articles and even acquired a copy of the *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation Manual*, (1963); a truly scary piece of writing. At this point, my partner started to nervously joke about men in dark suits appearing at the door, with government initials on their ID's. Fortunately, my lineage is filled with past rabble rousers and I don't scare so easily. What follows are excerpts from several presentations I've done based on my research. My hope is to link the past to the present, so we may learn for the future and not repeat making ineffective policy decisions based on fear.

Office of the Inspector General Report- Department of Defense

I'm going to tell a brief non-fiction story excerpted from the report of the Office of the

Inspector General (OIG) of the Department of Defense (DoD), which was completed in August of 2006 and declassified May 18, 2007. A brief summation of pages 23-30 entitled "DoD Interrogation Techniques" concerns the involvement of the Joint Personnel Recovery Agency and the Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape (SERE) Training, Behavioral Science Consultation Teams (BSCT) and the Army's Psychological Directorate. It will be clear from this story that psychologists have been involved in developing and teaching techniques that violate the Geneva Convention. With the understanding that the Geneva Convention does not protect Enemy Combatants, these interrogation methods are within the law, though perhaps not within the ethical code. Few of the following words are mine; almost all are verbatim from the Office of the Inspector General. I continue to be astonished that the APA has never commented on this report, in spite of several inquiries I have made asking for comment.

Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape (SERE) Training

The Joint Personnel Recovery Agency monitors and oversees all DoD SERE training programs. "SERE training prepares select military personnel with survival and evasion techniques in case they are isolated from friendly forces, captured or detained, with the physical and mental tools to survive a hostile interrogation and deny the enemy the information they wish to obtain" (2006, p.23). SERE is a defensive response to interrogation, "not a how-to-conduct interrogations" (p. 24).

"Counterresistance techniques taught by the Joint Personnel Recovery Agency contributed to the development of interrogation policy at the U.S. Southern Command, Guantanamo. At some point in 2002, the U.S. Southern Command began to question the effectiveness of the Joint Task Force 170 (JTF-170), the organization at Guantanamo responsible for collecting intelligence from a group of hard core al Qaeda and Taliban detainees. The interrogators believed that some of the detainees were intimately familiar with Field Manual M 34-52 and were trained to resist the techniques that it described. Counterresistance techniques were introduced because personnel believed that interrogation methods used were no longer effective in obtaining useful information from some detainees

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Interview with David DeBatto, 5/9/08

By Barbara Eisold, Ph.D

Treasurer, Section 9, Division 39, APA

David DeBatto is a retired counterintelligence agent who has worked for the military since the 1980's. He has been retired for four years. In Iraq he was a U.S. Army Counterintelligence Special Agent near the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The experience was professionally appalling for him and he has been speaking out about it ever since.

This telephone interview began with many thanks, on my part, to David DeBatto, for his willingness to let me interview him. I then asked him to tell me something about where he is from and when he began his work with the army. DeBatto is originally a New Yorker, who began his professional life working in prisons.

D.D Intelligence is my military career. I have done that most of my life, beginning in the late 80's.

B.E. Where have you encountered psychologists?

D.D. My contact with psychologists is limited to

Iraq, in 2003. Prior to that, I had no contact with them, neither in the police nor in the military. . . Heavy use of psychologists began after 9/11 in Iraq at various detention facilities. I saw them in Baghdad and Tikrit and other places 100 miles north of Baghdad. I operated there. In all of these [detention sites] there were military psychologists. Maybe 25% of them were involved in interrogations.

B.E. Did the fact that the detainees are being held against the Geneva Conventions bother you?

D.D. It bothered me all the time. It bothers me all the time. But there was nothing I could do.

B.E. How many would that be, do you think?

D.D. Less than 10 in interrogations. This is a high number when you think that there were not that many in the army, period;

less than 500 probably. The army has a very difficult time recruiting [psychologist] officers and getting them to stay. Thus 10 is significant. In the North Central area of Iraq there were probably not even that many.

B.E. How were they used in interrogations?

D.D. I don't know exactly. They never assisted me. If I had been presented with a psychologist, I would have balked, just because having one there would have been counter-productive. So, in

terms of psychologists I have anecdotal information only.

B.E. Why would it have been counter-productive to have a psychologist there?

D.D. Interrogators are very well trained in the army, which includes 40-60 hours of psychology, taught by a psychologist. That a psychologist would know how to collect information better than an interrogator is an insult. In my experience, they get in the way. Interrogators usually do very well.

