

Refugee Medicine, HIV, and a "Humanitarian Camp" at Guantánamo

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Draft of Chapter Six, *Bioinsecurities: Disease Interventions, Empire, and the Government of Species*

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In the early 21st century, antiretroviral treatments can restore full life expectancy to patients diagnosed with Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV).¹ This was certainly not the situation in the 1980s and early 1990s. HIV and AIDS brought the full force of stigma and public fear. The disease was deemed a death sentence. This meant major public attempts to transform the sexual and health practices of populations, but also the expansion of public surveillance of suspect bodies. Despite opposition from public health officials, the US government carried out a militarized program of containment aimed at Haitian immigrants. In 1991, by which time two million US Americans were already infected with HIV, Congress set its sights on maintaining the exclusion of HIV-positive immigrants and paid special attention to a class of immigrants from Haiti. Yolande Jean, a Haitian democracy activist, was one of the tens of thousands of Haitian refugees apprehended in the Caribbean Sea by the US Coast Guard following the military coup, tacitly supported by the elder Bush administration, that deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Jean and 34,000 other refugees fleeing the post-coup pogrom were interdicted at sea in the eight months that followed. Most were taken to the US military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba for immigration and health screenings; some were directly returned to Haiti without any opportunity to appeal. Failing to acknowledge the systematic political repression and murder of opposition supporters as hundreds of thousands of people were displaced within Haiti, the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS, now Immigration and Customs Enforcement) invoked longstanding US stereotypes of Haitian dependency by denominating many fleeing the coup as "economic refugees." Among the refugees not immediately returned, thousands were transported to the Naval base outside Guantánamo, Cuba, where they were screened for HIV. The hundreds of Haitians who tested positive, including Jean, were segregated and imprisoned in the world's first HIV concentration camp during the years 1991-1994. Administratively denied entry into the United States due to serostatus (the measured presence of HIV antigens in the bloodstream), prisoners complained of inedible food, heavy-handed military policing, the forced labor of sanitary duty, shoddy shelter, and medical care without proper information and consent. They meanwhile lacked freedom of movement and association, contained within the boredom, uncertainty, and

unfamiliar environments of enforced quarantine.

Because these refugees were undergoing processing for asylum in the US, they could not be forcibly repatriated to Haiti; yet because they were HIV-positive, they ran afoul of the HIV exclusion policy that was unanimously passed by the US Senate in 1987. While the US Attorney General had the legal authority to parole asylees, such provision was forcefully denounced by lawmakers who conjoined fear of Haitian economic dependency and contagion.² The only exercise of emergency legal authority went in the other direction, detaining these immigrants on the open sea and forcibly moving them to the US military base in Cuba. In three years of litigation, INS lawyers consistently presented both the refolement of migrants (their preemptive return to Haiti before reaching US waters) and indefinite detention of HIV-positive refugees as twin efforts at national security and refugee relief: the US wanted to discourage further migrants who risked their lives to cross the Caribbean Sea, while also providing humanitarian medical care for HIV-positive asylum-seekers at a segregated site on Guantánamo. The US military hastily created an improvised quarantine in an area called Camp Bulkeley, where HIV-positive detainees were held behind barbed wire. The US government claimed in court that this was a "humanitarian camp" aimed at protecting the lives of HIV-positive refugees.³ The *New York Times* reported that Guantánamo was an "oasis" for sick Haitians.⁴

In retrospect, it is clear that such descriptions of the camp whitewashed the violence of the militarized regime of quarantine carried out against Haitians. Published news accounts of the Haitian HIV camp at Guantánamo tended to center the voices of human rights lawyers, doctors, state officials, and activists from within the contiguous United States, often presenting sympathy for the Haitians while foregrounding the administrative challenges they presented. Yet a series of more recent writings on the events at Camp Bulkley, most notably those by Paul Farmer and Naomi Paik, articulate a critique of AIDS quarantine assembled from the experiences and testimony of incarcerated Haitians.⁵ Expanding on these important ethnographic and archival studies, in this chapter I reconstruct the immanent biopolitical contestations of camp life at Guantánamo during the AIDS scare. I emphasize the transpecies entanglement of bodies -- human, animal, and viral -- within this carceral experiment, exploring the terms upon which Haitians embodied and territorialized the virtual circulations of risk in the logic of AIDS as paradigmatic "emerging disease." I argue that the biopolitical constitution of Haitian refugees as human-viral hybrids underwrote two types of state force: while, on the one hand, Haitians were written into national HIV policy as uniquely contagious transborder vectors in need of militarized exclusion, on the other, their bodies were simultaneously made into zones for the exercise of a certain type of "care" in which the bare life of

the body was intimately regulated and contained. The affective contradictions in this dual logic of force were resolved through a kind of immanent warfare over the form of life itself, wherein the tortures of concentration, inadequate provision, and the failure to shelter ill Haitian bodies from the elements and from contact with the menagerie of species in the camp created the conditions for an organized Haitian hunger strike. Hunger-striking in turn challenged the logic of carceral quarantine by using deprivation and the specter of the immanent death of the captive to put pressure on the state's adjudication of Haitian claims and publicize the lie of "humanitarian care." The logic of indefinite HIV detention signals the multiple positions of Haitians vis-à-vis the security state -- the rendering of the Haitian body as racial dependent; an excess of movement, contagion, and plasticity; a contested figure of the human; and a site for the exercise of state biological surveillance. HIV-positive Haitians came into conditions of extreme biological and political vulnerability, and were ambivalently rendered as sentimental refugees and contagious human-viral hybrids.

Guantánamo's use as an AIDS concentration camp differs in important ways from norms for humanitarian intervention established by the United Nations and NGOs such as Doctors without Borders; however, in this chapter, I argue that Guantánamo is as deeply linked to the biopolitics of liberal humanitarianism as it is to the production of colonial deathworlds. It was and is a real and a virtual staging ground for the practice of emergency humanitarian medicine. The first section of the chapter explores the historical formation of Guantánamo as the world's first AIDS concentration camp, describing the nexus of Caribbean economic, political, and racial power that contributed to the peculiar immigration and public health status of Haitian refugees. In the second section, I argue that the Haitian refugees' testimonies demonstrate the everyday racial violence of dispossession in HIV detention, exacerbated by the contacts between detainees and the variety of animals occupying the camp. In the third section, I analyze prisoner hunger striking and a court order that based freedom from quarantine on the T-cell status of AIDS progression. These events gave political form to Haitian bodies both in the media and in camp life, where the management of hunger and the surveillance and self-regulation of immunity became the grounds of biopolitical contestation. While Haitians' lack of rights and citizenship, as well as their lived experiences of spiritual and physical oppression, are central to my understanding of unfreedom at Guantánamo, I also emphasize the entanglement of political questions with very specific sanitary and biological concerns. It is then possible to draw broader lessons about the work of the racial security state and the return of the camp to Guantánamo following 9/11 -- a topic I take up in the last section of the chapter. While HIV detention at Guantánamo responded to the specific contexts of US-Haitian

transnationalism, it also shared formal parameters with the situation of present-day prisoners caught in the cynical abuses of the so-called war on terror. The return of hunger-striking at Guantánamo in the last decade, as well as the militarization of medical intervention throughout camp life, suggests the continuing flexibility and indeterminacy in the application of rights in the transnational contexts of US empire. As the legal scholar and Guantánamo lawyer Muneer Ahmad writes, "Guantánamo is not simply a question of abstract legal memoranda or an exercise in line drawing, but a concrete project of state violence enacted upon, and realized in, the human body." Further, I argue, this violence realized in the human body incorporates the acts of many species and institutions that converge to produce particular neoliberal forms of carceral space and time.

