

EXHIBIT 28



Oath Betrayed

America's Torture Doctors

"Collects countless examples of medical complicity in abuse that is all the more disturbing for the lack of any notable protest."

ADAM LIPTAK, *The New York Times*

SECOND EDITION

Steven H. Miles, MD

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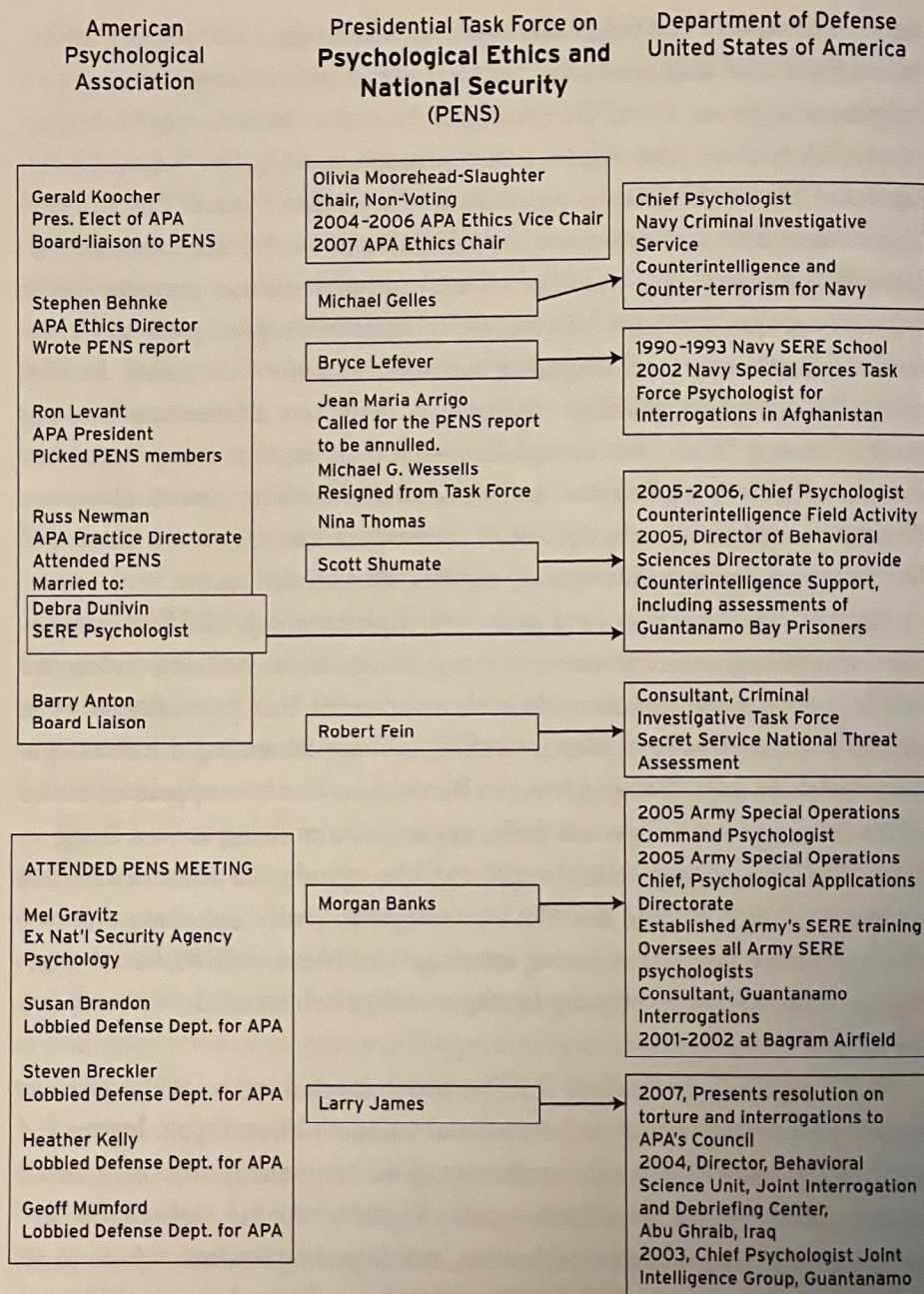


FIGURE A.1. Relationships between the APA's Ethics and National Security Task Force and the Department of Defense. Used by permission of Trudy Bond.

THE APA'S ROLE

From its inception, the APA's Ethics and National Security Task Force (PENS) Task Force has been a key player in the psychological community. Who's Who of the APA's Ethics and National Security Task Force (PENS) Task Force roles in the professional community. It is proposed to address the key task force personnel. It is a Defense Department deliberations. A minutes and pre while they update Members' biographies.

