

mistake about who's in charge. You have to treat these detainees like dogs."

Whether or not Miller actually spoke those words, it is clear that harsh techniques authorized for a time in Guantanamo forced nudity, hooding, shackling men in "stress positions," the use of dogs were taken up in Afghanistan and Iraq, where they sometimes degenerated into outright viciousness and even torture. Did the injunction to "treat these detainees like dogs" give rise to a prison culture that winked at barbarism? Should Miller be held responsible for what Abu Ghraib became?

The latest Pentagon report on the abuse of captives, delivered to Congress last week by Vice Admiral Albert Church III, doesn't point a finger of blame at Miller or any other high-ranking official. It concludes that while detainees in Iraq, Guantanamo, and elsewhere were brutalized by military or CIA interrogators, there was no formal policy authorizing such abuse. (On occasion it was even condemned in December 2002, for example, some Navy officials denounced the Guantanamo techniques as "unlawful and unworthy of the military services.")

But surely, Church was asked at a congressional hearing, someone should be held accountable for the scores of abuses that even the government admits to? "Not in my charter," the admiral replied.

So the buck stops nowhere. And fresh revelations of horror keep seeping out.

Afghanistan, 2002: A detainee in the "Salt Pit" a secret, CIA-funded prison north of Kabul is stripped naked, dragged across a concrete floor, then chained in a cell and left overnight. By morning, he has frozen to death. According to The Washington Post, which sourced the story to four US government officials, the dead man was buried in an unmarked grave, and his family was never notified. What had the Afghan done to merit such lethal handling? "He was probably associated with people who were associated with Al Qaeda," a US official told the Post.

Iraq, 2003: Manadel al-Jamadi, arrested after a terrorist bombing in Baghdad, is brought in handcuffs to a shower room in Abu Ghraib. Shackles are connected from his cuffs to a barred window, hoisting his arms painfully behind his back a position so unnatural.

Sergeant Jeffrey Frost later tells investigators, that he is surprised the man's arms "didn't pop out of their sockets." Frost and other guards are summoned when an interrogator complains that al-Jamadi isn't cooperating. They find him slumped forward, motionless. When they remove the chains and attempt to stand him on his feet, blood gushes from his mouth. His ribs are broken. He is dead.

Then there is the government's use of "extraordinary rendition," a euphemism for sending terror suspects to be interrogated by other countries including some where respect for human rights is nonexistent and interrogation can involve beatings, electric shock, and other torture. The CIA says it always gets an assurance in advance that a prisoner will be treated humanely. But of what value are such assurances when they come from places like Syria and Saudi Arabia?

Of course the United States must hunt down terrorists and find out what they know. Better intelligence means more lives saved, more atrocities prevented, and a more likely victory in the war against radical Islamist fascism. Those are crucial ends, and they justify tough means. But they don't justify means that betray core American val-

ues. Interrogation techniques that flirt with torture to say nothing of those that end in death cross the moral line that separates us from the enemy we are trying to defeat.

The Bush administration and the military insist that any abuse of detainees is a violation of policy and that abusers are being punished. If so, why does it refuse to allow a genuinely independent commission to investigate without fear or favor? Why do Republican leaders on Capitol Hill refuse to launch a proper congressional investigation? And why do my fellow conservatives—those who support the war for all the right reasons—continue to keep silent about a scandal that should have them up in arms?

[From the Boston Sunday Globe, Mar. 20, 2005]

Why Not Torture Terrorists?

(By Jeff Jacoby)

(Second of two columns)

The Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, which the United States ratified in 1994, prohibits the torture of any person for any reason by any government at any time. It states explicitly that torture is never justified—"no exceptional circumstances whatsoever . . . may be invoked as a justification for torture." Unlike the Geneva Convention, which protects legitimate prisoners of war, the Convention Against Torture applies to everyone—even terrorists and enemy combatants. And it cannot be evaded by "outsourcing" a prisoner to a country where he is apt to be tortured during interrogation.

In short, the international ban on torture—a ban incorporated into US law—is absolute. And before Sept. 11, 2001, few Americans would have argued that it should be anything else.

But in post-9/11 America, the unthinkable is not only being thought, but openly considered. And not only by hawks on the right, but by even by critics in the center and on the left.

"In this autumn of anger," Jonathan Alter commented in Newsweek not long after the terrorist attacks, "a liberal can find his thoughts turning to—torture." Maybe cattle prods and rubber hoses should remain off limits, he wrote, but "some torture clearly works," and Americans had to "keep an open mind" about using unconventional measures—including "transferring some suspects to our less squeamish allies."

In March 2003, a few days after arch-terrorist Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was captured in Pakistan, Stuart Taylor Jr. acknowledged that he was probably being made to feel some pain. "And if that's the best chance of making him talk, it's OK by me," he wrote in his National Journal column. In principle, interrogators should not cross the line into outright torture. But, Taylor continued, "my answer might be different in extreme circumstances."

