

Faces of Guantánamo:
Resettlement



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Introduction

January 11, 2012 marks the 10th anniversary of the opening of the prison at Guantánamo Bay. Of the 779 men held there over the last ten years, 600 have been released and eight have died. One-hundred-seventy-one prisoners remain, but the United States government has acknowledged that it does not wish to indefinitely detain over half of them: 89 of the remaining prisoners have been unanimously cleared for transfer out of Guantánamo by a federal inter-agency task force.

This report focuses on these 89 men, whose fate is critical in ending much of the continuing injustice in Guantánamo.¹ It should be beyond controversy that it is profoundly immoral—not to mention nonsensical—to continue to imprison people the government itself believes should not be detained. In addition, transferring these men out of Guantánamo, either to their home countries or resettling them to third countries when there is a risk of torture in a prisoner's home country, would represent the easiest and most dramatic step toward closing Guantánamo.

To understand how this gross injustice prevails, this report highlights the obstacles erected to prevent the transfer or resettlement of these and other detainees. It then profiles some of the detainees who are suffering from this injustice and calls on the U.S. government and foreign governments to remedy this human rights crisis.

Obama's Early, Lost Opportunity

On his second day in office, President Obama acted to fulfill one of his most prominent campaign promises: he issued an Executive Order requiring the closure of Guantánamo within one year. Central to this process was a plan to return detainees to their home countries and to resettle numerous other detainees either in foreign countries or within the territorial United States. European countries in particular pledged to help the new president fulfill a goal to close the notorious military prison, based in part on an assumption that the United States would bear a mutual burden in accepting released detainees.

Early in 2009, White House Counsel Greg Craig—who had been given his position in part because of his outspoken desire to close Guantánamo and end the Bush Administration's excesses in the war on terror—developed a plan to settle a number of Uigher detainees in the U.S. mainland. The Uighurs detainees are Muslims from the oppressed Xinjiang province of China who could not be sent to China in light of a serious risk of torture there. Many of the Uighurs had been living in a rundown settlement in Afghanistan's mountains and attempted to flee to Pakistan to escape U.S. bombing, only to be apprehended by Pakistanis and turned over to the U.S. for a bounty.

¹ For a discussion of the problem with indefinite detention generally in Guantánamo, see CCR's companion report, "Faces of Guantánamo: Indefinite Detention," available at ccrjustice.org/closegtmo/detention

Critically, the Uighurs were a group of individuals that even the Bush Administration conceded was not “enemy combatants.” Like so many others in Guantánamo, they were innocents in the wrong place at the wrong time. Under what we know of the proposed resettlement plan, the Uighurs would be housed in the U.S., with or near Uigher-American families. They would receive independent funding from individuals and faith-based communities and receive other support to ease a successful and peaceful transition in U.S. society.

Unfortunately, President Obama abandoned this sensible and important plan. He did so in response to frenzied, and ultimately irrational, political posturing by members of Congress. In acceding to this political fear-mongering, the President lost a dramatic opportunity to aid the closing of Guantánamo. First, the resettlement of avowedly peaceful refugees on U.S. soil would have gone a very long way to counter the consistent—and false—caricature of all Guantánamo detainees as the “worst of the worst” or implacable terrorists who wish to do the U.S. harm. Unable to see those who we have detained really are, the American public continues to complacently accept this manufactured stereotype of all Guantánamo detainees. Second, Obama’s failure to do his share by accepting detainees to reside in the U.S. made it far harder to urge foreign governments to do the same. The impact of this early, lost moment resonates three years later.

Limited Transfers and Resettlement to Third Countries

As part of an initial effort to close Guantánamo, Obama created the Guantánamo Review Task Force, which was charged with reviewing the status and profiles of the then-remaining 240 detainees. The Task Force was composed of approximately 60 lawyers and analysts from all relevant military, intelligence and law enforcement agencies including the CIA, Department of Defense, FBI, Department of Justice and Department of Homeland Security. The Task Force unanimously recommended that, of the 240 men that were being held at Guantánamo when deliberations began, 36 should be tried, 48 held indefinitely and 126 should be released (or, in the bureaucratic lingo adopted from the Bush Administration, “approved for transfer”). A detainee would not be cleared for transfer from Guantánamo unless the Task Force concluded in its expert judgment that his release would be consistent with U.S. national security and foreign policy interests.

