Letter from Elizabeth Bartholet, James Cavallaro, & Christine Desan, Faculty, Harvard Law School, to the U.S. Congress on Recent Human Rights Issues in Iraq

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Letter sent to the United States Congress regarding recent human rights issues in Iraq

June 16, 2004

To: Members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

As members of university faculties in law, international relations, diplomacy, and public policy, we write to register our objection to the systematic violation of human rights practiced or permitted by authorities of the United States within occupied Iraq during recent months: we request Congressional action to ensure accountability for such violations and to safeguard against such egregious abuses in the future. Current circumstances require that all transcend partisan politics or considerations. Action by Congress is necessary to promote a rule of law produced and enforced through a democratic process and to protect the physical and psychological integrity of all people consistent with the traditions of our nation.

I. Accountability for human rights violations

Congressional action is necessary to examine and ensure accountability for the organizational and individual failures that allowed persons within the control of U.S. forces to be subjected to acts of torture and to cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment.

There can be no doubt that the acts of abuse in Abu Ghraib prison constitute violations of both the domestic and international legal obligations of the United States and its agents. Executive Branch officials have admitted as much. International humanitarian law provides that those classified as prisoners of war are entitled to special protections against such abuses under the Third Geneva Convention, ratified by the United States in 1955. Inhabitants of occupied territories are protected under the Fourth Geneva Convention, also ratified by the United States in 1955, against physical or moral coercion to obtain information from them. The Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, ratified by the United States in 1994,

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requires that States party take measures to prevent both torture, and other acts of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment. The Constitution of the United States protects prisoners from cruel and unusual punishment.

Accepting the applicability of international and domestic law, military officials have initiated prosecutions of lower level personnel. That response, while necessary, is clearly insufficient. Congress has an obligation to investigate and assess responsibility at all levels of the Executive Branch from the highest officers on down for the abuses in Abu Ghraib and other Iraqi prisons.

Despite clear and repeated notice \[1\], abuse of detainees has been both frequent and pervasive during the military occupation of Iraq. The fact that military officials failed after such notice to identify and eradicate the pattern of abuse itself constitutes a grave breach of responsibility.

In addition, a growing body of evidence indicates that the abuses practiced on detainees under American control are the consequence of policies developed at the highest levels in the months and years immediately preceding the scandal. First, there are reports that harsh interrogation tactics, designed for use against only the most serious terrorist suspects and themselves violative of humanitarian law, have been authorized and applied generally against detainees in Iraq. Second, authorization to coerce detainees to speak creates the potential for grave abuse. It is thus evident that very clear lines must be established and vigorously policed. Yet authorities failed to supervise subordinates adequately, or to establish minimal safeguards against abuse. Third, the dilatory response by military and other officials to reports by international agencies, human rights groups, and the media concerning egregious abuse operated as a predictable signal to those on various levels below that their admittedly illegal conduct was condoned, accepted, or encouraged. Fourth, Executive Branch officials have diverged from past practice by asserting presidential power to designate certain prisoners as not entitled to any judicial or other meaningful review of any aspects of the legality of their confinement, including imposition of torture. That approach to detainees created a culture facilitating disregard for the protections required to be accorded prisoners in Iraq.
II. Democratic definition of policies involving coercion

Military and intelligence officials have acknowledged that official U.S. policy now involves use of coercive methods that are morally questionable and that may violate international and domestic law. The question whether various forms of coercion against persons under American control can be justified goes to the heart of our identity as a democratic community.

Given the profound problems it may raise as a moral, legal, and constitutional matter, any decision to adopt a coercive interrogation policy and the definition of any such policy, if adopted, should be made within the strict confines of a democratic process. While the Executive Branch should retain sufficient authority to conduct military affairs, basic principles and policies regarding human rights must be defined by a representative and accountable body acting in transparent and deliberative fashion. In turn, the courts must retain ultimate responsibility for judicial oversight in order to ensure that the law meets constitutional requirements.

Thus, insofar as Executive Branch officials have authored and implemented a coercive interrogation policy, that policy must be submitted to Congress for examination and debate. Congress should determine afresh its wisdom, its consistency with basic democratic principles of humane treatment, and its conformity with international and domestic law. If any such policy were to be adopted by Congress, the reviewability of such law through the operation of the courts in due course must be assured.

