

THE USE OF POWER AND IDEOLOGY IN GUANTANAMO: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ANDY WORTHINGTON'S *THE GUANTANAMO FILES*

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ABSTRACT: *The research deals with the use of power and ideology in Andy Worthington's The Guantanamo Files (2007) as the narratives (generally called Gitmo narratives) of the detainees show the betrayal of American ideals, U.S. constitution and international laws about human rights. Since its inception, Guantanamo Bay Camp is an icon of American military power, hegemony and legal exceptionalism in the 'Global War on Terror'. In order to analyze the selected text, the 'discourse as social practices' with special reference to power and ideology which is the third dimension of the tripartite framework proposed by Norman Fairclough (1995), is applied comprehensively as a theoretical framework for this research. The research reveals the truth and reality of the power structure and hegemonic designs of American ideology to discriminate and to stereotype the male Muslims as terrorists in Guantanamo. The discourse of these Gitmo narratives is also related with the issue of closing this notorious camp which has gained a great attention for the international media, lawyers, human rights activists and civil society.*

KEYWORDS: Gitmo narratives, Guantanamo bay, hegemony, ideology, power, war on terror

INTRODUCTION

The dreadful incident of 9/11 has paved the way to the detention camps in Guantanamo. The establishment of this camp has created a new vista of stories or narratives simply called the "Gitmo Narratives". As Guantanamo is commonly pronounced as 'Gitmo' in its short form, so all the stories related to the detainees inside Guantanamo are simply named as Gitmo Narratives. There are a number of stories available about what happened to the inhabitants of the Guantanamo Bay Detention Camps in the form of books, articles, news and online stuff. These narratives are told and retold by many authors with multi perspective approach, but Andy Worthington's *The Guantanamo Files* is one of the most prominent works of Gitmo narratives covering all issues of the topic. The goal of this

work is to high light the dark and unknown secrets of the detainees' lives inside Gitmo and to know what is happened to the detainees in Guantanamo and why they are inside this limbo. For the first four years only the top American officials knew the exact number and names of the detainees. It was almost impossible to recount the stories of these male Muslims as they were detained without any charge or trial and they had no contact with their families. They were unable to make any contact even to their lawyers in the beginning and they were simply the apparatus of a lawless experiment conducted in the Torture Lab of America in the remote area of Cuba outside the jurisdiction of American law. The prisoners at Gitmo never had the chance to prove their innocence. "They were never told why they'd been brought to Cuba. They were never allowed to be heard in open court. But their perspectives must be aired" (Khan, 2008).

Things would never be so pathetic and harsh for all those held as detainees in this Camp, if United States of America was not assaulted by a well organized terrorist attack on the World Trade Center by an internationally declared terrorist organization Al-Qaeda on September 11, 2001. The attacks were carried out by hijacking four commercial flights and struck them to the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC. The twin towers were completely destroyed and almost 3,000 people were killed in the attacks. These attacks were widely described as a moment of historical crack, an epochal event that sketched a clear line through world history, dividing what came after 9/11 from what went before (Holloway, 2008). The attacks of 9/11 had provided the U.S. administration a chance to launch a 'Global War on Terror' against Al Qaeda, Taliban and all other terrorist groups around the world. Mostly the leaders of Al Qaeda and a large part of its membership and facilities were based in Afghanistan, which was governed by Taliban at the time. Osama bin Laden had claimed credit for the attacks but when Afghanistan refused to hand him over, the US and its allies launched an attack against the armed forces of Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. The US alliance quickly gained control of Afghanistan and an interim Afghan government led by Hamid Karzai was installed in late 2001. Since the start of the conflict, thousands of people associated with Al Qaeda and Taliban have been either killed or imprisoned in Afghanistan and other parts of the world in Global War on Terror.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Guantanamo, in terms of Foucault (1979), saw a new theory of law and crime. It was a new moral or political justification of the right to punish. Old laws were eliminated and old customs died out in Guantanamo. The working of military tribunals was also illegal and deeply flawed. The prisoners were not allowed to have any legal representation, and were stopped from seeing the classified evidence against them. The evidence was often consisted of allegations based on unconfirmed reports or torture. However, they could tell their own stories after their release from the prison. The executive is not only bringing the charges but also prosecuting the detainees. The military judges have considerable latitude over what evidence is admissible and who has access to it, often to the defense team's disadvantage. The absence of a lay jury leaves the chances of collusion between the

prosecuting authority and the judges unchecked. The Military Commission Act of 2006 included a section prohibiting ill treatment of those participating in the tribunals but Madison (2006) points out that this provision itself proves that there is pressure on military tribunal proceedings.