In the early months of Obama’s presidency, and despite the apparently hypocritical posture of the U.S. government that refused to resettle detainees inside U.S. territory, foreign countries accepted detainees for resettlement. Of the 126 prisoners cleared for release by the Task Force, 38 (including 17 of the Uighurs) were given new homes in 15 countries with which they had no previous association: Albania, Belgium, Bermuda, Bulgaria, Cape Verde, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Palau, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain and Switzerland.

By the 10th anniversary of the opening of Guantánamo, 89 men who have been cleared for release by the Task Force remain imprisoned. As described below, Congress has prevented their release, thereby undermining the expert military, diplomatic and intelligence judgments of the Task Force that these men can be safely repatriated.

Congressional Transfer Restrictions

Since one of the last transfers, in September 2010, when two men were resettled in Germany, Congress has intervened to prevent further repatriations. Specifically, Congress passed restrictions on the transfer of any detainee unless the Secretary of Defense is able to certify at an unreasonably high degree of certainty that no harm will result from the return of prisoners and that no prisoner will be returned to any country where there has been a confirmed case of recidivism. Among other disgraceful provisions expanding indefinite detention and mandating the military detention of all apprehended terrorist suspects, the 2012 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) includes such transfer restrictions. It prohibits the transfer of individuals from Guantánamo unless the Defense Secretary can certify that he has “ensured” that the individual cannot engage in any actions that threaten the United States. In a recent speech, Jeh Johnson, the Pentagon’s General Counsel, declared such conditions to be “onerous and near impossible to satisfy.”

As a result of these kinds of transfer restrictions, no prisoner has been released from Guantánamo since January 2011, the longest period without a release or transfer since the prison opened 10 years ago. However, the NDAA does include a limited waiver provision, which would permit the president to bypass the certification requirement if he deems it in the interests of national security. In light of the President Obama’s general reluctance in recent years to take any political risk that would contribute to due process for detainees or the closure of Guantánamo, there is little reason to hope he will make use of this tricky waiver provision.

Future Steps

Repatriating these 89 men to their home countries, or to third countries if they face a risk of torture in their home countries, represents a critical first step toward the closure of Guantánamo. To achieve resettlement for these 89 men, several things must happen.

First, the current legislative limitations on transfers must either be repealed or, failing that, President Obama should invoke his right to waive Congressional certification requirements in transferring detainees to their home or third countries.

Second, consistent with this country’s obligations under the Convention Against Torture, President Obama should not forcibly repatriate prisoners to countries where they fear persecution and torture, including Algeria. Fewer than 20 of the remaining 171 prisoners fear forced repatriation, and should be safely resettled in third countries. The profiles of some of these men are included in this report.

Third, the Obama Administration should publicly reveal the names of the detainees who have been cleared for release. This needless secrecy—from a President who promised an historic level of transparency in government—makes resettlement advocacy efforts difficult and secretive when they should be vigorous and open. (Notably, such information was routinely disclosed by the

Bush administration.) A few of these cleared detainees' identities have been made available in some circumstances, such as the Uighurs, whose stories are below, along with those of other good candidates for resettlement who may or may not be cleared for release.

Fourth, should the domestic political obstacles to transfers be overcome, other countries are needed to resettle these men. While many European countries have generously offered safe resettlement to Guantánamo's refugees, certain EU and NATO allies are noticeably absent from the list of countries accepting detainees, including Austria, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. We also urge countries in other regions, such as Latin America, to offer to resettle detainees in order to bring to an end the ongoing injustice of Guantánamo. While these countries may not have created the disaster in Guantánamo, the urgent call of global human rights compels them to play a part in ending the prison's ugly legacy. We call on all countries to contribute to this cause.

These are profiles of some of the many men who have been cleared and await resettlement:

Ahmed Ajam

Ahmed Adnan Ajam is a 34-year-old man, born and raised in Aleppo, Syria. Ahmed grew up in comfortable economic circumstances, in an open-minded family that exposed him to Western ideas and traditions. He spent many hours on his computer. He socialized with European visitors to Syria. He enjoyed Western music. He developed a fondness for pizza, burgers, and fries.