US Empire, Haitian "Boat People," and the World's First HIV Camp

The modern concentration camp has its beginnings in Cuba. Nearly one century before Yolande's detention at the US-run Guantánamo Bay naval base, the Spanish military relocated rural populations to camps in an attempt to isolate revolutionary fighters in the war for Cuban independence -- a strategy which facilitated the rearguard move made by the US to claim Cuba immediately after the overthrow of Spain. This population control strategy was quickly adapted by both the US and the British in their respective colonial wars in the Philippines and South Africa.⁶ The concentration camp, which enclosed displaced and rightless occupants, immediately did work on the biological character of those confined. The camp and the military displacement of populations produced mass deprivation, the spread of disease, and problems of hygiene and sanitation, which themselves allowed for camp administrators to proclaim that reforms served humanitarian ends. The camp compromised the figures of the human and the citizen through its managed acceleration of biological precarity, making normative political contestation over camp life most often centered on whether the camp accomplishes the simple biological provision of life itself. As I explained in my discussion of theories of the camp by Giorgio Agamben and Achille Mbembe in Chapter Two, this very situation of deprivation quickly makes the camp into a site of reform, the privileged space of humanitarian intervention and the introduction of new disciplines of care. Given this historical backdrop, the establishment of an ostensibly humanitarian refugee camp for HIV-positive Haitians at Guantánamo signals potential echoes of this imperial linkage of displacement, concentration, and humanitarianism.

Under the 1903 Platt Amendment, the US maintained direct territorial control of a base at Guantánamo Bay, just south of the Cuban port city of Guantánamo. Guantánamo, a site of important intercaribbean cultural and economic exchange for centuries, bears witness to the extremes and ironies

of US influence in the Caribbean. Amy Kaplan's statement that Guantánamo is "the heart of American empire" needs to be elaborated in relation to a broader set of Atlantic and world histories of US empire. While many post-911 lamentations of Guantánamo envision it as a site of pure abjection, of living death, it is the very liveliness and diversity of power relations at Guantánamo that make it such a flexible site for the routing of US-Caribbean economic, military, and biological flows. Descriptions of the architecture of Guantánamo by lawyer Muneer Ahmad and former military interrogator Erik Saar help contextualize the forms of spatial segmentation that shape time and space even within the small US colony at Guantánamo.⁷ The US-controlled outpost sits upon a beautiful bay separated from the rest of Cuba by a live minefield. Provisions come in by plane and daily FedEx flights, and water comes from a desalination plant since the Cuban government cut off access to the domestic water supply. Free-moving soldiers and laborers use a ferry to cross, at scheduled daily intervals, from the residential side of the bay to the military camp and back. The residential side -- where US guards and interrogators on temporary assignment reside, often unwinding from long and intense shifts using beer, sex, films, video games, and cigarettes -- is also home to a long-term US military community living in tracked housing reminiscent of the suburban US. The town features a nostalgic commercial strip complete with all-American businesses like McDonald's, an A&W diner, and a Starbuck's. The Filipino, Haitian, and Jamaican migrant workers, who allow Guantánamo to operate within the low cost structures of the Caribbean labor economy, mingle on ferries with military police and US civilian personnel including families and US employees who operate institutions like a public school. (This mix of people allowed eleven Haitians to briefly escape from the HIV camp in 1993, passing as nonrefugee migrant laborers.⁸) Inside and outside the heavily guarded military base housing the infamous razor-wire detention camps, cars move at a sluggish pace to protect endangered iguanas.⁹ The spatially divided, slow and regulated pace of human life at Guantánamo simultaneously suggests imposed military discipline (which compromises the work of media and lawyers who have limited time to visit), an advertised US state commitment to the protection of life and ecology, and a nostalgic production of Americana through the slowness of small-town life.

Given this space-time architecture, it is not simply the ambivalent sovereign structure of US state apparatuses at Guantánamo -- the caesura between territorial occupation and legal non-jurisdiction -- that makes it repeatedly central to US empire. Guantánamo territorializes heterotopic relations of economic, legal, medical, military, ecological, and political forces that converge at different speeds and for different durations in segmented colonial space. United States empire, moreso than other historical empires, gains its transborder and transpecies force from the uneven

territorializations of US control of land, labor, species, and resources within transnational systems. If Kaplan may have overstated Guantánamo's strategic importance in the lengthy, planetary routes of US economic, cultural, and political dominance, she and other critics of United States empire are right to point to Guantánamo's repeated utility as an occupied offshore site for the exercise of population concentration and control.¹⁰

This work of power occurs in a broader context bringing together Haiti, Cuba, and US domination of the Caribbean. In addition to controlling an outpost on Cuban land, the United States has consistently strengthened its military occupation of the Caribbean Sea, constraining forms of mobility and circulation. CLR James said in 1962 that "the Caribbean is now an American Sea."¹¹ This corresponds with deep inequalities in an era of globalization that make Caribbean states and economies dependent on outside tourists and trade. HIV enters Caribbean space on the routes of these forms of transnational power, working to intensify imperial interventionism. US sex tourism brought the virus to Haiti. Unfortunately, Haitians became objects of an erroneous racial epidemiology that posited that HIV made its zoonotic leap from monkeys to humans at the edge of the African rainforest and then spread from central Africa to Haiti to urban America, where gay men, sex workers, and heroin users became early victims.¹² Meanwhile, the high prevalence of HIV among diasporic Haitians in New York in the mid-1980s brought about a CDC designation of Haitians as one of the four risk factors for the virus, the first time that ethnic-national designations had been used to define a risk group for a virus by the US state. Paul Farmer critiques the racial misreading of epidemiological data behind this national and racial designation, which actually demonstrates that US tourists most likely brought the virus to Haiti in the late 1970s. The effects of the stereotyping were devastating: many Haitian immigrants lost their tenuous grips on employment in the US and were subjected to profiling in schools.¹³

In 1991 antiretroviral treatment with azidothymidine (AZT) was still new, and HIV was still publicly viewed as a death sentence. Politicians continued to stoke fears of designated risk groups (drug users, Haitians, sex workers, and homosexuals). In the mid-1980s, several US states including California and Texas had taken steps to quarantine persons testing positive for HIV, and proposals were floated for isolating sex workers to prevent the spread of disease.¹⁴ While isolation measures were ultimately rejected as national policy, the US Senate in 1987 unanimously adopted North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms' proposal to add AIDS to the short list of diseases (primarily venereal diseases) on the Centers for Disease Control's immigrant exclusion list. Against the recommendation of the US Public Health Service, the Helms amendment reflected the moral taint publicly attached to the disease, in contradiction of expert opinion that there was only one disease

contagious enough to warrant the exclusion of travelers and immigrants: tuberculosis. The fact that the CDC exclusion list (finally revised to remove HIV in 2010) consists largely of venereal diseases and Hansen's disease confirms its relation to a moral economy of debility that singles out stigmatized viral and bacterial traces as prime markers of incompatibility with citizenship; Helms publicly conceived of HIV as divine judgment upon homosexuals, always already originating in "sodomy."¹⁵

If AIDS was generically targeted as a moral taint within the US, it also confirmed longstanding racial stereotypes about Haitians. The uniformly militarized response to Haitian refugees from the Carter through the Obama administrations reflects a central ambivalence in the US racial figuration of Haiti. On the one hand, Haiti represents a model of dependency, plagued by instability that reveals not only the sorrows of poverty and inequality but also a kind of spiritual taint attached to the bodies of humans living in a country that is associated with disasters and deferred hopes for liberation. On the other hand, Haiti is contained within a predictable colonial racial ordering that figures the uncontainability of black bodies as source of the persistent ungovernability of the island. The US refused to diplomatically recognize Haiti from 1804-1862 because of the fear that black revolt was "contagious" and could spread to the US South. Vodou and zombies have been obsessively invoked by US Americans since the early twentieth century as representations of the failure of Haitians to observe proper cosmic order. This racial taint of Haitian disorder has been reinforced by repeated histories of occupation and servitude: the official derecognition of Haiti 1804-1862; repeated US and European interventions (including the US military occupation of 1915-1934); economic blackmail through colonial debts; enforcement of direct and indirect labor suppression; and the quiet Republican undermining of Jean-Bertrand Aristede, leading to two US-supported coups. Haiti is figured as uncontainable, a space where the impoverished are not only victims but also inevitably the agents of their own disorder and unfreedom. Haitian self-government, at the individual and collective levels, remains "unthinkable" in the words of Michel-Rolph Trouillot.¹⁶ Late twentieth and twenty-first century US popular posturing on Haiti involves a humanitarian stance that posits Haiti's spiritual taint as it disavows the roles of slavery and empire in shaping Haitian dispossession.