- Colonel M. J. ... Directorate ... at Bagram ... noted earlier ... BSCT psychology
- Dr. Scott S. ... intelligence field ... worked at ... SERE and ... Mitchell and ... Zubaydah ... for the Defense ... of Zubaydah
- Lieutenant ... the Joint ... directed the ... first tour ... aware of ... detainees ... tions and ... tors. James

THE APA'S RULES FOR WAR ON TERROR INTERROGATIONS

From its inception, the APA's Psychological Ethics and National Security (PENS) Task Force was sure to be controversial. The members included a Who's Who of psychologist-interrogation experts who had held leadership roles in the problematic policies and facilities that the task force was supposed to address. It is not known how the APA selected these members or how this key task force came to be controlled by a bloc of defense and intelligence personnel. It is clear that the APA failed to manage the conflicts of interest. Defense Department members controlled content and access to the PENS deliberations. Assisted by APA officials and members, this majority sealed minutes and prevented public discussion of intermediate work products while they updated the Defense Department about the developing policy. Members' biographies are summarized in figure A.1.¹¹

- Colonel Morgan Banks, PhD, is chief of the Psychological Applications Directorate of Army Special Operations Command. In 2001 he worked at Bagram in Afghanistan. He is the senior Army SERE psychologist. As noted earlier, he played a key role in organizing SERE education for the BSCT psychologists.³
- Dr. Scott Shumate was director of behavioral science for counterintelligence field activity for the Defense Department at Guantánamo. He had worked at the CIA's Counter Terrorist Center, where he supervised the SERE and learned helplessness-based interrogator-psychologists James Mitchell and Bruce Jessen. He reportedly left the blacksite where Abu Zubaydah was being interrogated under torture and eventually the CIA for the Defense Department because he disagreed with the harsh nature of Zubaydah's interrogation.⁸
- Lieutenant Colonel Larry James, PhD, served as chief psychologist for the Joint Intelligence Group at Guantánamo in 2003. In 2004, he directed the BSCT at Abu Ghraib during the postabuse period. During his first tour at Guantánamo, Lieutenant Colonel James would have been aware of or involved in standard procedures for Guantánamo that left detainees in isolation for thirty days to "soften them up" for interrogations and to create a greater psychological dependency on the interrogators. James claims in his book, *Fixing Hell*, that he heroically struggled

to reform Abu Ghraib. However, when asked if he was aware of how high-value prisoners were treated in the most secret prison compound at Guantánamo, he said, “I learned a long, long time ago, if I’m going to be successful in the Intel [Intelligence] community, I’m meticulously—in a very, very dedicated way—going to stay in my lane. . . . So if I don’t have a specific need to know about something, I don’t want to know about it. I don’t ask about it.”¹²

- Captain Bryce Lefever, PhD, a Navy SERE and Special Forces psychologist, was assigned to Afghanistan in 2002 to teach interrogation techniques.
- Robert Fein, PhD, a forensic psychologist, has a long consulting history with the Directorate for Behavioral Sciences of the Department of Defense Counterintelligence Field Activity and other agencies.
- Michael Gelles, PsyD, was chief psychologist for the Naval Criminal Investigative Service, where he conducted psychological assessments of criminals and victims. Appendix 1 discusses how he called attention to abusive interrogations at Guantánamo.

Four members, including the nonvoting chair, were unaffiliated with the Defense Department or intelligence programs. Olivia Moorehead-Slaughter, PhD, is on the Massachusetts Licensing Board for Psychologists and was on the APA’s Ethics Committee. Nina Thomas, PhD, has expertise in treating trauma victims. Dr. Michael Wessells is past president of the APA’s Division of Peace Psychology. Dr. Jean Maria Arrigo is an academic expert on intelligence ethics. Drs. Wessells and Arrigo have renounced the PENS product.

In addition, there were persons who observed and sometimes influenced the PENS meetings. These are listed in figure A.1. Dr. Russ Newman, head of the APA Practice Directorate, was very influential. The civilian members were unaware that his wife, Lieutenant Colonel Debra Dunivin, PhD, was a former SERE psychologist.¹³

Not surprisingly, the initial PENS report conformed to government claims as to the propriety of the use of health professionals in interrogations. Ordinarily, a psychologist owes primary loyalty to the well-being of a patient. APA ethics director Dr. Stephen Behnke states that the PENS report “prohibits

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