Ahmed has a high school education. He speaks some English. He has a philosophical turn of mind and a keen sense of humor. For his mandatory two years of service in the Syrian military, Ahmed served as an aide to a high-ranking officer. This was an office job, performing secretarial duties.

In his twenties, Ahmed began to feel that the life he was leading was shallow and unfulfilling. He wanted to deepen his Islamic faith and practice. He decided to visit Afghanistan, to see how that country implemented Islamic law, and to get help to become a better Muslim. He lived in Kabul for approximately 11 months. While living there, he volunteered for a charity organization, delivering food to the poor.

In fall 2001, after the war started, Ahmed fled Kabul. He had been told that Arabs, if captured by the Northern Alliance, would be killed. Accompanied by several Syrian friends, he made his way through the mountains of Afghanistan to Pakistan, where the Pakistani authorities arrested him at the end of 2001. He was unarmed. He was transferred to Guantánamo in the winter of 2002.

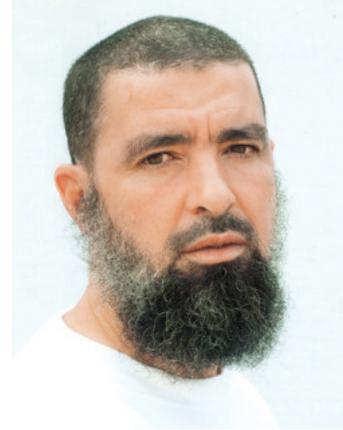
Syria has a consistent record of human rights abuses, including the use of torture in detention (which has resulted in death), arbitrary detention, prolonged detention without trial, and fundamentally unfair trials in the security courts.

Amnesty International reported in 2005 that “[d]ozens of Syrians were reportedly arrested on their return from exile,” often because of “suspected ... personal or family links with the Muslim Brotherhood” even when they had returned with the permission of the Syrian authorities. In recent years, the Supreme State Security Court has prosecuted many such people under Law 49 (1980), which makes affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood punishable by death.

It appears that Syrian authorities would consider Ahmed a threat simply because the United States has imprisoned him at Guantánamo. The on going upheaval and deadly repression in Syria emphasizes that he cannot return there. His only hope for freedom is that another country will receive him.

Djamel Ameziane

Djamel Ameziane, an ethnic Berber from Algeria, was born in 1967, but fled his home country in 1992 as Algeria descended into a bloody civil war. He traveled to Austria, where he became the highest-paid chef at a well-known Italian restaurant in Vienna. Unfortunately, in 1995, following the election of a new government, more restrictive immigration policies prevented him from extending or renewing his visa, and his work permit was denied without explanation.



Forced to leave the country, he traveled to Canada, where he applied for political asylum and lived for five years. In that time, he obtained a temporary work permit and worked diligently for an office supply company and various restaurants in Montreal, but in 2000 his asylum application was denied, and he was forced to uproot his life once more.

Fearful of being returned to Algeria, and faced with few options, Djamel traveled to Afghanistan, where he felt he could live freely without discrimination, and where he would not fear deportation to Algeria. In Afghanistan, he did not participate in any military training or fighting. Despite this, following the US-led invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001, and his flight to Pakistan to escape the chaos of war, he was seized by local police and turned over to U.S. forces for a bounty.

Djamel was transferred to Guantánamo in February 2002, where he has remained without charge for nearly a decade. The pain and anxiety of his indefinite detention is further heightened by his fear of forcible repatriation to Algeria, where he and his family are convinced he would face persecution. In August 2008, for example, Amnesty International declared, “Djamel Ameziane ... will be at risk of ... grave human rights violations if transferred to Algeria.” Djamel therefore desperately needs safe resettlement in a third country.

Djamel is an excellent candidate for resettlement, as he is a college graduate, speaks English, French, German and Arabic, and is, of course, a skilled chef. He also enjoys drawing, writing, reading mystery novels and playing soccer, and has stated, “I have only ever wanted ... to live quietly and peacefully in a country where I would not suffer persecution. That is still my goal. I request that another country grant me asylum or family reunification, and agree to resettle me as a refugee.”