Advocacy groups maintain that all the detainees are held indefinitely without any solid charge and any fair trial. They are subject to extreme torture and should be given protection under international humanitarian law. The secrecy of this naval base makes it harder to know the actual nature of their condition. Many United Nations (UN) bodies such as the Security Council, General Assembly and the UN Secretary General himself urged the US to fulfill its responsibilities under international and humanitarian law while fighting terrorism (Szpak, 2012). However, truth has the power to reveal itself and according to Gramsci (1971), it is revolutionary to tell the truth. Whatever is happened to the male Muslims inside Gitmo is now an open secret and we have a lot of stories related to these detainees which are called “Gitmo narratives”. There are many sources of these narratives, but mainly four of the sources are most important. The Gitmo narratives by the detainees themselves, by military personnel, by the lawyers and by the authors and journalists of the free world, all present a vivid and gloomy picture of Guantanamo prison and its dwellers. Andy Worthington’s *The Guantanamo Files* is a prominent work of Gitmo narratives. The discourse related to Guantanamo is so varied and weird that it direly needs the critical analysis, so that the world must know the reality of what happened to the marginalized people of the Muslim world and also the ideology and hegemonic designs of America as a superpower in the New World Order.

CDA and Michel Foucault’s Concept of Power

The present study also deals fairly enough with the French historian and philosopher (1926-1984), Michel Foucault’s key notions about power and discourse. Foucault (1990a) considers power as a multiple force of relations indwelling in the area in which they operate and compose their own organization. Discourse, according to Foucault (1972), has a discursive structure that is a set of statements which provide a language for talking and representing a topic. Discourse actually means the production of knowledge through language, and practices. It is the language in which people describe facts and it hinders in the process of describing what is ‘true’ or ‘false’. Foucault believes that power produces knowledge and power is associated with what is regarded as ‘true’ or ‘false’. Power and knowledge are interrelated to each other.

According to Foucault (1982a), power is omnipresent because it comes from everywhere. Some basic propositions of Foucault on power are:

- Power is implemented in countless ways
- Power relations are present in all other types of relations
- Power appears from lower level and there is no dichotomy between the ruled and the ruler.

- Resistance is never peripheral to power and where there is power, there is always resistance.
- One is always surrounded by power.
- Discourse is an outcome or apparatus of power, but it may also be a point of resistance.
- Discourse conveys and constructs power, but it also weakens and exposes it.

Discipline and Punish (1979) is one of Foucault's influential works which starts from the graphic description of a torture scene from 18th century France. Damians is a type of regicide which is publicly drawn and during this ritual, the skin is peeled from the body and a combination of sulphur, oil and lead poured into the wounds (Foucault, 1979). But now public executions are made according to time-table. Now the prisoners have spent their day performing prayers, reading, workshops, meals and leisure. Foucault stated that the old public torture and executions had the problem what he entitles 'the spectacle of the scaffold', was not their brutality, but that they did not have the anticipated effect. Rather the sufferers declared the heroes of legends and booklets. Therefore, the scaffold was producing more offense than discipline. Now the great exhibitions of power and brutality are replaced by well disciplined institutions like Guantanamo with less visible but more discreet and more efficient power.

According to Foucault, the prison and its panoptic structural design is a perfect example of the new technologies of power. All the prisoners can be monitored at any time from the panopticon and such an idea of power in the modern world seems to leave little room for resistance from the subjects. However, this concept of panopticon has faced a lot of criticism from the left. According to Jurgen Habermas (1994), people for Foucault, are merely individual copies that are mechanically punched out. However, Foucault does not have an entirely negative definition of power and he is not a pessimistic scholar. Power, either positive or negative, is simply the capacity to create change in society or in the behaviour of individuals.

CDA and Gramsci's Concept of Hegemony

The first principle of Gramsci's notion of hegemony is that human beings are not only ruled by force, but also by ideas and concepts. According to Gramsci (1971) the base of a ruling class is equal to the creation of a 'Weltan-schauung'. Marx (1977) had also examined that the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. The concept of hegemony is not a difficult supposition and it simply means the political control based on the consent of the led. This consent is protected by the distribution and popularization of the world view of the ruling class which exercises two methods to keep the loyalty of its citizens. First, the ruling class does not avoid using the physical force to curb opposition and impose obedience. Secondly, it also tries to build social agreement by applying non-violent resources. To achieve the first goal, the state's apparatus of domination (the police, the army) are given the task of applying force and coercion. For

the second purpose, the ideological hegemony is applied by the ruling class over the citizens via the institutions of civil society, in order to guarantee the acceptance of the ruling class' guidelines (Gramsci, 1992). The main points of Gramsci's concept of hegemony are:

- The ruling class has succeeded in convincing the other classes to accept its own moral, political and cultural values.
- Hegemony needs a consent given by the majority to a certain trend recommended by those in power.
- This consent is never passive and calm and it may include physical force or coercion with intellectual, moral and cultural stimulus.
- The 'common sense' is only a cultural creation by which the governing ideology is practiced and spread.
- Hegemony comes out of social and class struggle, and serves to shape and control people's minds.
- Hegemony is a set of schemes by which the dominant groups attempt to get the consent of inferior groups.