Nowhere is this figuration of dependency and ungovernability more apparent than in the image of Haitian "boat people." In the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, the Obama administration publicly advertised that the US would allow the immigration of Haitian orphans, even as it quietly readied tent camps at Guantánamo in the event of a repeat exodus of Haitians on the 535-mile journey by boat across the Gulf of Mexico. Since the first arrival of Haitian "boat people" on US continental shores in 1963, there has generally

been little hope for official asylum, even though other groups of "boat people" from Southeast Asia and Cuba were broadly allowed entrance into the US on humanitarian grounds, even granted emergency-exception entry with CDC-excluded diseases like tuberculosis through official quarantine way-stations.¹⁷ In response to the early waves of boat people with the rise of Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier in 1971, Jimmy Carter initiated the 1978 Haitian Program, which distinguished Haitians from all other potential asylum-seekers by nationality; while Carter welcomed refugees fleeing Communist states, he attempted to block migration flows from allies and capitalist states that would threaten Cold War narratives of American exceptionalism.¹⁸ Refugees faced militarized practices of *refoulement* (forced repatriation prior to entering US waters) which singled out Haitians but also drew Haiti into a broader program of border militarization against Mexicans and other potential refugees from supposedly *friendly* countries across the Americas. These were the very sites at which narratives of neoliberal progress shaped by unregulated markets were undermined by the outflows of migrants whose bodies exhibited the lie that unfettered capitalism brought peace, freedom, and prosperity.

The US disavowed its role in the production of Haitian authoritarianism, particularly under the father-son dictatorships of Francois and Jean-Claude Duvalier. In the 1960s and 1970s, Haitian migrants attempted to flee the twin scourges of dictatorship and neoliberal economic reforms, both underwritten by US policies trading support for the Duvalier dictatorships in return for US sweatshops and other economic expansion into Haiti.¹⁹ Naomi Paik outlines the imperial contradictions underlying Haitian *refoulement*: "Indeed, it is because the United States has fostered Haiti's unlivable conditions that it refuses to recognize Haitians' claims. Acknowledging the status of thousands of Haitians as refugees would be tantamount to admitting that the United States supported cruel dictators who murdered and terrorized their own people, an admission that would tarnish the US image as the world's primary defender of freedom and democracy. In broader terms such an admission would suggest the fallacies of Cold War ideologies contending that capitalism consistently aligns with democratic governance and is morally superior to any form of communism. Because the United States supported Haiti's (violently repressive) governments that serviced (exploitative) economic structures and Cold War ideologies, it made the Haitian refugee an impossibility -- no person from the ostensibly democratic, capitalist state of Haiti could have a legitimate claim to asylum."²⁰

The US Coast Guard interdicted and detained asylum-seekers before reaching US waters. They were refused a number of national and international legal rights, including the right of non-*refoulement* or non-return established by the United Nations in 1951; the right to habeas corpus

or legal standing; the right to an attorney during immigration proceedings; and the right of informed consent to medical procedures. While New York District Court Judge Sterling Johnson's court order closed the camp in June 1993, the Supreme Court later upheld the interdiction of Haitian refugees at sea, the state imperative of relabeling asylum-seekers as "illegal immigrants," and the right of the military to detain prisoners on Guantánamo.

The Camp Bestiary and the Force of Humanitarianism

Flying in the face of the public proclamation that Guantánamo was a "humanitarian camp," one of the most troubling elements of "care" in the face of Haitian HIV was that the practice of concentration and the refusal of better medical facilities in nearby Miami *increased* threats to life and limb for patient-prisoners. Emerging diseases like HIV theoretically required major governmental responses that marshaled medical, public health, sanitary, and law enforcement powers. So where were the doctors at Guantánamo? There were only two military physicians stationed to handle the 269 stranded Haitians. For all the talk at the time of new frameworks and preventative measures for emerging viruses among public health officials, the state response to HIV retrenched some quite predictable segregated geographies of public goods. Migrants held a particular symbolic role in mediating the geographic vision of disease emergence, as they were understood to move contagions across borders and were associated with microbial ecologies wherein disease could make zoonotic leaps from animals to humans. Smallpox eradicator D.A. Henderson, in a foundational essay on emerging disease response following AIDS, argued that a global disease surveillance system needed to target areas "where migrants and travelers from rural areas are found." Henderson wanted to focus on those liminal sites where humans brushed up against both a diversity of nonhuman species and the edges of global transport networks: the racially potent ecologies of fantasized emergence. Health centers needed to be located "in developing countries" and preferably in "more densely populated areas and those near the tropical rainforest."²¹ The CDC maintains a global network of health providers who pre-screen refugees around the world prior to departure; in the case of Haiti, surveying disease incidence prior to arrival meant first holding refugees offshore at Guantánamo. Surveillance meant displacement and concentration.²²

Yet if military interdiction attempted to disrupt flows of emergence that it saw as swarming across US borders, Guantánamo oddly placed potentially contagious bodies into a multispecies environment where immunocompromised humans would be exposed to additional diseases; it *increased* disease risk at the borders of empire. In truth, INS wanted to indefinitely detain the refugees until they died. The two military doctors

were swamped by a force of 90 military police as they serviced hundreds of Haitians living with the world's most feared virus. When the doctors requested airlifting out prisoners who were experiencing advanced stages of AIDS, they were rebuffed by the INS. An INS official bluntly stated, "they're going to die anyway, aren't they?"²³ Refugees were required to wear ID bracelets, were refused access to lawyers during their immigration screenings, and were confined indefinitely behind razor wire. In addition, refugees suffered the practice of concentration, inadequate food and shelter, and an improvised medical order that treated prisoners carrying a life-threatening virus without established norms of informed consent; doctors called in by lawyers from Yale Law School uniformly complained that the carceral structure of the camp precluded even basic trust of the medical apparatus among the prisoners. The use of the birth control medication Depo Provera without the knowledge or consent of women in the camp constituted a neo-eugenic assault on reproduction.²⁴ An HIV diagnosis meant confinement, concentration, deprivation, and the targeting of all kinds of reproduction: sexual reproduction, to be sure, but also the reproduction of bodies, community institutions, and civil rights.