Unfortunately, Djamel’s habeas corpus petition was indefinitely stayed without a ruling on the merits in the U.S. District Court in June 2009. He has nonetheless continued to pursue release and resettlement through other advocacy.

For example, Djamel has actively sought resettlement in certain European countries. He has also sought resettlement in Canada under the sponsorship of the Anglican Diocese of Montreal. And in August 2008, CCR and its co-counsel CEJIL (the Center for Justice and International Law) filed a petition and request for precautionary measures on Djamel’s behalf before the Inter-American

Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), securing the first hearing on a Guantánamo prisoner to be heard before an international body in October 2010. The IACHR is one of the principal autonomous bodies of the Organization of American States (OAS) of which the United States is a member State, and is mandated to promote respect for human rights in the region. Its resolutions are binding on the United States, and in August 2008, the ICHR stated, “All necessary measures must be taken to ensure Djamel Ameziane is not transferred to a country where he would face persecution.” Djamel has also requested the IACHR’s intervention to facilitate dialogue between the United States and OAS member states toward his safe resettlement in Latin America.

To date the United States has inexplicably failed and refused to send Djamel to any country, even Algeria.

Ahmed Belbacha

Like Djamel Ameziane, Ahmed Belbacha is an Algerian who fears being forcibly repatriated, as happened with his compatriots Abdul Aziz Naji (in July 2010) and Farhi Saeed bin Mohammed (in January 2010, whose habeas corpus petition had been granted in November 2009). Despite this, he was appealing against his forced repatriation when the Obama administration sent him home, and, as his attorney, Buz Eisenberg, said:



By transferring Mr. Mohammed to Algeria against his will, the administration has once again demonstrated an appalling disregard for the rule of law. On November 5, Mr. Mohammed asked the U.S. Supreme Court to consider the legality of this very transfer. By forcibly and secretly sending Mr. Mohammed to a place to which he did not want to go, even while the Supreme Court was considering his petition, the administration has again declared itself above the law.

While most of the remaining Algerians fear both the security services and Islamists, Ahmed Belbacha has another reason to fear being returned. In November 2009, he was convicted in absentia, in what his lawyers described as “a disgraceful show trial” in which no lawyer was appointed to defend him, and the court gave him a 20-year sentence for belonging to an “overseas terrorist group.” As his lawyers explained, “Despite repeated requests and extensive investigation, [we] have been unable to discover what exactly Ahmed is supposed to have done. No evidence has been produced to support his ‘conviction,’ which appears to be retaliation against Ahmed for speaking out about the inhumane treatment he would be subjected to if sent to Algeria.”

Ahmed, who was born in 1969, worked as an accountant for Algeria’s main oil company, Sonatrach, from 1988 to 1997, with a short break to complete his military service. In 1997, however, when he was called upon to rejoin the army, Islamists from the Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA) began

to threaten him. After trying, and failing, to lie low by working for his father, he fled to the U.K. in 1999, where he applied for asylum and worked in a laundromat and then in a hotel in Bournemouth. During the Labour government's conference, Ahmed cleaned the room of the deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, and did such a good job that he received a thank-you note and a tip.

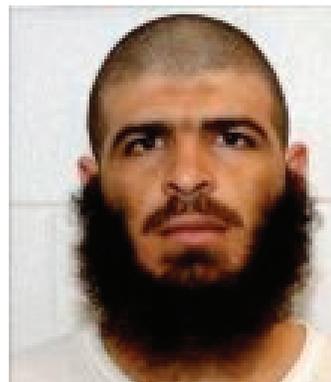
Unfortunately, Ahmed's application for asylum was refused. He appealed, but the procedure dragged on for months. He was having increasing difficulty finding steady work and greatly feared deportation. Ahmed decided to travel to Pakistan, where he could take advantage of free educational programs to study the Koran. He hoped after a few months the economy would be better and his job prospects would improve. In Pakistan, he decided, with a friend, to visit Afghanistan, where he was seized after the 9/11 attacks and the U.S.-led invasion.