Conclusion

Given the accumulation of reliable evidence demonstrating the practice of torture and degrading treatment of detainees by U.S. forces, and given Executive responsibility for creating the conditions enabling such practice to occur, and with regard for democratic responsibility with respect to these issues at the heart of our understanding of our nation, its culture and values, we ask that Congress take action to:

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(1) assess responsibility for the abuses that have taken place, identifying the officials at all levels who must be held accountable for enabling these abuses to occur and for the failure to investigate them, and determining what sanctions, including impeachment and removal from office of any civil officer of the United States responsible, may be appropriate;

(2) decide whether the U.S. should have an official policy of coercion in connection with interrogation, and if so what form it should take as well as what safeguards it should include to protect against abuses in violation of the policy.

Sincerely,

[The undersigned]

[1] As summarized in a recent letter to President Bush:

For the past year and a half, The Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, USA Today, Newsday, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Christian Science Monitor, and other leading newspapers have repeatedly quoted unnamed U.S. intelligence officials boasting about the use of torture and other ill-treatment of prisoners. Numerous detainees have been killed or attempted suicide in custody in Afghanistan, Iraq and Guantanamo Bay prompting unprecedented expressions of concern by the International Committee of the Red Cross; suspects have been turned over to the foreign intelligence services of countries, such as Syria, with records of brutal torture; the ICRC has also specifically expressed concern about conditions at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq; and now, the US military's own inquiry has found “systemic and illegal abuse of detainees” at Abu Ghraib.

Letter of May 7, 2004 to President George W. Bush from William Schulz, Amnesty International USA, et al.
University of Connecticut School of Law

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James Cavallaro, Associate Director, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School, and Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Lecturer on Law, Harvard Law School

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</tr>
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<td>Assistant Professor of Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of</td>
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Deborah Maranville, Professor of Law, University of Washington School of Law
Wendy K. Mariner, Professor of Health Law, Bioethics and Human Rights, Boston University School of Public Health, and Professor of Law, School of Law and Professor of Socio-Medical Sciences, School of Medicine, Boston University
Daniel Markovits, Associate Professor of Law,
Yale Law School
**Elizabeth Phillips Marsh**, Professor of Law, Quinnipiac University School of Law
**Harry S. Martin III**, Henry N. Ess III Librarian and Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
**Michael R. Masinter**, Professor of Law, Nova Southeastern University – Shepard Broad Law Center
**Mari Matsuda**, Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center
**Nancy Maurer**, Clinical Professor of Law, Albany Law School
**Gary M. Maveal**, Associate Dean for Academic Affairs and Associate Professor, University of Detroit Mercy School of Law
**Marcia L. McCormick**, Visiting Assistant Professor, Chicago-Kent College of Law
**Miranda Oshige McGowan**, Associate Professor of Law, University of Minnesota Law School
**Betsy McKenzie**, Director, Suffolk University Law Library
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**M. Isabel Medina**, Ferris Family Professor of Law, Loyola University New Orleans, School of Law
**Steve Meili**, Clinical Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin Law School
**Michael Meltsner**, Matthews Distinguished University Professor of Law, Northeastern University School of Law, and Visiting Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
**Carrie Menkel-Meadow**, Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center
**Naomi Mezey**, Associate Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center
**Frank I. Michelman**, Robert Walmsley University Professor, Harvard Law School
**Martha L. Minow**, William Henry Bloomberg Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
**Alan D. Minuskin**, Associate Clinical Professor of Law, Boston College Law School
**Robert H. Mnookin**, Samuel Williston Professor of Law and Chair, Program on Negotiation, Harvard Law School
**Nancy Morawetz**, Professor of Clinical Law, New York University School of Law
**Joelle Anne Moreno**, Associate Professor, New England School of Law
**Muriel Morisey**, Associate Professor of Law, Temple University Beasley School of Law
Corinne Seither Morrissey, Director of Academic Achievement, The John Marshall Law School
Scott Moss, Assistant Professor of Law, Marquette University Law School
Russell G. Murphy, Professor of Law, Suffolk University Law School
Peter L. Murray, Braucher Visiting Professor of Law from Practice, Harvard Law School
Louis Natali, Professor of Law, Temple University Beasley School of Law
William E. Nelson, Judge Edward Weinfeld Professor of Law, New York University School of Law
Alizabeth Newman, Director Immigrant Initiatives, CUNY School of Law
Marie Stefanini Newman, Associate Professor of Law, Pace University School of Law
Binafer Nowrojee, Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Lecturer on Law, Harvard Law School
Robert L. Oakley, Director of the Law Library and Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center
Christiana Ochoa, Associate Professor of Law, Indiana University School of Law – Bloomington
Michael P. O’Connor, Associate Professor of Law, University of St. Thomas School of Law
James Oldham, St. Thomas More Professor of Law and Legal History, Georgetown University Law Center
Oliver Oldman, Learned Hand Professor of Law, Emeritus and Director of the International Tax Program for 2003-4, Harvard Law School
Frances Olsen, Professor of Law, UCLA School of Law
Aviva Orenstein, Professor of Law, Indiana University School of Law – Bloomington
Nancy Ota, Professor of Law, Albany Law School
Kevin Outterson, Associate Professor of Law, West Virginia University College of Law
Antony Y. Page, Assistant Professor of Law, Indiana University School of Law – Indianapolis
Joseph A. Page, Professor, Georgetown University Law Center
Victoria J. Palacios, Associate Professor of Law, Southern Methodist University, Dedman Law School
Alan Palmiter, Professor of Law, Wake Forest University School of Law
Dan Partan, R. Gordon Butler Scholar in
International Law, Boston University School of Law