Prisoner narratives repeatedly use metaphors of animalization to describe dispossession in the camp. If the idea of the Haitian body as a human-viral hybrid meant that refugees could be subjected to imprisonment in a liminal space, the life of imprisonment was highly mediated by forms of concentration and deprivation of resources like food and shelter. In this sense, the camp echoed Frantz Fanon's poetic description of the ordered deprivation of colonized space: "The colonized's sector is... a world with no space, people are piled one on top of the other, the shacks squeezed tightly together. The colonized's sector is a famished sector, hungry for bread, meat, shoes, coal, and light. The colonized's sector is a sector that crouches and cowers, a sector on its knees, a sector that is prostrate." This is the constitutive underside of the wondrous colonist's sector, "all stone and steel," where "trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers."²⁵ The elsewhere space of dignity -- including the nostalgic suburbs of 1950s Americana in the military colony -- is based in a violence territorialized both through the material structuring of built space and the affective discipline that conjures metaphoric associations to animality. Thus, in her reading of the ambivalent notion of "asylum," which moves the body from organized deprivation to the apartheid spaces of accumulation, Ranjana Khanna notes that a "taint is carried in the concept of dignity." The realities of instrumentalization of life are "inscribed through" the human's "relations to the state, to the conceptions of the international, and to the question of species."²⁶

The camp structure had everything to do with defining and managing

borders of species: there was the compromised status of human rights; microbial species were the object of state surveillance in medical screening; and Haitian refugees were subjected to difficult camp life in constant contact with various animals occupying spaces of confinement. The carceral architecture at Guantánamo was highly improvised in form, with the hasty erection of nine different camps for housing prisoners. After being subjected to blood screenings, HIV-positive refugees were given conflicting information regarding their serostatuses, treatments, and futures in detention. When they eventually contested their incarceration, they were arrested, confined in small barbed-wire cells, and beaten by military police in full riot gear. Yolande Jean describes the violence following dizzying relocations from boat to screening center to camp,

We had been asking them to remove the barbed wire; the children were playing near it, they were falling and injuring themselves. The food they were serving us, including canned chicken, had maggots in it. And yet they insisted that we eat it. "Because you've got no choice." And it was for these reasons that we started holding demonstrations. In response, they began to beat us. On July 18th, they surrounded us, arrested some of us, and put us in prison, in Camp Number 7... Camp 7 was a little space on the hill. They put up a tent, but when it rained, you got wet. The sun came up, we were baking in it. We slept on the rocks, there were no beds. And each little space was separated by barbed wire. We couldn't even turn around without being injured by the barbed wire.²⁷

The barbed wire, inadequate food and shelter, lack of telephone communications, intensive confinement, and excessive use of police force are common descriptions, and register the widely divergent accounts of life between refugees and the administrators of the institution. As Paik observes, while the refugees' depositions for the district court case addressed the inadequacies of the living conditions -- an issue that framed the court case and the refugees' public advocacy -- they also refused the idea that "the refugees' humanity was reducible to their physical selves."²⁸ The indefinite time of the detention, as well as the improvised conditions of spatial confinement and the repressive police measures, was narrated as a spiritual enclosure, a suppression of shared community institutions, a crossing of the body with alien species, and feeling of boredom in which life itself seemed to stand still.

The rendering of the camp as a site of aberrant transpecies intimacies - - both literal and figurative -- by the Haitian refugees is striking. Jean recounts the inedible chicken with maggots, while the elected camp president, Vilsaint Michel, describes food infested with "flies and worms." The improvised

shelters -- tents and shacks -- failed to keep out the rain or shield detainees from the heat; they were, for Michel, like "a bird's house where you would put pigeons."²⁹ In 1991, a *New York Times* article quoted Jean as describing the sanitation problems at the camp, with "latrines... brimming over," water that "gave you diarrhea," and "rats [that] crawled over us at night." Jean spoke as a collective first person refugee subject who, upon encountering these realities of detention, narrated this immersion in transpecies contact zones that subjected refugees to new microbial vectors (evidenced in diarrheal diseases) as compromising the dream of an anthropomorphized space of dignity: "When we saw all these things, we thought, it's not possible, it can't go on like this. We're humans, just like everyone else."³⁰

Jean cites a list of US military failures to shield the prisoners from encounters with dangerous animals -- which underpinned the sense of their own animalization -- as her personal basis for deciding to organize the hunger strike. She was "crammed in with many others, men, women, and children. There was no privacy. Snakes would come in; we were lying on the ground, and lizards were climbing over us. One of us was bitten by a scorpion... there were spiders. Bees were stinging the children, and there were flies everywhere: whenever you tried to eat something, flies would fly into your mouth.... I said to myself, come what may, I might well die, but we can't continue in this fashion."³¹ The image of oral ingestion of dead flesh (as food) together with live flies (as pests), along with the unexpected touch of reptiles and rodents disrupt the sense of space and scale for the anthropomorphized body; the horrors of camp life in these narratives dissolve everyday forms of species containment that underpin cosmopolitan notions of domesticity, human dignity, and rights. Another unnamed detainee whose protests brought police retaliation told *The Nation*: "Since we left Haiti last December we've been treated like animals.... I was chained, made to sleep on the ground.... We were treated like animals, like dogs, not like humans."³² Prisoners come into contact with a menagerie of camp animals, an event that they describe through metaphors of animalization. The camp concentrates imprisoned populations, it subjects them to unpredictable scenarios of interspecies touch -- a deprivation of shelter that serves as a "soft" form of state torture.³³ This, in turn, puts immunocompromised detainees at risk for secondary zoonotic infections transmitted between species. The Haitian refugees are acutely aware of the US stereotyping and singling out of Haitians as excessive yet dependent bodies. At a meeting of the hunger strikers, one refugee suggested, "we know we are black and our color makes us suffer."³⁴ Empire's precarious rendering of Haitian bodies reinforces the colonial logics that animalize black bodies, figuring Haitians as infected and infectious.

These refugee narratives of camp life contrast deeply with the elaborate humanitarian justifications for the detention site. Presidential

candidate Bill Clinton made a campaign promise to end the segregation program, but the Clinton administration later continued the government's legal defense of the HIV camp at Guantánamo. The medical and mainstream presses took for granted the humanitarian intent of the policy, proclaiming without question the state's "compassion" and the ethics of "military physicians" who "worked hard to treat the Haitians."³⁵ While discouraging migration on poorly equipped boats was an ostensible humanitarian goal, Clinton made clear that US Americans, from his view, could not afford a "mass exodus of refugees" given the estimated 300,000 Aristide supporters in the Louvalas people's movement who remained in hiding following the coup.³⁶ Indeed, the state's understanding of its supposed responsibility to securitize against the economic threat in addition to the public health threat of mass migration became the major legacy of the litigation over the refoulement of Haitians.³⁷ The twin specters of invasion (the mass of the dispossessed who could theoretically arrive from the world over) and contagion (the absolute refusal of HIV-tainted bodies) coalesce in the ambivalent figuration of a "humanitarian camp." The logic of control in the words of Judge Sterling Johnson represented "potential public health risks to the Haitians held there"; Johnson called Camp Buckley "nothing more than an HIV prison camp" and a "tragedy of immense proportions."³⁸ For Paik, the camp "reduced" the refugees "to mere bodies to be minimally managed" -- though, I would add, this management could be easily disavowed given the state's control of information. Rendering Haitian refugees precarious, the state capitalizes on what Talal Asad calls the "combination of cruelty and compassion that sophisticated social institutions enable and encourage."³⁹ The state was protecting borders, ostensibly, to protect life on both sides; yet the regulation of life in the camp was accomplished through a constrained architecture of deprivation. The concentration of Haitian refugees as HIV-hybrids meant their subjection to an unacknowledged affective warfare in which they baked, in boredom, under the sun, overrun by rodents; soaked, under improvised roofing, among snakes; eating in the open from cans, ingesting the lively surprises of insects taking flight to the mouth; proximate to the barbs of wire and the stings of bees.