Hegemony is a constantly changing concept and it always tries to readjust and re-negotiate itself. Gramsci says (1992) that hegemony can never be settled and in the post-revolutionary stage, the function of hegemonic leadership does not vanish but changes its nature. Gramsci presents two different forms of social control:

- Coercive control: It is implemented through direct force or threat
- Consensual control: It comes when individuals voluntarily accept the worldview of the dominant group.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This section provides the theoretical framework on which the present study is based. It is the Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA and its application on the Gitmo Narratives in Worthington's *The Guantanamo Files*. Many critics have defined CDA, its origins and goals, its common features and the three main CDA trends. However, being the pioneer, Norman Fairclough's social approach and his three dimensional model of CDA is taken as the main theory in this dissertation especially the 'discourse as social practices' which is the third dimension of the tripartite framework, is applied on the selected text of the stories of the detainees in Guantanamo.

Introduction of CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis is a comprehensive theory or approach that provides methods and tools to carry out practical studies of the relations between discourse, society and culture. The main goal of CDA is to expose the delicate relationship between discourse and society and it also tells how language works in the social context and how it is associated with power and ideology. CDA does not simply mean a discipline of only one

trend. It is an approach under which we can find many trends and that's why there is no single definition of CDA. It is a multipurpose approach and it can be achieved through its goals rather than by its techniques and tools of analysis. However the main aim of every CDA is to uncover the socio-political inequalities, based on political, economic, cultural, religious, or gendered grounds in a certain society. According to Fairclough (1995a: 132), CDA is the study of obscure relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts and the wider social and cultural structures. It is used to investigate how these practices, events and texts are ideologically shaped by power and struggles over power. CDA explores how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is a factor for securing power and hegemony.

However, all approaches of CDA have a common apprehension with issues of power and ideology caused by social practices and the core objective of CDA is to reveal how the world is construed in discourses. The task of CDA is not simply to display what is happening within the text, but also to point out what is absent from the text. According to van Dijk (1993: 249), CDA aims to show how linguistic-discursive practices are related to socio-political structures of power and domination. CDA is very different from other approaches to discourse because it is critical and it places the text in its wider social, economic, historical, cognitive and political context and critically examines how this text relates to other texts. However, "critical" here does not mean identifying only the negative sides of social interaction and processes.

Three Main Approaches in CDA

There are three main approaches working within CDA: the historical-discoursal, the cognitive-discoursal and the social-discoursal approach. The first two approaches are dealt with minor details; while the third approach i.e. the social-discoursal approach is discussed in detail because the present study has mainly drawn on it.

Historical Discoursal Approach

The main intellectual associated with this approach is Ruth Wodak. His sociolinguistic ethnographical CDA approach is commonly known as the discourse-historical approach and it emphasizes not only the contextualized nature of discourse but also explains the development of this discourse through a historical range. According to Wodak (1996), it is not possible to understand the discursive strategies without understanding the historical and social background against which they were created. The main features of the historical-discoursal approach are: **1.** it is based on the social and philosophical orientation of critical theory, **2.** it deals with three key elements. The first is "text immanent critique" which reveals the irregularities, contradictions and paradoxes in the text. The second element is "socio-diagnostic critique" which exposes the manipulative feature of discourse using the historical and social background. The third element is "prospective critique" which aspires to transform and improve communication and **3.** it aims to incorporate the historical sources and social and political background in which discursive events are implanted.

Cognitive Discoursal Approach

Van Dijk is the main figure associated with this approach and he is a strong advocate of including cognition in analyzing discourse. According to Van Dijk (1995: 18), ideologies present the “cognitive foundation” for the behaviour of various groups in societies, as well as the impetus to follow their own goals and interests. The centrality of ideology in discourse is clear as it provides the overall, abstract mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes. Van Dijk shows us how cognitive theories deal with discourse processing. Language is known by creating mental representations or models and it is an ongoing process which works both at a local or microstructural level and at a global or macrostructural level. At the microstructural level, each expression is examined and encoded into memory. While on Macrostructural level, cognition works over a series of utterances to form a steady representation. Van Dijk actually presents a ‘schema’ of relations between ideologies, society, cognition and discourse. According to van Dijk (1993), hegemonic power takes control of the people’s minds through social cognition, which he refers to as mental models or ideologies. These mental models are produced through social practices and work together with the personal cognition of group members. Therefore, ideology performs both social and cognitive functions and power relations can be reproduced and legitimated at the ideological level. It means if the ruling class wants to control the masses, it is most effective to try to control their group attitudes and attitude-producing, ideologies (van Dijk, 1993).

Social Discoursal Approach

This approach is mainly given by Norman Fairclough and his three dimensional or tri-aspectual framework emphasis on the social aspect of the discourse. According to Fairclough (1995a: 131), there is a dialectical relationship between language and other social practices. Language is not only socially shaped but also shaping other social practices. Actually it is methodology which is basically interested in examining opaque as well as transparent relationships of dominance, inequity, power and ideology as shown in language (Wodak, 1995: 204). Fairclough has definitely extended Critical Theory because he connects it to Discourse Analysis. Due to this dialectical relationship, CDA has become an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary framework and draws on works from different fields like Gramsci, Althusser, Habermas, Halliday, Bakhtin and Kress. Fairclough presents the social discoursal framework in his famous book *Discourse and Social Change* and a diagram on page 98 of this book summarizes his plan of action to conduct CDA (Fairclough, 1995a: 98).