B.E. Tell me how you decided to talk publicly about the situation in Iraq.

D.D. Abuse in interrogation is wrong. The reason interrogation becomes abusive is because the interrogator was a non-trained interrogator, or orders from above forced illegal interrogation. Interrogation is never abusive when an army interrogator uses the methods he was taught.

B.E. In your opinion is using a psychologist as a consultant to help you "break" a man unethical?

D.D. Yes. Psychologists are trained to help people. We expect you to do that. To have a psychologist

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were intimately familiar with Field Manual M 34-52 and were trained to resist the techniques that it described. Counterresistance techniques were introduced because personnel believed that interrogation methods used were no longer effective in obtaining useful information from some detainees" (p. 24).

"Between June and July 2002, the Chief of Staff of the Joint Personnel Recovery Agency,

working with the Army Special Operations Command's *Psychological Directorate* (italics mine), developed a plan designed to teach interrogators how to exploit high value detainees. The CJCS (Chairman Joint Chief of Staff), in September 2002 recommended that the Federal Bureau of Investigation Behavioral Science Unit, the Army's Behavioral Science Consultation Team (BSCT), the Southern Command Psychological Operations Support Element, and the JTF-170 clinical psychologist develop a plan to exploit detainee vulnerabilities. The Commander, JTF-170 expanded on CJCS recommendations and decided to also consider SERE training

techniques" (p. 25).

"On September 16, 2002, the Army Special Operations Command and the Joint Personnel Recovery Agency co-hosted a SERE psychologist conference for JTF-170 interrogation personnel. The Army's Behavioral Science Consultation Team from Guantanamo Bay also attended the conference. Joint Personnel recovery Agency personnel briefed JTF-170 representatives on the exploitation techniques and methods used in resistance (to interrogation) raining at SERE schools. The JTF-170 personnel understood that they were to become familiar with SERE training

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Interview with David DeBatto

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order information in a situation that would help us harm someone would just be absurd. . . . immoral, illegal!

B.E. In your opinion, is there anything a psychologist could do that would be moral, at a detention site?

D.D. Yes. At any detention facility, to counsel interrogators would be ethical. It should be mandatory at every facility! I don't think that's routinely done. In my opinion, that would be proper use of a military psychologist. Another use would be, if at the end of an interrogation there was a profile of the case and the team was stumped, I personally would like to be able to speak to a forensic psychologist and ask them for their opinion. I'd like to say, "Look, this is what I've got. Where would you go with this? Point me in a direction." I would like that. Some psychologists balk at this; they think it is being unethical too. But I would like it.

B.E. What interrogation methods have worked for you?

D.D. There is only one technique: rapport building. Everything else is cutting corners. The only thing proven to work is rapport. This works very differently with each person. Using it well goes back to the training of interrogators. Also it has to do with the maturity of the person. . . . These days we recruit interrogators that are extremely young. The vast majority are in their late teens, early twenties. You get into abusive techniques when people are too young and behave like teen-agers. You're familiar with teen-agers, I'm sure. When a person doesn't have the maturity level and they get frustrated. . . when a person gets frustrated, especially when they get orders from their superiors, they just use abusive methods because they don't know what else to do, and that's what I've seen.

B.E. You are proud of the work you do.

D.D. Oh absolutely. As I mentioned, the team that I supervised in Iraq got a lot of very very good intelligence. I was very proud of the team, the incredible work we did, the good reports we turned in, the amount of weapons and docu-

ments and people that we located. . . . It was very good and I was very proud of it. None of it had to do with abusive techniques, it had to do with rapport building. When I got back, in 2004, and I started to read about. . . reports coming out of Afghanistan and Iraq, it just appalled me, I had heard stories over there. Yes I had talked to many people who had done those kinds of things, but I didn't. It just incensed me. Appalling when you have to read about. . . Especially the leader. That was the crux of the situation. The leaders who condoned this, or in your case, the leaders of the APA who condoned this type of thing. That's why I started talking about it four years ago [and I am still talking].

B.E. You have suffered repercussions for speaking publicly about this issue.