The Weaponry of Life Itself

The tortures of camp life suggest the intimate interspecies scales at which affective warfare at Guantánamo was waged. The surveillance and violence experienced by the prisoners was transnational in nature, but it was localized in the ecologies of the camp defined by concentration, deprivation, and interspecies proximity. Furthermore, the struggles over the form of life itself at Guantánamo took aim at the deep structures of refugee bodies, where immune defenses entangle with viral particles and other contagions. Given

that the state maintained regular monitoring of prisoner health indicators, the Haitian refugees learned quickly that the form of their own bodies was a site of concern to the state and thus could be politicized, albeit out of a position of extreme constraint. A mix of malnutrition, immune surveillance, and contact with secondary infections created conditions in which *refusing* the tools the state used to extend life (and thus justify incarceration) could modulate the presentation of HIV quarantine to the state and broader publics, throwing the camp regime into crisis. A refugee hunger strike publicized criticism of incarceration while, at the same time, accelerating the violences of deprivation in order to unveil the lie of a "humanitarian camp." This was not the first hunger strike among detained Haitian "boat people" -- such strikes began at other prisons, most notably the Krome immigration facility in southern Florida, in the early 1980s. But the fact that these were medical prisoners hunger striking for realization of asylum that, in many cases, had been administratively authorized prior to the determination of serostatus, only added visibility to the cause. Resistance to Guantánamo was thus not only a struggle over representation. In fact, because of the severe constraints on speech and movement, incarcerated refugees engaged in warfare that took on the form of life itself, politicizing the inner workings of the body in order to disrupt the emergency measures of the racial state. This helped bring about the judicial ruling against segregated incarceration for Haitian refugees, but it also likely contributed to the premature deaths of prisoners following release.

Surveillance of prisoners' blood through two specific blood tests was central to the structure of imprisonment in the camp. While the INS was concerned with keeping HIV-positive Haitians from entering the continental US at all costs, the Coast Guard commander who ran the camp was primarily concerned with what he saw as the potential that HIV would spread among the tens of thousands of noninfected Haitians being processed in Cuba. In the resulting decision to segregate HIV-positive Haitians in Camp Bulkeley, seropositivity (the presence of HIV antigens in blood serum) was itself the basis of the separation of quarantined prisoners from the other "screened-in" refugees determined to have a reasonable fear of political persecution if returned to Haiti. These tests are imperfect since there is a weeks-long lag time for seroconversion. After determination of an HIV-positive status that led the military to segregate refugees at Camp Bulkeley, the prisoners were regularly checked in a second test for counts of particular white blood cells (T-lymphocytes) to keep tabs on the progression of AIDS. If T-cell levels dropped below 13% or 200 per microlitre, a prisoner met the CDC's diagnostic criteria for full-blown AIDS. As an indicator of expanding vulnerability, T-cell counts came to be a biomedical baseline for the terms of basic care mandated by Eighth Amendment protections for the incarcerated. Yolande Jean, with a reported T-cell count of 235 (13%) in her initial

screenings, sat at the threshold of full-blown AIDS prior to the hunger strike. A single infectious diseases doctor in the camp clinic (supported by one family physician, five nurses, and twenty-four military corpsmen) carried out these tests, and reported inadequate resources to treat patients with AIDS. The segregated clinic as well as the main base hospital lacked CAT scanners and specialists (in ophthalmology, neurology, nephrology, pulmonology, and oncology, for example) to address common opportunistic infections, including eye infections, meningitis, pneumonia, and Kaposi's sarcoma, a viral-induced cancer impacting 10% of AIDS patients. Opportunistic infections signaled the immune system's inability to control the balance of organisms crossing the space of the body, and a diverse population of microbial forms -- from fungal spores that threatened meningitis to infectious bacteria to amoebas and other parasites arising from poor sanitation -- threatened to further undermine refugee health. Tuberculosis was the most prominent of these opportunistic infections, and the camp clinic treated several HIV-positive prisoners with supervised TB regimens.⁴⁰ AIDS signaled excessive bodily plasticity verging on a loss of form in the face of immanent contact with the diversity of life forms in the environment. This biomedical problem related to a legal problem, since the basis of liberal rights lies in a subject contained within a self-protecting immune body. An autoimmune disorder signals the inability of that body to self-recognize and recode and thus to produce itself out of the immanent interspecies contacts that constitute the environment of every vertebrate body.⁴¹

Given the unique stresses of the migration experience and camp life, Haitian refugees were already at risk for secondary health problems, and spoke of diarrheal diseases which contribute to the common problems among AIDS patients of anemia and malnutrition. Because HIV is a rapidly mutating virus that most directly attacks the human immune system, each case takes on specific characteristics, deeply impacted by the use of medicine, health indicators, and secondary infections. One of the most devastating facts of incarceration at the camp was that poor sanitary conditions threatened to make the onset of AIDS more rapid among those with no outward signs of the syndrome, since it is often secondary infections that bring an end the latency period of HIV and allow the virus to begin a full-body assault on immune cells.

After offering lengthy individual testimony, protesting directly against their captors, enlisting the help of outside lawyers and activists, and witnessing the broken promise of the new Clinton administration, quarantined refugees recognized the devastating fact that increasing their vulnerability by hunger striking was one remaining option for resistance to incarceration at Guantánamo. Already figured human-viral hybrids through legal isolation and medical surveillance, refugees exercised a constrained "choice" to live in the open, among the camp animals. They refused state

provision, opening the body not only to hunger and the elements, but also to the viral, fungal, and bacterial transits that threaten the immune capacities. The prisoners initiated the hunger strike on 29 January 1993, one and one-half years after the military began segregating HIV-positive refugees. At this point, the legal case brought by Yale lawyers and the Haitian Centers Council (a coalition of Haitian civil organizations) appeared in the court of Judge Sterling Johnson of the Eastern District of New York. Lawyers were also negotiating with the Clinton administration to bring about the end of the camp it had promised during the campaign. Increasingly skeptical of legal and political processes that failed to carry out these promises and that kept their bodies and voices at a distance, hunger striking allowed the refugees to establish an alternative critique of detention that circulated in the media, the medical establishment, and the courts. Prisoners not only proclaimed freedom of the group to outweigh their individual deaths, they also attempted to mobilize their own illness toward multiple strategic goals.⁴²

Newspaper accounts of the strike described forty "limp Haitian refugees" lying on their backs atop a stage on the soccer field, surrounded by razor wire.⁴³ Hunger-striking in this case did help the refugees gain a certain type of visibility, but a visibility that was at first complicated by the media's predictable sentimental renderings of victimhood. Hunger strikes offer a generic form to specific protests, putting pressure on liberal-humanist state systems that claim to defend life and liberty despite their ambivalent forms of racial rightlessness. For this reason, hunger strikes have been strategic organizing techniques in decolonial struggles. Notable hunger strikes were deployed by Indian nationalists including Mohandas Gandhi, Bhagat Singh, and Jatin Das during the independence struggles of the 1920s-1940s and by the Irish Republican Army, which witnessed the starvation death of Bobby Sands in Northern Ireland's infamous Maze prison in 1981. Brilliant readings of fasting and hunger striking by Patrick Anderson and Parama Roy point to the highly performative nature of the emaciated body, one that interrupts normative unfoldings of life and death and that transform subjective temporalities through scenes of self-deprivation.⁴⁴ While the Haitian case is similar to many other examples of politicized self-starvation, the Haitian detainees were already physically compromised by disease and displacement, and were not in a similar position to anticolonial rebels and political leaders for whom engagement was a matter of individualized, heroic "commitment" to a movement. Haitian refugees had survived such a liberation struggle at home, but when displaced to Guantanamo had been forced into unfamiliar circumstances (including, to some, an unbelievable HIV diagnosis) that gave a unique shape to their activism. The hunger strike takes on a particular cast when it interrupts the narrative that quarantine is "humanitarian" provision.