Dimensions of discourse:

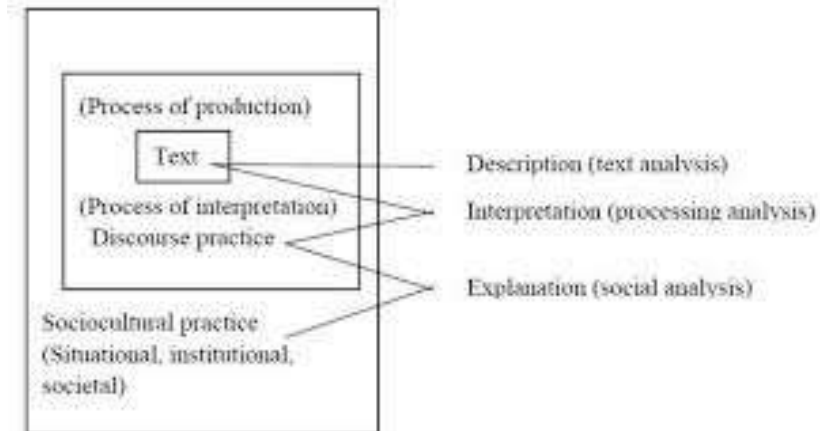


Figure 2.1 Fairclough's Model of CDA (Fairclough, 1995a)

There are three interwoven levels of analysis in above diagram: the text level, the discursive practice level and the socio-cultural level. According to Fairclough (1995a: 133), each discursive event has three dimensions: 1. Every discourse or text is in spoken or written language, 2. Discourse is involved in the production and interpretation of every text and 3. Text is a piece of social practice.

Discourse as text: Discourse-as-text is the first dimension of the social framework of Fairclough and it focuses mainly on the contents of the text and the linguistic features of discourse. In this approach, the use of diction and vocabulary, grammar, semantics, cohesion and text structures are systematically analyzed. For example, the use of passive verb forms in news reporting can create the effect of obscuring the political processes.

Discourse as discursive practices: Discursive practices contribute to the production of the text and according to Fairclough (1995a: 58), there are many ways of the processes of text production and text consumption. Some have a more institutional character where as others are discourse processes in a narrower sense. Discourse practice deals with the production and reception of messages. It is what constitutes social identities, relations and cultural models and provides the condition for the reproduction or transformation of texts.

Discourse as social practices: Discourse as social practice deals with the social, ideological and hegemonic practices prevailing in the society and shows how these practices are shaped and reshaped by discourse. In order to understand the wider socio-cultural, political, ideological, and historical context surrounding the text, the wider context helps to explain the characteristics of a text. In terms of its production, distribution and consumption, we analyze a text more than the level of language and discourse. We scrutinize the hidden power relations and their roles in generating and

establishing power irregularities among social actors. Fairclough says that at this level, we should be ready to deal with semiotic as well as nonsemiotic elements. Following key elements are suggested by Fairclough in the composition of any social practice:

1. Action and interaction
2. Social relations
3. Persons
4. The material world

His comprehensive approach helps in understanding and interpreting:

1. A broad scenario in which discourses and ideologies work together in society
2. The difficulties involved in the hegemony and its role in social and political marginalization of the weak groups
3. How hegemony shapes our beliefs, fantasies and desires to regulate practices of institution building and how it ensures the continuation of power by setting the stage for material production and reproduction of activities
4. The fundamental changes taking place in social life and determining the negative impacts of these changes on the social life.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section is comprised of the critical discourse analysis of three stories of three detainees from Worthington's *The Guantanamo Files* out of the 779 detainees mentioned in the text. Three stories of the three randomly selected detainees named Abu Zubaydah, Mohamedou Ould Slahi and Al-Qahtani have been selected randomly for critical discourse analysis.

CDA of Abu Zubaydah's Story

Abu Zubaydah, born March 12, 1971 as Zayn al-Abidin Muhammad Husayn, is a Saudi Arabian citizen currently held by the U.S. in the Guantanamo Bay detention camps, in Cuba. In his teenage, Zubaydah moved to the West Bank from Saudi Arabia, where he joined in Palestinian demonstrations against the Israelis (Christopher, 2009). Zubaydah is reported to have studied computer science in Pune, India prior to his travel to Afghanistan/Pakistan at the age of 20 in 1991. In Afghanistan, he joined the mujahideen in the civil war and was injured in a mortar shell blast, which left shrapnel in his head and caused severe memory loss, as well as the loss of the ability to speak for over one year. Before his capture in March 2002, 'during a house raid in Faisalabad', he was entitled or stereotyped by the Americans as a "the facilitator of the Khaldan camp", "a terrorist mastermind", "al-Qaeda's chief of operations and top recruiter," "responsible for screening recruits arriving in Pakistan" breathless terms by Time (Worthington, 2007: 152). All these tags become doubtful with repeated use of the words like "allegedly", "supposedly", "reportedly", "accused", "believed", "regarded". It seems clearly the discourse of the powerful for "Othering" the weak and 'presenting' the other as a constant threat to the American might.