D.D. Yes, I used to be on Fox News every day. Sometimes four times a day for a week. In fact, I was on the verge of becoming a full-time, paid consultant that they had on all the time. And then, one day I didn't hear from them. This went on for a while. . . I called them and they didn't return my call. No one returned my call! I had many friends there at that time. So, I asked a retired general friend, I asked him "Would you look into this? There's something fishy about this." He looked into it and he confirmed the fact that that day they stopped calling me, someone from the Pentagon had called Fox News and told them. . . [could not make out recording]. If he didn't tell me that, of course I would have thought it anyway, so he just confirmed it.

B.E. Did the fact that the detainees are being held against the Geneva Conventions bother you?

D.D. It bothered me all the time. It bothers me all the time. But there was nothing I could do. I was in a very low-level position. All the generals and the politicians that were around. . . [they were responsible]. There was absolutely nothing I could do. So early on I made up my mind that the best thing I could do was to make them [detainees] as comfortable as possible and do my job as professionally as possible and to get the information I needed and at the same time treat them as professionally as I could. And I made up my mind at the beginning because, as I said, it was frustrating, and that's how I tried to conduct myself the whole time I was there.

B.E. I get the impression from reading Tony Lagouanis' book that, more and more, interrogators could see that they were not getting information, but the actual torture of detainees did not desist, nevertheless.

D.D. The less useful intelligence you get, the more abusive treatment is going to go up. Because this is a sign of frustration. If you use abusive techniques in the first place, you're not going to get reliable intelligence. Even if you do, you're going to redouble your techniques, or torture out of frustration, because you don't know what you're supposed to do, coupled with the fact that your superiors, who are almost never trained in intelligence, are going to be under pressure from their superiors and they are going to be constantly demanding more and more intelligence. It's just a vicious cycle.

B.E. How do you as an interrogator think about the morality of what you do? What is it that pushes you finally over the edge so that you say, "No, I won't do that?"

D.D. Me personally, I think some people, they see abuse so many times, you either know what's right or wrong or you don't. I never had a question about that. I never had a problem with right or wrong. It wasn't an issue, so the experience. . . I just wouldn't do it. I made up my mind early on that if I were asked to do something that was immoral, illegal or abusive, I just wouldn't do it, even if I had to be held accountable or arrested or carted off or whatever. If you were to take it to the extreme, sure you could say that just being in Iraq or in the army at this stage was immoral and abusive and illegal so anything I did to help the war effort was immoral, illegal and so forth. [If I thought that] I couldn't live with myself either. . . I don't think that's necessary because I believe in this country and in the army and happen to know that the vast majority of the people in the army are not abusive and don't want to do this. They are caught up in a much larger thing that they can't control. And so if everyone just quit and got out of it, this country would just fall apart, anarchy and chaos would happen, so I don't believe in that. But I happen to know what's right and wrong and when I did see it. . . Yes, most of the detainees I dealt with were there for no good reason. They were there because they were in the

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wrong place at the wrong time. I knew that and most of the American soldiers knew that. And so, I made up my mind to treat the detainees in best possible way. That's how I resolved that in my mind.

B. E. Do you think it would be a challenge to the ethics of a psychologist to be on site counseling interrogators?

D.D. Good question. Yes I think they... it might be a challenge...but... if you want to make an analogy, psychologists should not work in prisons, because these [prisoners] are for sure bad people, some of them committed big crimes, but they do they have a right to be counseled, to put right in their minds what they did and be at peace for the remaining time they are in prison. . . In fact, most people, including the psychology profes-

sion, has said, "Yes, they [prisoners] do have a right to [counseling]." So is that a breach of ethics? I don't think so. So counseling interrogators, most of whom are honorable... I think if you were to counsel them as a psychologist, I think it's an absolute necessity. In fact, if psychologists were to do that, I think many of the interrogators may actually decide that what they are doing is wrong! They might rebel, if they had a chance to sort things out in a counseling session

B.E. So then, the role of psychologists in such a site, in terms of outcome would be up for grabs...not determined by the goal of getting interrogators back to work?

D.D It would be up to the psychologist, certainly. If perhaps in his or her professional opinion that person was mentally incapable of going back and doing interrogation. But as far as up for grabs... again, that goes to the chain of command. Is [how psychologists determine the reason for

their counseling and its outcome] up to psychology or the medical command or [is it up to] the combat commander in charge of the detention facility? I personally believe that the medical command should make that decision. If a soldier is unfit, they need to come home and go to a hospital. If he is burnt to a crisp, I think he or she [the psychologist] should have the ability to sign a medical order relieving them of their duties. I certainly think they should not be countered by a senior officer, a military officer. That's about it!