Transcending mere publicity, hunger striking transformed the

conditions of life. While the hunger strike wagers individual life on the common cause, it should not only be understood as a transaction of biological deprivation for political power. Extended hunger striking does real work on the form of bodies, staging deprivation as an extreme test of the threshold separating life and death, body and spirit. This makes a spectacle of both the queer mutation of the deprived body and the highly gendered ascetic power associated with extreme bodily control. As the most vocal of hunger strikers, Yolande Jean told a reporter, "Let me kill myself so my brothers and sisters can live.... Mr. Clinton must not know what is inside the Haitians to want to do this. If it is martyrs he wants, I will be glad to be the martyr so everyone else can leave."⁴⁵ The interplay of suffering and control is the basis of a logic of martyrdom that makes embodiment itself into a site of solidarity. It ritualizes community ethical response to the vulnerable body as it intensifies time pressure on political process -- the state must respond or there will be death.⁴⁶

Hunger strikes can be read as cosmopolitan invocations of humanity; they can also be interpreted as entering into an ethical relation of sacrifice (often based in an economy of spirit in which the self exceeds biological life) while refusing the related option of a self-annihilating suicide. While the Haitian refugees, who consistently appealed to notions of a common humanity, avoided any mention of "cultural difference" and generally avoided couching their struggle in religious language, their responses to reporters' and lawyers' questions about the hunger strike were suffused with the Haitians' situated histories of political protest that integrated political doctrine with spiritual force.⁴⁷ Elma Verdieu distinguished death by hunger striking from suicide, arguing that "God will receive [his] soul" for the form of communal, ethical sacrifice.⁴⁸ Public meanings of suffering, sacrifice, and compassion in this context demonstrate the deep historical interlinkings of sacred and secular practice that refuse anthropocentric Enlightenment renderings of a universal and disenchanting human.⁴⁹ When asked to explain the strike in the context of an INS deposition, Jean explained that "We started the hunger strike so that this body could get spoiled and then the soul can go to God."⁵⁰ Such an explanation both draws on the logic of martyrdom and makes a clear strategic demand to the INS lawyer: free us or bury us. Hunger striking makes a spectacle of the deathly architecture of camp deprivation, demanding that the state that operates the system to respond to demonstrate its publicly avowed commitment to life. It also exceeds the anthropocentric domain of a liberal social contract, turning to a spiritual contest to maintain selfhood apart from the biologized body at risk of death.

While on the first day of the strike most of the adult camp residents participated, the number later stabilized with a core group of up to 40 strikers, mostly women. At least twelve of these individuals experienced

fainting from exhaustion, and Yolande Jean fainted during her deposition with an INS attorney. As the strike progressed and a handful of strikers continued to refuse food, antiretroviral medicine, and nutritious liquids, they were literally accelerating the destruction of their immune systems. Paik quotes a number of depositions that argue that Guantánamo "is not a place for human beings to take medication."⁵¹

Mainstream media omitted descriptions of the assaults and threats that military police, in full riot gear, leveled at the protesters. During the District Court trial, the plaintiffs forced the INS to disclose a video that was played before the judge, graphically showing a nighttime raid on sleeping hunger strikers by hundreds of military police, who assaulted, restrained, and intimidated startled refugees (including children) as a fighter jet flew overhead.⁵² At the beginning of the strike, lawyers for the Haitians had tried more modestly to convince the Clinton administration that release was "reasonable and cost effective"; the hunger strike came as a surprise (even an annoyance) to them because it insisted on immediate justice.⁵³ Lawyers had to rework their strategy and broadly contest both refoulement and HIV exclusion as a matter of law, a crime of the state, rather than an expedient. This more aggressive constitutional strategy, forced by the moral claims and spectacle of striking ill bodies, yielded much faster results that might never have been obtained through the legal strategy alone. Recognizing the deterioration of the health of several strikers at the end of the trial, Judge Johnson in March 1993 quickly issued an interim order "to prevent any loss of life" by requiring a higher standard of medical care for prisoners with T-cell counts under 200 per microliter.⁵⁴ In practice, this led to the release within ten days of dozens of the most sick refugees; the time pressure of the strike strategy forced the judge to codify in law the threshold of unacceptable bodily vulnerability, mentioning for the first time in any court ruling the deep structures of HIV-positive bodies with reference to the T-cell count. Tragically, the lived consequences of the strike became clear with the death of one of the strikers within three weeks of his move to Miami. Johnson eventually upheld all of the plaintiffs' arguments in a sweeping judgment in June 1993. Even though the Supreme Court reversed his order against the interdiction policy, ensuring the continued illegal refoulement of thousands more Haitians, the ruling presented the first legal rejection of the unfettered exercise of domination over Haitian refugees at Guantánamo. The hunger strike was a source of power and solidarity, but also a measure of desperation; at least four refugees attempted suicide in the last year of detention.

Following the slow release of the remaining Guantánamo detainees, ending in mid-1994, there were high death rates among the formerly incarcerated HIV-positive refugees. An AIDS activist in New York in 2003

estimated that up to half of the prisoners had died, and that some of these deaths were accelerated by the conditions of detention.⁵⁵ The affective warfare carried out by both sides on Guantánamo had life and death consequences for HIV-positive refugees, even though these consequences did not get reported widely in the media once the state released them to the continental US. It was the hunger strike, with its ritualized spectacle of deprivation and intensification of interspecies contact, that allowed for a quickening of the politicized contest over refugee bodies. With the release of refugees from imprisonment, there was less incentive for media reporting and a release of pressure on the state to act. Over a decade later, with an estimated one-half of the 220 HIV-positive refugees dead, most of the asylum claims still had not been processed, nor had the noncitizen status of children born on Guantánamo been resolved.⁵⁶ The politicization of life itself is subject to constraints of representation and institutional force just like any other form of protest.

Coda: The Repeating Camp since 9/11

In this chapter, I have argued that the violence of the Haitian HIV camp was carried out through practices of concentration, deprivation, and regulated transpecies intimacy. The resulting hunger strike and the eventual form of the legal process for HIV-positive Haitian refugees centered on the politicization of the deep biological structures of embodiment at the so-called "humanitarian camp." While the particulars of this story suggest that neoliberal strategies for addressing emerging diseases like AIDS invoke older colonial forms of depersonalization that target suspect bodies and territories, they also suggest specific areas of comparison to other organizations of camp life, most notably the reappearance of a US military-run detention camp associated with "the war on terror." The hunger strikes among today's indefinitely detained prisoners at Guantánamo, who in most cases face no formal charges, have occurred under even more extreme conditions of incarceration than those that existed at Guantánamo in the 1990s. Unlike the Haitian prisoners, detained under an emergency exercise of immigration authority, the present Guantánamo prisoners are held under an emergency provision related to the detention of Nazi prisoners of war. Today's Guantánamo does not involve the apparent protection of refugees, yet questions of humanitarian application of law and care abound around the site. The Justice Department has consistently used the same detention justification as it did in the Haiti case, arguing that domestic law does not apply on Guantánamo. And even as the courts have refused this argument, the executive branch has been able to continue indefinite detention with the help of a compliant appeals court in Washington, D.C. that consistently grants executive privilege. Meanwhile, military officials have effectively censored

media representation of the hunger strikes that began in 2005, suppressing or delaying information on causes of prisoner deaths and the numbers of prisoners engaged in strikes. Indeed, the commander of the detention camp at Guantánamo has defined hunger striking as a form of "asymmetrical warfare," lumping it in with suicide bombing and guerilla warfare. In the meantime, the military has produced manuals enumerating Standard Operating Procedures in the face of emergency detention and hunger striking. These documents acknowledge the strategic psychological value of "internment" in maintaining US international dominance and the significance of hunger striking as a form of warfare that needs to be managed through standard techniques.⁵⁷

As in the case of the Haitian prisoners, today's Guantánamo features regular hunger strikes, suicide attempts, and a response by the state that attempts to advertise its conformity to standards of humane care. Still, the language of shared humanity, martyrdom, and spiritual struggle appears regularly in today's Guantanamo prison writings as it did with Haitian prisoners. Prisoner #261, Jumah al-Dossari, offers poetry that spectrally offers up his own body to surveillance as evidence of the crimes of the racial state:

Take my blood
Take my death shroud and the remnants of my body
Take photographs of my corpse at the grave, lonely
Send them to the world
To the judges and
To the people of conscience.