During his arrest in a house raid in Faisalabad, Abu Zubaydah got injured seriously as he “received gunshot wounds in his stomach, one of his legs, and his groin” but he ‘was immediately rendered to the secret CIA prisons, known as black sites, in Pakistan, Thailand, Afghanistan, Poland, Northern Africa, and Diego Garcia. Historically, renditions of prisoners to countries which commit torture have been illegal. In early 2002, immediately after the arrest of Abu Zubaydah, top Bush administration officials, Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell, CIA Director George Tenet, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and US Attorney General John Ashcroft discussed at length whether or not the CIA could legally use ‘enhanced interrogation techniques.’ against him and till 2003, the administration briefed several Democratic Congressional leaders on the proposed “enhanced interrogation techniques” (Mark, 2008). During the discussions, US Attorney General John Ashcroft is reported as saying, “Why are we talking about this in the White House? History will not judge this kindly” (Leopold, 2008). The words and behaviour of the top US officials at that time clearly shows a betrayal of the American ideals of democracy, rule of law, respect of American constitution and international laws about human rights.

Zubaydah was harshly interrogated by two interrogation teams of the FBI and the CIA. Ali Soufan, the FBI interrogator, who observed part of the CIA interrogation of Zubaydah, described his treatment under the CIA as torture (Soufan, 2009). The International Committee of the Red Cross and other such organizations later reached the same conclusion. While in CIA custody, Zubaydah lost his left eye (ICRC, 2007). It was later discovered that the Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) in August 2002, drafted what was known as the first Torture Memo and its purpose was to authorize specific ‘enhanced interrogation techniques’ to be used on Zubaydah (Bybee, 2002). This memo described ten techniques which the interrogators wanted to use: (1) attention grasp, (2) walling, (3) facial hold, (4) facial slap (insult slap), (5) cramped confinement, (6) wall standing, (7) stress positions, (8) sleep deprivation, (9) insects placed in a confinement box, and (10) the waterboard. Many of these techniques were, according to American laws, generally considered illegal at that time. Many other techniques developed by the CIA were held to constitute inhumane and degrading treatment and torture under the United Nations Convention against Torture and Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ICRC, 2007).

The CIA subjected Zubaydah to various forms of increasingly harsh interrogation techniques, including temperature extremes, music played at debilitating volumes, and sexual humiliation. Worthington has also referred to an intelligence source who spoke to ABC News in 2005 that the ‘enhanced techniques’ were applied to round a dozen other prisoners including Khalid Sheikh Mohammad and it is also confirmed in a confidential report by Red Cross representatives, the only outsiders to have met with the ‘14 High Value’ prisoners, who stated that all of them “described highly abusive interrogation methods, especially when techniques such as sleep deprivation and forced standing were used in combination” (Worthington, 2007: 285). Zubaydah was one of three or more

high-value detainees to be waterboarded. The Bush administration in 2007 said that Zubaydah had been waterboarded once. However, he was waterboarded 83 times within the month of August 2002, the month the CIA was authorized to use this enhanced interrogation techniques for him. In January 2010, Kiriakou, in a memoir, said, “Now we know that Zubaydah was waterboarded eighty-three times in a single month, raising questions about how much useful information he actually supplied” (Apuzzo & Goldman, 2010).

Worthington also refers to an ABC’s intelligence source who spoke of the waterboarding of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, noting that ‘CIA officers who subjected themselves to the technique lasted an average of 14 seconds before caving in, whereas Mohammed “won the admiration of interrogators when he was able to last between two and two-and-a-half minutes before begging to confess.” Not only did this make a mockery of the authorities’ persistent claims that they were not involved in torture, which was reiterated by Bush in his televised address, when he said, “I want to be absolutely clear with our people, and the world: The United States does not torture. It’s against our laws, and it’s against our values”—it also raised extremely uncomfortable questions about the quality of the intelligence that was produced by these experiments in torture’ (Worthington, 2007: 286). The above lines by Worthington show the extensive use of these enhanced interrogation techniques which is a clear sign of might is right and an open violation of American laws about human rights. Waterboarding is the worst example of abuse of power. Moreover, such ensuing interrogation is applied only to the male Muslim detainees to get the desired information and to assert the American policy or ideology that mostly the Muslims around the world are not peaceful people and they are either directly involved in executing terrorist activities or planning to do so.