B.E. How much of this do you discuss in your own family?

D. D. None of it. I don't come from a military family. It's not something I talk about at all. You have to be in the military. Because people don't know, don't understand and don't want to hear it... So I talk about it to you, write a lot, go to professional gatherings. People are not interested. □

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and be capable of determining which SERE information and techniques might be useful in interrogations at Guantanamo. Guantanamo Behavioral Science Consultation Team (BSCT) 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.

The Army Special Operations Command was examining the role of interrogation support as a *SERE Psychologist competency area*" (italics mine; p. 25).

The conclusion the OIG reached: "We are not suggesting that SERE training is inappropriate for those subject to capture; however, it is not appropriate to use in training interrogators how to conduct interrogation operations. The use of resistance to interrogation knowledge for offensive purposes lies outside the role of the Joint Personnel Recovery Agency. We recommend that the Under Secretary of Defense for

Intelligence develop policies that preclude the use of Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape physical and psychological coercion techniques and other external interrogation techniques that have not been formally approved for use in offensive interrogation operations" (pp. 29-30).

Coercive Interrogations

Isolation, confinement and sleep deprivation can cause a number of behavioral and physiological disturbances. Environmental manipulation combined with psychologically coercive interrogation methods can result in heightened suggestibility,

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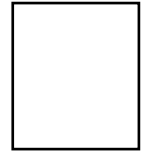
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hallucinations and other psychotic processes (Wakefield and Underwager, 1998). Sleep loss has been shown to result in decreased motivation, negative mood and poor performance (Horne & Pettitt, 1985), ultimately leading to impaired self-confidence, depression and loss of self-esteem, all factors that resulted in increased suggestibility (Gudjonsson & Lister, 1984). Blagrove (1996) examined the impact of sleep deprivation on the ability to analyze misleading questions, predicting that those with insufficient sleep would be deficient in the task. His results supported the hypothesis, finding that the greater the sleep loss the greater the suggestibility, thereby decreasing the reliability of the information reported. Blagrove concluded, "Confessions obtained after sleep loss should be treated with great caution..." (p. 57).

The problem with coerced confessions is their accuracy. False confessions are not unusual in forensic or military settings, and coercive measures are used, including physical threats, assaults, deception, and lying in spite of prohibitions forbid-

ding such tactics. Suspects in police interrogations have been found to come to believe their false confessions if they are made in what Bem (1966) termed a truth telling setting, such as a police station, military prison, or secret CIA site. False confessions frequently rest on the suspect's suggestibility and the degree to which their reality testing is impaired. Wakefield and Underwager (1998) state, "The false confession is an interplay between a person's mental state, basic personality, intelligence and all of the environmental circumstances of the interrogation" (p. 426). The danger of false confessions, besides the guilt of an innocent person, is the accuracy of the confession or information obtained. Coerced confessions are so unreliable and problematic that they are inadmissible in U.S. courts of law precisely because they lack reliability. False confessions frequently rest on the suspect's suggestibility and the degree to which their reality testing is impaired.

The confused, suggestible mind becomes fertile territory for the confusion of truth, a place where a person can be manipulated into revealing information or confessing to acts that were never committed. Bering and Shackelford (2005) described the confession as a strategy for dealing with the likelihood of being exposed, and that an increase in

anxiety generally precipitates the confessional state. Paradoxically, anxiety can be present as a reaction to the fear that one's claims of innocence will not be believed, especially for those who falsely confess. People who speciously confess provide inaccurate, but seemingly truthful statements. Confused by manipulative tactics, they lose confidence in their own recollections. Gudjonsson (2003) refers to this as "memory distrust syndrome;" when the cognitive confusion dissipates, the actual memory surfaces resulting in the denial and retraction of the confession.

This administration, the military, and perhaps some psychologists seem to have a need to perpetuate the myth that torture and coercion are the most effective methods of acquiring information in spite of the evidence suggesting otherwise. The evidence consistently reveals that confessions obtained via these methods are unreliable. A statement signed and delivered to the Armed Services Committee of Congress on July 31, 2006 by 20 former US Army Interrogators and Interrogation Technicians asserts quite simply, "...experienced interrogators find prisoner/detainee abuse and torture to be counterproductive to the intelligence gathering mission." □

(references available upon request)