By "extreme circumstances" he meant what is often called the "ticking-bomb" scenario: A deadly terror attack is looming, and you can prevent it only by getting the information your prisoner refuses to divulge. Torture might force him to talk, thereby saving thousands of innocent lives. May he be tortured?

Many Americans would say yes without hesitating. Some would argue that torturing a terrorist is not nearly as wrong as refusing to do so and thereby allowing another 9/11 to occur. Others would insist that monsters of Mohammed's ilk deserve no decency.

As an indignant reader (one of many) wrote to me after last week's column on the

cruel abuse of some U.S. detainees, "The terrorists . . . would cut your heart out and stuff it into the throat they would proudly slash open." So why not torture detainees, if it will produce the information we need?

Here's why:

First, because torture, as noted, is unambiguously illegal—illegal under a covenant the United States ratified, illegal under Federal law, and illegal under protocols of civilization dating back to the Magna Carta.

Second, because torture is notoriously unreliable. Many people will say anything to make the pain stop, while some will refuse to yield no matter what is done to them. Yes, sometimes torture produces vital information. But it can also produce false leads and desperate fictions. In the ticking-bomb case, bad information is every bit as deadly as no information.

Third, because torture is never limited to just the guilty. The case for razors and electric shock rests on the premise that the prisoner is a knowledgeable terrorist like Mohammed or Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. But most of the inmates in military prisons are nothing of the kind. Commanders in Guantanamo acknowledge that hundreds of their prisoners pose no danger and have no useful information. How much of the hideous abuse reported to date involved men who were guilty only of being in the wrong place at the wrong time?

And fourth, because torture is a dangerously slippery slope. Electric shocks and beatings are justified if they can prevent, another 9/11? But what if the shocks and beating don't produce the needed information? Is it OK to break a finger? To cut off a hand? To save 3,000 lives, can a terrorist's eyes be gouged out? How about gouging out his son's eyes? Or raping his daughter in his presence? If that's what it will take to make him talk, to defuse the ticking bomb, isn't it worth it?

No. Torture is never worth it. Some things we don't do, not because they never work, not because they aren't "deserved," but because our very right to call ourselves decent human beings depends in part on our not doing them. Torture is in that category. We can win our war against the barbarians without becoming barbaric in the process.

RECOGNIZING ERIN ROBNETT, WINNER OF TEXAS VALUES VISUAL ARTS COMPETITION

HON. MICHAEL C. BURGESS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 5, 2005

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Erin Robnett, an eighth grader at Crownover Middle School of Cornith, located in the 26th Congressional District of Texas, for being one of the three winners of the Texas Values Arts Competition.

This is truly an outstanding accomplishment for Erin. More than 250 students from Plano, Denton, Lewisville and surrounding communities entered the contest. Over Time is the name of Erin's piece which represents changes that have occurred during Texas' history. With Erin's win, she received a savings bond from Huffines Auto Dealerships.

Erin's piece had the pecan tree, mocking bird and the bluebonnet. It also features the Alamo and a soldier standing where the head piece would be. The head piece is half complete representing Texas' past and present.

Erin Robnett's talents are not only a testament to her artistic skill but also a stellar example of how parents and teachers efforts are rewarded when combining a core curriculum with study in the arts. I am proud of the education system in Texas, especially our students, and involved parents and teachers at Crownover Middle School, who commit their lives and time to fostering growth of our communities. And I wanted to extend a special thank you to Huffines Automotive for their generous contribution to these aspiring students.

HONORING THE LIFE OF JEAN
ALLARD

HON. MARILYN N. MUSGRAVE

OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 5, 2005

Mrs. MUSGRAVE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the life of Jean Allard, a lifelong servant to the agricultural industry and to Larimer County, Colorado.

Jean was born in Alamosa, Colorado. She came to Fort Collins at the age of five where she grew up on a farm and graduated from Fort Collins High School in 1938. She attended the Colorado State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, (today it would be known as Colorado State University). She studied home economics and was a textile major. Jean was active in sports such as basketball, field hockey, softball and swimming. She graduated in 1942.

Jean made all of her own clothes during high school and college, which is evidence of her creativity and willingness to work hard. She comes from a family with a strong work ethic. Her grandparents, James and Jane Ross, homesteaded in Fort Collins when they came from Scotland in 1887. Jean's family grew grain, hay, and raised purebred Hereford cattle. Their original homestead remained on 1600 Horsetooth Road through the 1980's.

Jean met Amos Allard at Fort Collins High School and they married on July 18, 1941. Their time together as a newlywed couple was short-lived as Amos was soon drafted into the Navy during World War II in 1944.