Since his capture in March 2002, the U.S. Government has not officially charged Zubaydah with any crimes so far. He is still in the custody of US forces without any trial, without any charges, without any solid reasons. Even President Barack Obama made a number of promises about the future of Guantanamo after assuming his office in 2009 and announced to close the Guantanamo Bay Camps and the use of torture would cease at the camp. He promised to institute a new review system. That new review system was consisted of officials from six departments, where the OARDEC reviews were conducted entirely by the Department of Defense. When it reported back, a year later, the Joint Review Task Force (2009) classified Zayn al-Ibidin Muhammed Husayn as one of the 71 individuals deemed “too innocent to charge, but too dangerous to release”. Less than a quarter of these men have received a review from a Periodic Review Board. It is well said that justice delayed is justice denied.

CDA of Mohamedou Ould Slahi’s Story

Mohamedou Ould Slahi, a Mauritanian, was detained at Guantanamo under the authority of Authorization for Use of Military Force against Terrorists (AUMF) and suspected by the U.S. government to be part of al-Qaeda at the time of his arrest in November 2001.

He traveled to Afghanistan in December 1990 to support the Mujahideen who were attempting to bring down the communist government of Mohammad Najibullah. The United States also opposed Najibullah and supported the Mujahideen against him. Slahi trained in an al Qaeda camp and swore bayat to al Qaeda in March 1991. He returned to Germany soon after but traveled to Afghanistan for two months in early 1992. Slahi states that he “severed all ties with ... al-Qaeda” after he left Afghanistan at that time but the U.S. government maintains that Slahi “recruited for al-Qaeda and provided it with other support” since then.

Slahi presented himself to Mauritanian authorities for questioning about the Millennium Plot on November 20, 2001. He was detained for seven days and inquired by Mauritanian officers and by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Spiegel, 2008). Then the CIA rendered him to Jordanian prison where he was held for eight months. Slahi states that he was tortured by the Jordanians. After being flown to Afghanistan and held for two weeks, he was transferred to military custody and the Guantanamo Bay detention camp in Cuba on August 4, 2002 (Worthington, 2010). Slahi also commented on his transfer to the American forces, “My country turned me over, shortcutting all kinds of due process of law, like a candy bar to the United States,” he said in his tribunal (Worthington 2007: 221). Held for eight months in Jordan, where what happened to him was “beyond description” and he was tortured “may be twice a week, a couple times, sometimes more,” he was then transferred to Bagram for two weeks, and arrived in Guantanamo on August 4, 2002 (Worthington 2007: 221).

Phrases like “a significant al-Qaeda operative” and “recruited 9/11 hijackers in Germany,” written in the 9/11 Commission Report (2004) about Slahi was mostly based on the statements of other detainees under severe torture and there were no solid proofs against him like so many others in the War on Terror. He was purely a victim of American prejudice against the Muslim community especially the Mujahideen of Afghanistan and Arab world. The report also stated that Ramzi bin al-Shibh and three of the 9/11 hijackers, Mohammed Atta, Marwan al-Shehhi and Ziad Jeddah, were traveling on a train in Germany when they met a man named Khalid El-Masri, and “struck up a conversation about jihad in Chechnya.” According to Worthington (2007: 221), “El-Masri told them to contact a man named Abu Musab (Slahi’s alias) in Duisburg, but when they met him, he told them it was difficult to get to Chechnya because travelers were generally detained in Georgia, and advised them to go to Afghanistan for training instead”.

Slahi was detained by the Americans in November 2001, but what was the reason, nobody knows and it has never been explained to him as well. In his life, he was interrogated so many times by so many agencies like in Canada, in Germany, in Senegal, on his way to Mauritania in January 2000, and also by the Americans themselves. However, the capture of one of the “high-value” prisoners Ramzi bin al-Shibh actually “changed drastically” the status of Slahi and Bin al-Shibh’s “confessions” really led to the accusations about Slahi’s supposed “role as an intermediary between the 9/11

hijackers and Osama bin Laden, and he was interrogated daily by the FBI until May 2003, when he was assigned interrogators from the Defense Department's Defense Intelligence Agency—advocates of the “enhanced interrogation techniques” that were still favored by the most senior figures in the administration” (Worthington 2007: 286). However, Slahi was moved to Camp Echo in September 2003 and Memos acknowledged that camp authorities were not permitting the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to have access to Slahi, due to “military necessity” (Bravin, 2007). Lt. Col V. Stuart Couch, a Marine Corps lawyer, was appointed as Slahi's prosecutor at Guantanamo. He withdrew from the case in May 2004 because he believed that Slahi “had blood on his hands,” but he “could no longer continue the case in good conscience” because of the alleged torture, which tainted all confessions Slahi had made (Bravin, 2007). Couch said that “the evidence is not believable because of the methods used to obtain it and the fact that it has not been independently corroborated” (Scheer, 2007).