Elizabeth Hayes Patterson, Associate Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center

Michael J. Perry, Robert W. Woodruff Professor of Law, Emory University School of Law

Robert Pitofsky, Sheehy Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center

David B. Poole, Senior Litigation Coordinator, Criminal Justice Institute, Harvard Law School

James G. Pope, Professor of Law, Rutgers School of Law – Newark

Samantha Power, Lecturer in Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

John A. Pray, Clinical Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin Law School

Kathleen Price, Associate Dean for Library and Technology and Clarence J. TeSelle Professor of Law, Fredric G. Levin College of Law, University of Florida

Mary Prosser, Assistant Clinical Professor, University of Wisconsin Law School

Ann Puckett, Director of the Law Library and Professor of Law, Alexander Campbell King Law Library, University of Georgia School of Law

William P. Quigley, Janet Mary Riley Professor of Law, Loyola University New Orleans, School of Law

Noel M. Ragsdale, Clinical Professor of Law, University of Southern California Law School

Mark C. Rahdert, Associate Dean, Temple University Beasley School of Law

Balakrishnan Rajagopal, Ford International Professor of Law and Development and Director, Program on Human Rights and Justice, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Todd Rakoff, Byrne Professor of Administrative Law, Harvard Law School

Krista M. Ralston, Clinical Professor of Law, Director, Legal Defense Program, University of Wisconsin Law School

Elizabeth Rapaport, Professor of Law, University of New Mexico School of Law, and 2003-04 Visiting Professor, University of Connecticut School of Law

Jamin B. Raskin, Professor of Law, American University, Washington College of Law