After Jean graduated from Colorado A&M, they moved to the Allard family ranch in Jackson County, Colorado where they raised Hereford cattle. In 1962 they sold their ranch and moved back to Larimer County.

The Allards bought a 297-acre farm in Loveland, west of the current Hewlett-Packard facility.

On their property, Walt Clark Middle School was built, 3 churches, a private park and a public park, as well as 830 homes in Loch-Lon (Lake Meadow Land). Jean was instrument in the development of Big Thompson senior housing in Loveland. She also sold the lots at Loch-Lon, dealt with builders and typed warranty papers. Amos was active with the Board of Realtors where he served as a legislative liaison.

Through hard work, the Allards have been quite successful in Larimer County. They have two sons, current U.S. Senator WAYNE ALLARD and Kermit Allard, both living in Larimer County. They have four granddaughters and 6 great grandchildren.

Jean Allard has witnessed much change in Larimer County. The timeless value of hard work has truly been demonstrated by Jean. I wish the best for the Allard's and hope that their legacy will continue for many years to come.

A TRIBUTE TO THE COUNCIL OF
JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS OF
FLATBUSH

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 5, 2005

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition of a distinguished organization the Council of Jewish Organizations of Flatbush. It is an honor to represent the Council of Jewish Organizations of Flatbush in the House of Representatives and it behooves us to pay tribute to their selfless endeavors of more than a quarter century.

Mr. Speaker, the Council of Jewish Organizations of Flatbush, was founded twenty six years ago to assist families in need in the greater Brooklyn area. Over the course of its many years of dedication to the Brooklyn community The Council of Jewish Organizations of Flatbush has truly emerged as a premier organization committed to assisting those who have nowhere else to turn.

Under the leadership of their Executive Director, Rabbi Yechezkel Pikus, The Council of Jewish Organizations of Flatbush has established itself as Brooklyn's central address for social services, immigration services and many forms of crucial emergency assistance.

The Council of Jewish Organizations of Flatbush has been instrumental in creating successful employment programs and developing Small Business services. Through the Leader Family Employment Center and the South Brooklyn Business Outreach Center they have empowered people with the tools to succeed in their professional endeavors. Additionally, they are renowned for providing vital outreach to the elderly and homebound with particular attention and sensitivity to Holocaust survivors. They have also developed a scholarship fund to send children from disadvantaged families to summer camp.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is incumbent on this body to recognize the achievements of the Council of Jewish Organizations of Flatbush. Their uncompromising commitment to Jewish ideals and ethics is an inspiration for us all.

Mr. Speaker, may our country continue to benefit from the civic actions of the Council of Jewish Organizations of Flat bush and community groups similar to them.

RECOGNIZING FIRE CAPTAIN
BUTCH FLANAGAN AND HIS
YEARS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE

HON. MICHAEL C. BURGESS

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 5, 2005

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Captain Butch Flanagan of the

Lewisville Fire Department, located in the 26th Congressional District of Texas, for his long career serving the public.

Captain Flanagan, who has spent the last 34 years with the Lewisville Fire Department, will retire April 5, 2005. He has been the city's longest current employee and was named "Firefighter of the County" in 2004 by the "Heroes of Denton County." Captain Flanagan worked his way up through the ranks and has been highly dedicated throughout his career. He once said, "I can't ever see myself doing anything different."

Captain Flanagan was born and raised in Lewisville, graduated from Lewisville High School, and now lives in Graham. He was one of the first full-time Lewisville firefighters and rose through the ranks to become captain. Captain Flanagan has been described as role model in the department and at home. Both his peers and superiors think of Captain Flanagan as a mentor. One Lewisville fire chief said "He'll getcha outta trouble in a hurry" and "you know no one's going to get hurt" when Captain Flanagan is in charge. The Chief also said that the Lewisville Fire Department "was blessed" to have such a man serve with them.

I am proud to represent Captain Butch Flanagan and the Lewisville Fire Department. Captain Flanagan has committed his life and time to protect and serve our community at any time, anywhere.

RECOGNIZING THE GADDAR
MOVEMENT

HON. GEORGE RADANOVICH

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 5, 2005

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize the Gaddar Movement and the brave individuals who contributed to the Indian Independence Movement. An event to commemorate the memories of the Gaddar Movement will occur in Fresno, CA, on April 3, 2005. In spite of the trials and hardships, the goal of India's independence was achieved and the Indian people now live in a sovereign nation filled with hope and opportunity.

It is important to honor the sacrifices that so many have made for the cause of freedom. Just as the early Americans were guided by the doctrine of liberty embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the members of the Gaddar movement also understood the importance of autonomy for the Indian people. Many of these immigrants endured loss of life and property, but they persevered and have made major contributions to the U.S., both socially and economically.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor the courageous efforts of those brave individuals who contributed to the Gaddar Movement. I urge my colleagues to join me in recognizing their courage and commitment to freedom.