"Death Poem" speaks to the brutality of incarceration, and the removal of Guantánamo and CIA "black sties" from public visibility. Under heavy censorship, only a handful of such poems made it beyond the barbed wire fences, as the Defense Department claims that "poetry ... presents a special risk, and DoD standards are not to approve the release of any poetry in its original form or language."⁵⁸ Al-Dossari was released from Guantánamo in July 2007 after a reported 13 suicide attempts and after disseminating, through his lawyer, some of the most widely-cited detainee testimony regarding prisoner abuse at Guantánamo. In al-Dossari's writings, he captures the force of imperial power upon his own body at the site of detention: "How I wish my memories and my thoughts could be forgotten. But for me, in forgetting it and its effects, there are still memories, lifelong evidence of what happened to me in my wounds, my afflictions, my pain and my sadness."⁵⁹

Al-Dossari is one of the many inmates whose has spent time both writing poetry protesting the injustices at Guantánamo. I have written elsewhere about how poetry traverses the architecture of confinement at Guantánamo, as inmates pass short poems on cups moving from cell to cell.⁶⁰ Forged amidst the boredom and uncertainty of indefinite detention, literature

is part of the affective linkages between bodies and spiritual practice that help produce direct forms of protest such as the hunger strike. The most widespread strike (prior to the writing of this chapter in 2012) reportedly began in June 2005, when over 40 detainees refused food across all five camps at the center. The detainees ended the strike after 26 days, when prison officials claimed they would enforce the Geneva Conventions. This promise was quickly broken, and a series of hunger strikes ensued to continue protesting the conditions of the camp, most importantly violent abuses of the prisoners.⁶¹ The detainees who have since maintained the strikes the longest -- and with success at gaining some concessions from prison officials -- suffered health problems and were taken to the camp hospital to ensure they did not die. With the prison camp under attack from a variety of NGOs, maintenance of health became a key question for prison officials. The first Standard Operating Procedure established for the hospital was for force-feeding striking prisoners, who are strapped into a special chair for hours at a time to ensure they keep down the tube-fed nourishment. Al-Dossari had to receive a blood transfusion after one hunger strike, and the most recent prisoner to die, Adnan Latif, engaged in hunger striking and threatened suicide in a letter that recalls Yolande Jean's desperate death letter. Latif denounces a "prison that does not know humanity," that "does not differentiate between a criminal and the innocent," claiming "I will not allow anymore of this and I will end it.... With all my pains, I say goodbye to you and the cry of death should be enough for you." Critically, Latif distinguishes between "the imposed death" that he already lives in confinement and the limited "freedom" in which he "choose[s]" his "own end."⁶²

As of November 2012, nine prisoners have died at the post-9/11 camps at Guantánamo.⁶³ Yet the forms of depersonalization at Guantánamo must not be read as exceptional. Although Guantánamo has been the site of discriminatory AIDS imprisonment and the persistent denial of access to counsel and other basic legal rights, Guantánamo is actually quite similar to US prisons (especially maximum security prisons that rely increasingly on solitary confinement and force feedings) in its violent wrenching of the personality of detainees through techniques of isolation, sensory deprivation, and denial of rights to expression and religion.⁶⁴ Yet Guantánamo officials had elaborate public relations plans to present the camp as a modern facility rather than an extrajudicial space of torture and incarceration. They organized staged press tours placing emphasis on the provisions, recreation opportunities, and medical facilities. As in the case of the Haitian refugees, the government became well-versed in stressing the cultural differences that it proclaimed it respected (despite prisoner claims of regular desecration of the Qur'an, denigration of Islam during interrogations, and the ominous broadcasting of the call to prayer from the Guard Towers). One image from

these press tours in particular struck me. In it there hangs a blue and gold Qur'an, suspended from the front fencing of the cell, held by a white surgical mask. Attempting to demonstrate religious sensitivity, officials advertised their aid in helping inmates properly store the holy book away from contact with the floor. The surgical mask -- perhaps the most common symbol of hygiene in allopathic medicine -- is here deployed to maintain the purity of the Qur'an. Medical and health technologies, then, apparently serve as agents of incorporation, helping display the possibility of inclusion of religious/cultural diversity into disciplinary techniques at the site of incarceration. These practices are effective within the realm of public relations precisely because, being associated with progress and the health of the population, they can become indices of care and humanitarian relief. Health and security, humanitarianism and confinement, emerge in tandem at Guantánamo. <Figure 7.1>



FIGURE 7.1: QUR'AN AT CAMP DELTA, GUANTÁNAMO BAY. US ARMY.

¹ Of course, only a minority of HIV-AIDS patients worldwide have access to such drugs. This is in large part a result of US-led neoliberal patent protections for pharmaceuticals on the international market. See Melinda Cooper, *Life as Surplus* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009): 51-73.

² Kansas Senator Bob Dole stated at the time, "This is not an anti-immigration issue. This is not a gay issue. This is a public health issue, and it is an economic health issue. Even if immigrants enter the country paying their own way, in 10 or 15 years their health may have deteriorated enough to make them a public charge." Qtd. in Creola Johnson, "Quarantining HIV-Infected Haitians: United States' Violations of International Law at Guantanamo Bay," *Howard Law Journal* 37: n142.

³ *Haitian Centers Council vs. Sale*, 823 F. Supp. 1028; 1993 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 8215, (June 8, 1993): 1038.

⁴ Eric Schmitt, "US Base Is an Oasis to Haitians," *The New York Times* (November 28, 1991): <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/11/28/world/us-base-is-an-oasis-to-haitians.html>.

⁵ Paul Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint: Guantánamo, AIDS, and the Logic of Quarantine," *Pathologies of Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 51-91; Paul Farmer, "On Guantánamo," in *The Uses of Haiti*, 2nd. Ed. (Monroe, Maine: Common Cause, 2003): 217-43; A. Naomi Paik, "Testifying to Rightlessness: Haitian Refugees Speaking from Guantánamo," *Social Text* 104 (2010): 39-65. These essays build on Farmer's foundational book-length study of HIV in Haiti, *AIDS and Accusation: Haiti and the Geography of Blame*, 2nd Ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). A doctor, anthropologist, and health activist who has worked in both Haiti and Rwanda, Farmer is the co-founder of Partners in Health, an international NGO that has been at the center of international health NGO efforts in Haiti since the 2010 earthquake.

⁶ Reviel Netz, *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity* (Middletown: Wesleyan UP, 2004): 131-46.

⁷ Muneer Ahmad, "Resisting Guantánamo: Rights at the Brink of Dehumanization," *Northwestern University Law Review* 103:4 (2010): 1683-1763; Erik Saar with Viveca Novak, *Inside the Wire: A Military Intelligence Soldier's Eyewitness Account of Life at Guantánamo* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

⁸ Brandt Goldstein, *Storming the Court: How a Band of Yale Law Students Sued the President -- And Won* (New York: Scribner, 2005): 257-8.