The United States Senate Committee on Armed Services also produced a report titled “Inquiry into the Treatment of Detainees in U.S. Custody” (2008) on November 20, which contains information about the treatment of Slahi and others at Guantanamo before 2005. Worthington presented the example of Ibrahim Zeidan, the Jordanian who was kidnapped and held for ransom by a gang in Kabul, refuting an extensive list of allegations against him in the tribunal which included training at al-Farouq, appearing in a video about the bombing of the USS Cole, and attending a seminar for falsifying passports, he said, “A witness from the camp named Abu Zubaydah made these allegations against me that are not true,” and added: This person also told lies about a lot of other people. We heard from the interrogators themselves that they used unusual methods to get information from him (Worthington, 2007: 287). Worthington rightly says, “It is known that anyone that gives information under force should not be taken into consideration. Experience has shown that anyone that is subject to torture for long periods of time will say anything to stop the torturing. He may have talked about me under pressure or torture. He may have mistaken my identity for someone else” (Worthington, 2007: 288).

In March 2016, the government announced that Slahi was scheduled for a Periodic Review Board hearing on June, 2 to determine whether he can be released (Cobain, 2015). Slahi is a still-imprisoned detainee at Guantanamo Bay Camp waiting for a miracle to live like a free man. He started writing a memoir of his experiences in 2005 which was more than 400-page manuscript declassified by government censors in 2012 after many amendments. It is the first work by a still-imprisoned detainee at Guantanamo and provides details of Slahi's harsh interrogations and torture. It was published as a book, *Guantánamo Diary*, in January 2015 and became an international bestseller.

CDA of Al-Qahtani's Story

Al-Qahtani, being a Yemini, has a perfect accent of Arabic language and keeps a spirit of teaching Quran to the poor and illiterate people of Afghanistan, so he has to deal with the Taliban regime to fulfill his pure Islamic mission but he has always denied being a part of this banned organization. Al- Qahtani was shipped by the Americans to the Guantanamo Bay detention camp in February 2002, but he refused to disclose anything, not even his name, to the interrogators. It was not until July when U.S. authorities took a fingerprint sample and discovered that he was the same person who had tried to enter the United States just before the September 11 attacks. Seizing the airport surveillance tapes, the FBI claimed they were able to identify the car of Mohamed Atta at the airport, believed there to pick up Qahtani (Mayer, 2008). When his fingerprints were matched to those of the man deported from Orlando after trying to meet lead hijacker Mohammed Atta in August 2001 that he began to be interrogated intensively. A senior FBI interrogator was assigned to the case, who “slowly built a rapport” with al-Qahtani, (Worthington, 2007: 205). Qahtani had initially been interrogated by FBI agents, who used standard techniques based in police work. On December 2, 2002, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld authorized in writing the use of 17 enhanced interrogation techniques to be used against Qahtani (NY Times, 2004). After details of Qahtani's status were leaked in 2004, the US Department of Defense issued a press release stating that Qahtani had admitted:

- He had been sent to the US by Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the lead architect of the 9/11 attack;
- He had met Osama bin Laden on several occasions;
- He had terrorist training at two al-Qaeda camps;
- He had been in contact with many senior al-Qaeda leaders (NY Times, 2004)

In August 2002, the Office of Legal Counsel (OLC), Department of Justice, had provided legal opinions, later called the Torture Memo (2002), to the CIA that intently defined torture and authorized the use of enhanced interrogation techniques, since commonly defined as torture. The arrival of Rumsfeld's memorandum at Guantanamo “adds to the picture of a brutal, lawless prison experiment” and Guantanamo becomes ‘a legal black hole’ in the history of American ideals of democracy and rule of law and “establishes the grim truth that, although Miller had the idea of merging the functions of the guards and the interrogators to create an environment of total dependency for the prisoners, the regime that followed was especially cruel and humiliating because it coincided with explicit authorization, from the very top of the chain of command, to use techniques that were previously considered off-limits” (Worthington, 2007: 200).

It is clear from this description by Worthington that it is indeed the worst kind of religious and sexual humiliation of a detainee like al-Qahtani who was brought up in a pure family environment with strict discipline and a sense of shame particularly towards females. On other days, al-Qahtani was threatened by a dog, strip-searched and made to stand naked, and compelled to bark like a dog and growl at pictures of terrorists.

Whenever he fell asleep, he was woken by having water poured on his head—a game called “Drink Water or Wear It”—or by tapes of Christina Aguilera playing at full volume, and at one point he was “subjected to a ‘fake rendition,’ in which he was tranquilized, flown off the island, revived, flown back to Cuba, and told he was in a country that allows torture.” The sessions were so intense that the interrogators worried that the cumulative lack of sleep and constant interrogation posed a risk to his health (Worthington, 2007: 207). But dying is not permitted in Gitmo and doctors and other medical staff were frequently called for checking his health, sometimes as often as three times a day. Once in early December, his torture routine was poised for whole day because he became seriously dehydrated and his heart rate dropped to 35 beats a minute as a result of a hunger strike. When a doctor came to see him in his cell, a very loud music was played to prevent him from sleeping. Worthington raises a valuable question with regard to this terrible interrogation of al-Qahtani that “whether al-Qahtani’s interrogation produced any “actionable intelligence”? And he himself answers that it “is disputed”. The Pentagon claimed these reasons for his illegal detention