While he was in Guantánamo, in 2002, Ahmed's asylum appeal was denied, ironically because he did not turn up for his hearing, and the judge did not know that he was a prisoner. Five years later, the U.S. authorities finally acknowledged that they had no reason to hold him, but Ahmed then sought and secured an injunction in the U.S. courts to prevent his forcible repatriation, which survived until the D.C. Circuit Court ruled in September 2009 that judges could not prevent the Obama Administration from forcibly repatriating prisoners to countries where they might face persecution.

Sadly for Ahmed, the British government has refused to accept him, and no other government has offered to help, even though his plight, and his gentle nature, has led to other offers of help. He has been given a room in a flat by a Bournemouth resident, and the town of Amherst, Massachusetts offered him refuge in defiance of Congress in October 2009.

Ali Hussein al-Shaaban

Ali Hussein al-Shaaban, born in 1982, is a Syrian who, as his attorney, Michael E. Mone, Jr. explains, "is stuck in Guantánamo because he cannot be safely returned to his native Syria, and no third country has yet to step forward to grant him refuge." He faces persecution if repatriated, and over the years his interrogators have repeatedly threatened him with rendition to Syria. "You know what the Syrians will do to you if you go back there," interrogators have told him. "You must cooperate with us or we will send you to them."



Prisoners cannot safely be returned to Syria because of the al-Assad regime's brutal use of torture. In May 2010, the United Nations Committee Against Torture stated that it was "deeply concerned about numerous, ongoing, and consistent allegations concerning the routine use of torture by law enforcement and investigative officials" in Syria. Hussein has no information to provide interrogators because he was never involved with the Taliban or Al Qaeda, but, as his attorney explains, "The stigma of his years of

imprisonment at Guantánamo Bay will undoubtedly follow him home with dire consequences.”

Hussein has nothing to offer, because, when he was seized at age 19, he was not captured on the battlefield, nor was he armed. He was simply in the wrong place at the wrong time, another of Guantánamo’s many mistakes. After graduating from high school, Hussein wanted to see some of the world before attending university. He traveled to Afghanistan where he lived in Kabul with three other young Syrian men and studied the Koran at a local school. When war broke out he fled to Pakistan, along with thousands of other refugees. However, because he was an Arab, Pakistani authorities seized him, and handed him and his three fellow countrymen over to the United States, probably in exchange for the generous cash bounties that were being offered by the U.S. military to their Afghan and Pakistani allies.

Hussein is an excellent candidate for resettlement. He reads, writes and speaks fluent English, and is also committed to learning the native language of the country that accepts him, if another language is spoken there. He is eager to resume his academic pursuits upon release and study at a university. However, after years of working in his father’s metal shop making doors, window frames, and water tanks, he is a skilled welder and well prepared to find employment in construction or manufacturing. Hussein is fortunate to be in very good physical and mental health. As he awaits a new home, he spends his days exercising, studying his English dictionary and reading the works of his favorite authors: John Steinbeck, John Le Carré and John Grisham.

While his time in Guantánamo Bay has certainly been hard, Hussein bears no animosity towards the American people. His youth, intelligence, good health, and determination to live a peaceful and productive life point towards a successful integration. He looks forward to the day when he will be able to support himself and raise a family. All he needs is for a third country to give him the opportunity to rebuild his life after years of abusive incarceration.

Mohammed Tahamuttan

In December 2009, after the German government expressed a willingness to take prisoners who could not be repatriated, Daniel Fried, Obama’s Special Envoy on Guantánamo, sent nine suggestions, including Mohammed Tahamuttan, a Palestinian, born in 1979. As *Der Spiegel* explained, Tahamuttan “grew up on the West Bank and quickly had his fill of intifada, war and deplorable living conditions.”

In October 2001, Tahamuttan flew to Pakistan, because he “yearned to be a pious man,” and Pakistan housed the headquarters of the huge Islamic missionary movement Jamaat al-Tablighi, which he had been a member of since the age of 14. Tablighi members “acquired a visa for him and arranged for him to stay in a religious school in Raiwind,” where he “studied the Koran for four months before moving on to Lahore, then Quetta and, finally, Faisalabad.”