⁹ Iguanas populate post-911 US narratives of Guantánamo because they appear to suggest the greenwashing of the camp that would afford clear protections to endangered nonhuman species but a purposeful ambiguity about the proper treatment of human prisoners.

¹⁰ Amy Kaplan, "Where Is Guantánamo?" *American Quarterly* (2005): 832. Kaplan's important essay, written in the shadow of the Abu Ghraib torture scandal, unfortunately tends to reinforce the Bush

administration's use of Guantánamo as a spectacle of US dominance. For a cogent, historically grounded critique of Kaplan via the circuitous routes of imperial exchange, see Jana Evans Braziel, "Haiti, Guantánamo, and the 'One Indispensable Nation': US Imperialism, 'Apparent States,' and Postcolonial Problematics of Sovereignty," *Cultural Critique* (2006): 127-60.

¹¹ Elizabeth DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Negotiating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (University of Hawaii Press, 2009): 40.

¹² See the critiques of the racial politics of transmission in Paula Treichler, *How to Have Theory in an Epidemic: Cultural Chronicles of AIDS* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999); Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation*; Priscilla Wald, *Contagious: Cultures, Carriers, and the Outbreak Narrative* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007).

¹³ Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation*.

¹⁴ Cuba required all HIV-positive Cubans to attend sanitariums in the 1990s. While this program was rightly criticized for enforcing segregation, it contrasted with the Guantánamo program in its high quality of care, patient participation in leadership, minimal security element, and ample resources for housing, food, and medicine. See Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint."

¹⁵ Natalie Gewargis, "Elizabeth Dole Tries to Rename the AIDS Bill after Jesse Helms," <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2008/07/elizabeth-dole/> (July 16, 2008).

¹⁶ Michael-Ralph Trouillot, "An Unthinkable History," *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995): 70-107.

¹⁷ Aihwa Ong, "Making the Biopolitical Subject: Cambodian Immigrants, Refugee Medicine, and Cultural Citizenship in California," *Social Science and Medicine* 40:9 (1995): 1243-57.

¹⁸ Following the refugee crisis at the end of the Vietnam War, the Carter administration used asylum politics to wage the Cold War against avowedly Communist states. The US granted many southeast Asian refugees asylum, and maintained a policy to declare all Cuban migrants political refugees, famously interdicting boats carrying 100,000 Cubans during the Mariel boatlift of 1980 in order to admit them to the US rather than to expel them. The US also admitted 100,000 asylees from Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia following the Vietnam War. Many of these refugees fled by boat to Hong Kong or overland to Thailand before being brought to the US and other allied countries.

¹⁹ Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation*.

²⁰ Paik, "Testifying to Rightlessness," 44.

²¹ D.A. Henderson, "Surveillance Systems and Intergovernmental Cooperation," in Stephen S. Morse, ed., *Emerging Viruses* (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993): 287.

²² Under the 1980 Refugee Act, the CDC's Division of Global Migration and Quarantine would address the health concerns related to refugees by conducting a series of pre- and post-migration screenings. Refugees could be prevented from entry due to infection with a "Class A" infirmity, which ranged from HIV to syphilis to Hansen's disease and chronic drug addiction.

²³ Duane "Duke" Austin, qtd. in *Haitian Centers Council vs. Sale*, 1038.

²⁴ Paul Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint," 63.

²⁵ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove, 2004): 4.

²⁶ Ranjana Khanna, "Indignity," *positions* 16:1 (2008): 44-45.

²⁷ Yolande Jean, qtd. in Paul Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint," 61-62.

²⁸ Paik, "Testifying to Rightlessness," 53.

²⁹ Paik, 52.

³⁰ Jean, qtd. in Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint," 52.

³¹ Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint," 65.

³² *The Nation*, qtd. in Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint," 56.

³³ See Neel Ahuja, "Abu Zubaydah and the Caterpillar," *Social Text* 106 (2011): 127-49.

³⁴ Paik, "Testifying to Rightlessness," 54.

³⁵ Farmer, quoting *USA Today* and *The New England Journal of Medicine*, "Pestilence and Restraint," 64, 62.

³⁶ Bill Clinton, qtd. in A. Naomi Paik, "The Visible Scapegoats of US Imperialism: HIV Positive Haitian Refugees and Carceral Quarantine at Guantanamo Bay," Unpublished Paper, 12.

³⁷ *Sale vs. Haitian Centers Council, Inc.*, 509 US 155 (June 21, 1993).

³⁸ *Haitian Centers Council vs. Sale*, 1038, 1045.

³⁹ Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 3.

- ⁴⁰ Goldstein, *Storming the Court*, 255-6, 123; *Haitian Centers Council vs. Sale*, 1037.
- ⁴¹ Melinda Cooper claims that autoimmune disorders are a privileged sign of crisis in neoliberal theories of immunity; "today's immune systems, it would seem, are having trouble distinguishing between the self and the other." See Melinda Cooper, *Life as Surplus: Biotechnology and Capitalism in the Neoliberal Era* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008): 62.
- ⁴² Paik
- ⁴³ Derrick Jackson, "Ready to Be a Martyr," *Boston Globe* (February 14, 1993): A7
- ⁴⁴ Patrick Anderson, *So Much Wasted: Hunger, Performance, and the Morbidity of Resistance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010); Parama Roy, *Alimentary Acts: Appetites, Aversions, and the Postcolonial* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010).
- ⁴⁵ Jackson, "Ready to Be a Martyr," A7.
- ⁴⁶ In this sense, hunger striking is not about transaction, about depriving the body in order to accrue political capital. Its relation to sentiment, tragedy, and spectacle, as well as the eroticization of the vulnerable body, demonstrate the rhetorical complexities of hunger striking and similar, apparently apolitical forms of bodily renunciation such as fasting. See Parama Roy's discussion of the queer spectacle of Mohandas Gandhi's political "grammar of diet." Roy, "Meat-Eating, Masculinity, and Renunciation in India: A Gandhian Grammar of Diet," *Gender and History* 14:1 (2002), esp. 73-4; revised in Roy, *Alimentary Acts*.
- ⁴⁷ Aristede was a prolific liberation theologian and the Louvalas movement often organized around churches and made room for vodou practices within a Haitian Catholic framework. Colin Dayan's interpretation of vodou stresses the difficulty of reading the syncretic spiritual practices of Haiti within European sacred/secular or sacred/demonic binaries. To serve the lwa, the African spirits, requires specific forms of material sacrifice. Lwa are literally located in the blood (inflecting the attention to blood in fear of HIV infection), and there is an expectation of reciprocal relations between god and human that lend particular affective investments in sacrifice. See Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), esp. 65-70. Farmer's reading of the interpretation of AIDS among rural Haitians stresses the spiritual economy through which infection is traced and fought against. See Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation*, 43-46 and 201-207.
- ⁴⁸ Elma Verdieu, qtd. in Paik, "Testifying to Rightlessness," 56.
- ⁴⁹ On the singularity of the logic of martyrdom, which transcends religious tradition and the sacred-secular divide, see Bornstein and Redfield; Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*; Lynn Festa, "Humanity without Feathers." More broadly, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.
- ⁵⁰ Yolande Jean, qtd. in Paik, "Testifying to Rightlessness," 59.
- ⁵¹ Elma Verdieu, qtd. in Paik, "Testifying to Rightlessness," 55.
- ⁵² Goldstein, *Storming the Court*,
- ⁵³ Michael Ratner; Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint," 69.
- ⁵⁴ Deborah Sontag, "Judge Orders Better Care for Haitians with AIDS," *The New York Times* (March 27, 1993): <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/03/27/us/judge-orders-better-care-for-haitians-with-aids.html>.
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