



HARVARD Kennedy School

CARR CENTER
for Human Rights Policy

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

WEST POINT



The Strategic Consequences of the U.S. Use of Torture

*A joint conference of The Carr Center for Human Rights
Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School & The West Point
Center for the Rule of Law*

**Harvard Kennedy School
Carr Center for Human Rights Policy**

October 7 & 8, 2016

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Friday October 7, 2016

Taubman 520 ALLISON DINING ROOM

Welcome and Introductory Remarks

1:00-1:30 pm

Welcome to conference participants by Dean Douglas Elmendorf. Welcoming remarks from Sushma Raman of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and LTC Winston Williams of the West Point Center for the Rule of Law. Introductory remarks by Douglas A. Johnson concerning the topic of the conference, the genesis of the project, and what we hope to gain through conversations at the conference.

Speakers:

- Douglas Elmendorf, Dean, Harvard Kennedy School
- Douglas A. Johnson, Faculty Director, Carr Center
- Sushma Raman, Executive Director, Carr Center
- Lieutenant Colonel Winston Williams, Assistant Professor, United States Military Academy

Diplomatic Consequences: Impact on Foreign Relations

1:30-3:00 pm

How did the U.S. use of torture shape U.S. bilateral and multilateral relations? How did it stack up as an issue relative to other challenges arising in the post-9/11 world? Did the U.S. use of torture have a significant impact on U.S. diplomacy? How did the diplomatic consequences of the use of torture shape U.S. foreign relations more broadly?

Speakers:

- Stephen Rapp, former U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes
- Gavin Simpson, the Council of Europe
- Jon Stephenson, journalist
- Kathryn Sikkink, Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School (moderator/discussant)



Friday October 7, 2016

Taubman 520 ALLISON DINING ROOM

Military Consequences: Strategic Issues

3:15-4:45 pm

This session will explore how the U.S. use of torture shaped the overall trajectories of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the so-called global war on terror. How did the use of torture impact the national security of the US and its allies? How did it impact the dynamics of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan? How did the U.S. and its partners have to adapt strategically to deal with the fallout stemming from the U.S. use of torture? What lessons can be learned?

Speakers:

- Darius Rejali, Professor of Political Science, Reed College
- Douglas Pryer, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army
- Ian Fishback, former U.S. Army Officer, University of Michigan
- Graham Allison, Director of the Belfer Center, Harvard Kennedy School (moderator/discussant)

Keynote: Human Rights & National Security

5:00-6:30 pm

This session will consist of a presentation by Philip Zelikow followed by a conversation between Alberto Mora and Zelikow examining the use of torture through a policy lens. Did torture “work”? What is the role that human rights play in the pursuit of U.S. national security and foreign policy objectives? Are the concepts fundamentally in tension, requiring trade-offs between one in order to achieve the other?

Speakers:

- Philip Zelikow, White Burkett Miller Professor of History, University of Virginia, former Counselor, U.S. State Department
 - Alberto Mora, Senior Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, former General Counsel, U.S. Department of the Navy
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Saturday October 8, 2016

L-P-9 MALKIN PENTHOUSE

Military Consequences: Tactical Issues

9:00-10:30 am

The current conference is the second in a two-part series. The first conference was held in March 2016 at West Point. This session highlights the research coming out of that conference, which explored the tactical issues that arose on the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan due to the U.S. use of torture.

Speakers:

- Robert Sayre, retired Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army
- Gary Solis, Adjunct Professor of Law, West Point, George Washington University, and Georgetown University
- Matt Milikowsky, McKinsey & Co., former Assistant Professor, West Point
- Col. David Wallace, Professor, United States Military Academy, Director of the West Point Center for the Rule of Law (moderator/discussant)

Changing Global Attitudes: Soft Power Consequences

Time: 10:45-12:15 pm

How did the U.S. use of torture impact the country's standing and soft power? How did the U.S. actions change both domestic and global attitudes toward the U.S.? What consequences did changing public attitudes have for the U.S. in its pursuit of its national security and foreign policy objectives? What are the long-term repercussions of these consequences? What can be done going forward?

Speakers:

- Richard Wike, Director of Global Attitudes Research, Pew Research Center
- Darius Rejali, Professor of Political Science, Reed College
- Michael Posner, Jerome Kohlberg Professor of Ethics and Finance at NYU, former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor
- Steven Livingston, Senior Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy (moderator/discussant)



Saturday October 8, 2016

L-P-9 MALKIN PENTHOUSE

Beyond America: International Consequences

1:30-3:00 pm

This session aims to understand how the U.S. practices impacted the global norm prohibiting torture. How did the U.S. use of torture impact other governments and their policies? How did it impact patterns of human rights abuses overseas? How did it impact the international norm prohibiting torture and other cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment? How can we fix the damage done to the fabric of international human rights by the U.S. use of torture?

Speakers:

- Mark Danner, author *Spiral* and former staff writer, *The New Yorker*
- Juan Mendez, UN Special Rapporteur on Torture
- Averell Schmidt, Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy
- Dana Born, Lecturer in Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School (moderator/discussant)

Concluding Remarks: Looking Backward... and Forward

3:15-4:00 pm

The concluding session will weave together insights gleaned from the preceding sessions and explore reforms and policy recommendations that would prevent the U.S. from returning to the use of torture. What lessons have been learned from the preceding analysis? If an attack like 9/11 were to occur again, would the U.S. resort to the use of torture? What reforms are necessary to ensure this does not happen?

Speakers:

- Douglas A. Johnson, Faculty Director, Carr Center
 - Alberto Mora, Senior Fellow, Carr Center
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