- a) he named people and financial contacts in several Arab countries
- b) he described terrorist training camps where bin Laden lived
- c) he provided details of meetings with bin Laden, and explained how he may have escaped from Tora Bora

Worthington has rightly pointed out that “extreme physical violence was ever-present in all of the US’s “War on Terror” prisons” and “it’s also noticeable that the 30-day limit on isolation was regularly exceeded” and “the four-hour limit on stress techniques was also broken” and “the supposedly prohibited Category III technique of exposing prisoners to cold weather was actually deployed on a regular basis” (Worthington, 2007: 200). This entire black and bleak scenario in Guantanamo shows that America has no respect for any rule of law and what are the human rights only mean the rights of American people in the world. Worthington like every other human being has rightly summed up this situation as “the only conclusion that can be drawn is that, from the end of 2002, Guantánamo changed from being an illegal offshore interrogation camp and became, instead, a prison devoted to torture” (Worthington, 2007: 201). Instead of an interrogation centre, Guantanamo can rightly be named as a ‘Torture Lab’ where America has exercised torture in all its forms and in all its degrees.

However, according to Worthington, the Pentagon was convinced that al-Qahtani was “a particularly well-placed, well-connected terrorist,” who was “capable of unlocking an enormous amount of specific and general insights into 9/11, al-Qaeda operations and ongoing planning for future attacks”. Later American forces removed the FBI from the case in November 2002 and began its own interrogations, which were severely criticized by a senior FBI official in a letter to the Pentagon in June 2004 that first highlighted the other abuses discussed above. Worthington also refers the statement of the FBI, who said that al-Qahtani was “subjected to intense isolation for over three months” and began “evidencing behaviour consistent with extreme psychological trauma (talking to

nonexistent people, reporting hearing voices, crouching in a cell covered with a sheet for hours on end)” (Worthington, 2007: 206). On 2nd September 2014, a judge panel for the second US circuit court of appeals in New York stated that pictures and videos of Qahtani, taken while in detention, should remain classified. The Center for Constitutional Rights, which represented Mohammed al-Qahtani for this federal lawsuit, had sought to disclose these audiovisual materials under the Freedom of Information Act. The judges decided that the release of these pictures and videos “could logically and plausibly harm national security because these images are uniquely susceptible to use by anti-American extremists as propaganda to incite violence against United States interests domestically and abroad” (The Guardian, 2014).

RESULTS, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

After a thorough critical discourse analysis of the Gitmo narratives in Worthington’s *The Guantanamo Files*, it has been found that the existence of Guantanamo in Cuba is really a mind blowing concept because it reflects the use of power and ideology by America. First, we look at the use of ideology in Guantanamo. It is quite obvious that within a few days after the tragic incident of 9/11, when American administration put the whole blame of this tragedy on Al Qaeda, Taliban and other terrorist organizations around the Muslim world. America has created a limbo for all those Muslims who believe in Jihad or armed struggle against any tyrannical rule or oppression. It seems as America’s Global War on Terror has symbolically become the Christian ‘war on Islam’ and a revenge of the historical ‘crusades’ and many specific instances narrated by the detainees have bolstered their perception of a religious war in Guantanamo. The findings of the research prove that Guantanamo Bay Camp is an icon of American power, hegemony and legal exceptionalism in ‘Global War on Terror’ since its inception. The Camp is established in Cuba only to detain the male Muslims, from more than twenty five Muslim countries across the globe, in order to discriminate and stereotype these men as ‘terrorists’ after the incident of 9/11 for unlimited periods without any legal status. This research has shown a return to the rule of ‘might is right’ in Guantanamo, as the detainees are brutally tortured by the powerful American soldiers using the most notorious “enhanced interrogation techniques”. What happened inside Gitmo is a symbol of civilizational breakdown through self-serving and preplanned power abuse. The narratives of the detainees show the betrayal of American ideals, U.S. constitution and international laws about human rights.

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

After doing the analysis and discussion of the text; and after drawing a clear conclusion, the research still has two major limitations. First, this dissertation only analyzes the Gitmo narratives of three randomly selected detainees out of the 779 prisoners held in Guantanamo Bay Detention Camp and thus its results and conclusions could not be applied to all other detainees in the same way. Second, the analyzed data has been

selected from only one book related to the narratives of the detainees in Guantanamo; therefore, the conclusion cannot be extended to other literature written with reference to the detainees. The present study, therefore, unlocks the door for further research on Gitmo narratives as far as the legal, cultural, religious and moral issues are concerned. The future study will be definitely more illuminating in terms of comparing and authenticating the results of the present dissertation. What was silenced in Worthington work was spoken out in other works related to the issues in Guantanamo. Further research will look at the representation of Islamists in Guantanamo and by covering other detainees and books on Guantanamo will surely add to the findings of this study.

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