Kal Raustiala, Professor, UCLA School of Law
Martha Rayner, Associate Clinical Professor of Law, Fordham University School of Law
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James D. Redwood, Professor of Law, Albany Law School
Henry J. Richardson III, Professor of Law, Temple University Beasley School of Law
Michael L. Richmond, Professor of Law, Nova Southeastern University – Shepard Broad Law Center
Ruth Robarts, Assistant Dean for Student & Academic Affairs, University of Wisconsin Law School
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Florence Wagman Roisman, Michael D. McCormick Professor of Law, Indiana University School of Law – Indianapolis
Kermit Roosevelt, Assistant Professor, University of Pennsylvania Law School
Lory Diana Rosenberg, Adjunct Professor of Law, American University, Washington College of Law, and Director, Defending Immigrants Partnership, National Legal Aid & Defender Association
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Jamie Baker Roskie, Clinical/Adjunct Professor, University of Georgia School of Law & College of Environment & Design
Meredith J. Ross, Clinical Professor of Law and Director, Frank J. Remington Center, University of Wisconsin Law School
Richard J. Ross, Associate Professor of Law and History, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Susan Deller Ross, Professor of Law and Director, International Women’s Human Rights Clinic, Georgetown University Law Center
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Gary Rowe, Acting Professor of Law, UCLA School of Law
David Rudovsky, Senior Fellow, University of Pennsylvania Law School
David S. Rudstein, Professor of Law, Chicago-Kent College of Law
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Susan Rutberg, Professor, Golden Gate University School of Law
Theodore Ruthizer, Lecturer in Law, Columbia Law School
Robert M. Saltzman, Associate Dean and Adjunct Professor, University of Southern California Law School
Frank E.A. Sander, Bussey Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
Austin Sarat, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Science, Departments of Law, Jurisprudence & Social Thought and Political Science, Amherst College
Lewis D. Sargentich, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
Jane Schacter, James E. & Ruth B. Doyle-Bascom Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin Law School
Daniel C. Schaffer, Professor of Law, Northeastern University School of Law
Irene Scharf, Professor of Law and Dean for Clinical Studies, Southern New England School of Law
David Scheffer, Visiting Professor of International Law, Georgetown University Law Center, and Former U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues (1997-2001)
Harry N. Scheiber, Director, Earl Warren Legal Institute, and Riesenberg Professor of Law & History, Boalt Hall - University of California Berkeley School of Law
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Margo Schlanger, Assistant Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
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Hilary M. Schor, Professor of English and Law, University of Southern California Law School
Miguel Schor, Assistant Professor of Law, Suffolk University Law School
Philip G. Schrag, Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center
Robin M. Schreiber, Professor of Law, Emory University School of Law
Steven Schulhofer, Robert B. McKay
Professor of Law, New York University School of Law
Herman Schwartz, Professor of Law, American University, Washington College of Law
Helen S. Scott, Professor of Law, New York University School of Law
Ellen M. Scully, Clinical Assistant Professor and Director of Columbus Community Legal Services, Catholic University of America, Columbus School of Law
Anthony J. Sebok, Professor of Law, Brooklyn Law School
Robert A. Sedler, Distinguished Professor of Law and Gibbs Chair in Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, Wayne State University Law School
Ilene Seidman, Associate Clinical Professor of Law, Suffolk University Law School
Pat Sekaquaptewa, Director, Native Nations Law & Policy Center, UCLA School of Law
Jeff Selbin, Lecturer, Boalt Hall - University of California Berkeley School of Law, and Executive Director, East Bay Community Law Center
Gregory Shaffer, Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin Law School, and Co-Director, University of Wisconsin Center on World Affairs and the Global Economy
Ann Shalleck, Professor of Law and Carrington Shields Scholar, American University, Washington College of Law
Laurie Shanks, Director Field Placement Project, Albany Law School
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Andrew Siegel, Assistant Professor of Law, University of South Carolina School of Law
David M. Siegel, Professor of Law, New England School of Law
Carole Silver, Senior Lecturer, Northwestern University School of Law
Marjorie A. Silver, Professor of Law, Touro College, Jacob D. Fuchsberg Law Center
Linda Sandstrom Simard, Professor of Law, Suffolk University Law School
Jonathan Simon, Professor of
Law/Jurisprudence and Social Policy, Boalt Hall
- University of California Berkeley School of Law

Steve Simon, Clinical Professor, University of Minnesota Law School

Dan Simon, Professor, University of Southern California Law School

Joseph W. Singer, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

Morton Sklar, Adjunct Faculty, Catholic University of America, Columbus School of Law

David Slawson, Torrey H. Webb Professor of Law, University of Southern California Law School

Abbe Smith, Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center

Michael E. Smith, Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin Law School

Edwin M. Smith, Leon Benwell Professor of Law, International Relations, and Political Science, and Academic Director of International Programs, University of Southern California Law School

Robert A. Solomon, Clinical Professor of Law and Director of Clinical Studies, Yale Law School

Girardeau A. Spann, Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center

Sophie M. Sparrow, Professor of Law, Franklin Pierce Law Center

Shaun Spencer, Climenko/Thayer Lecturer on Law, Harvard Law School

Jane Stapleton, Ernest E. Smith Professor of Law, University of Texas at Austin School of Law

Barbara Stark, Distinguished Visiting Professor of International Law, New England School of Law

Carol Steiker, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

Michael Stein, Associate Professor of Law, William & Mary Law School, and Visiting Fellow, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School

Henry J. Steiner, Director, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School, and Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

Joan Steinman, Distinguished Professor of Law, Chicago-Kent College of Law

Margaret Stewart, Professor of Law, Chicago-Kent College of Law
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Stephen N. Subrin, Professor of Law, Northeastern University School of Law
Madhavi Sunder, Professor of Law, University of California, Davis
Julie-Anne Tarr, Professor of Law, Indiana University School of Law – Indianapolis
Susan Douglas Taylor, Supervising Attorney, Immigrant & Refugee Rights Clinic, CUNY School of Law
Kim Taylor-Thompson, Professor of Clinical Law, New York University School of Law
Judson L. Temple, Professor of Law, Oklahoma City University School of Law
Joseph R. Thome, Emeritus Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin Law School, and Visiting Professor for 2004-05, De Paul University Law School, Chicago
Peter Tillers, Professor of Law, Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University
Daniel P. Tokaji, Assistant Professor of Law, The Ohio State University Moritz College of Law
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Rebecca S. Trammell, Assistant Professor of Law and Law Library Director, University of Kentucky College of Law
Laurence H. Tribe, Ralph S. Tyler, Jr. Professor of Constitutional Law, Harvard Law School
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Deborah Tussey, Assistant Professor, Oklahoma City University School of Law
Detlev F. Vagts, Bemis Professor of International Law, Harvard Law School
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Jon M. Van Dyke, Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawaii at Manoa
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Penny M. Venetis, Clinical Professor of Law and Associate Director, Constitutional Litigation Clinic, Rutgers School of Law – Newark
Christine Ver Ploeg, Professor of Law, William Mitchell College of Law
David C. Vladeck, Associate Professor of Law and Co-Director, Institute for Public Representation, Georgetown University Law Center
Valorie K. Vojdik, Associate Professor of Law, West Virginia University College of Law
Robert Volk, Associate Professor of Legal Writing and Director, First-Year Writing Program, Boston University School of Law
Peter W. Wakefield, Assistant Director, Office of International Affairs and Program Director, Claus M. Halle Institute for Global Learning, Emory University
Stephen M. Walt, Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
Rhonda Wasserman, Professor of Law, University of Pittsburgh School of Law
Paul C. Weiler, Henry J. Friendly Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
Mark S. Weiner, Associate Professor of Law, Rutgers School of Law – Newark
Lloyd L. Weinreb, Dane Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
Marley S. Weiss, Professor of Law, University of Maryland School of Law
Deborah M. Weissman, Associate Professor of Law and Director of Clinical Programs, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Robin L. West, Professor Law, Georgetown University Law Center
Lucie E. White, Louis A. Horvitz Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
James Q. Whitman, Ford Foundation
Professor of Comparative and Foreign Law, Yale Law School

Lucy A. Williams, Professor of Law, Northeastern University School of Law

Norman R. Williams, Assistant Professor of Law, Willamette University, College of Law

Wendy W. Williams, Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center

Gabriel M. Wilner, Charles Kirbo Professor of International Law, University of Georgia School of Law

Richard J. Wilson, Pauline Ruyle Moore Scholar, Professor of Law and Director, International Human Rights Law Clinic, American University, Washington College of Law

William Julius Wilson, Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Timothy Wilton, Professor of Law, Suffolk University Law School

Adam Winkler, Acting Professor, UCLA School of Law

Jane K. Winn, Professor and Director, Shidler Center for Law, Commerce & Technology, University of Washington School of Law

Kenneth Winston, Lecturer in Ethics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Michael J. Wishnie, Professor of Clinical Law, New York University School of Law

John Fabian Witt, Associate Professor of Law, Columbia Law School

Stephen Wizner, William O. Douglas Clinical Professor of Law, Yale Law School

Mark E. Wojcik, Director, Global Legal Studies, The John Marshall Law School

Arthur D. Wolf, Professor of Law, Director, Legislative Institute, Western New England College School of Law

Barbara Bennett Woodhouse, David H. Levin Chair in Family Law, Fredric G. Levin College of Law, University of Florida

Jeanne M. Woods, Henry F. Bonura, Jr. Distinguished Professor of Law, Loyola University New Orleans, School of Law

William J. Woodward, Jr., Professor of Law, Temple University Beasley School of Law

Larry Yackle, Professor of Law, Boston University School of Law

Eric K. Yamamoto, Professor of Law, University of Hawaii School of Law