In Faisalabad, he met some Arab students and moved into a house with them. On March 28, 2002,

the house was raided and all 15 of the guesthouse residents were taken to Guantánamo, on the basis that the house was supposedly connected to the alleged “high-value detainee” Abu Zubaydah, who was seized on the same night in a different raid. However, despite the government’s claims that all of these men were somehow connected to militancy, six of them have been freed so far.

In July 2010, Der Spiegel noted that Mohammed had “made a good impression on the Germans,” but that he was ultimately rejected, a move that was “probably intended primarily to send a political message at home in Germany,” where it was thought that Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière “felt that he had to show the many members of his party who had opposed reaching an agreement with the United States on Guantánamo that he was not blindly obeying the Americans.” As a result, Mohammed is still stranded in Guantánamo, awaiting a new home.

Ravil Mingazov

Ravil Mingazov, born in 1967, is the last Russian prisoner in Guantánamo. He was a ballet dancer in his teenage years, and performed with a number of dance troupes. When he was 19, he joined the Russian Army, and served for two years in the Army’s ballet troupe. He then served as a volunteer until 1996, when he took a job in the military’s food supply section, transforming an ailing program into one that was recognized as “the best in all the Army.”



Ravil’s troubles began when he converted to Islam, and discovered that there was widespread intolerance towards Muslim soldiers. When his requests for halal food and prayer time were denied, he took his complaints to his mayor and to a political party, provoking retaliation from his superiors. After the KGB stepped in and ransacked his house, he decided to seek a new country where he could live freely with his wife and his young child.

After his request for a passport was denied without explanation, he left Russia, intent on finding a new home for his wife and child where they could practice their Muslim faith. His journey led him to Afghanistan, which, before the 9/11 attacks, provided sanctuary to numerous Muslim refugees fleeing religious persecution, but Ravil’s quest was derailed following the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001, and his journey took a dramatic turn for the worse after he fled with other refugees to Pakistan.

After staying at a religious center in Lahore from January to March 2002, Ravil accepted an offer to stay in a house in Faisalabad that was associated with a local university. By this time, Pakistan had become unsafe for foreigners, who were being picked up in exchange for U.S. bounty payments. The day after he arrived at the house in Faisalabad, it was raided by the Pakistani police, and he and a number of other men—mostly students—were seized and turned over to the U.S.

In May 2010, more than eight years after Ravil was arrested, his habeas corpus petition was granted by Judge Henry H. Kennedy, Jr., who ruled that the government had failed to show that Ravil was a member of either Al Qaeda or the Taliban. Judge Kennedy ordered his release.

Despite the Judge's order, the government appealed, and then sought to reopen the case. One of Ravil's attorneys, Allison M. Lefrak, explained that the appeal is "now stayed in light of the government's motion to present the lower court with 'new' evidence—evidence the government purportedly only located recently, eight years after Ravil was arrested in Faisalabad," and which, according to the U.S. government, "would persuade Kennedy to reverse his decision and deny Ravil the writ of habeas corpus."

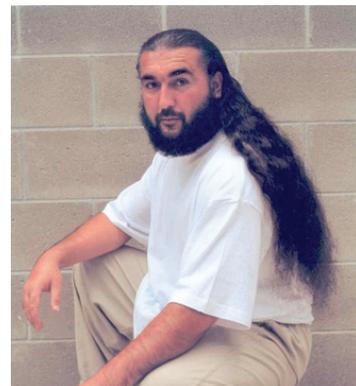
Allison also wrote about her visits with Ravil, which she has undertaken every three months for the last five years. Her description of her latest visit with Ravil paints a portrait of a good-natured man with enormous patience and a dry sense of humor. She wrote about his reaction to the government's latest efforts to hold him indefinitely: "At the end of my lengthy update on the legal status of his case, I pause for the last time and ask Ravil if he has any questions. 'No,' he says. And then he smiles. 'But you forgot to mention the good news.' I know him well enough to realize that he is setting me up for a one-liner. 'We will all see each other again in three months.'"

As Allison also explained: "I wonder how many more times I will have to explain to Ravil that, despite the Supreme Court's mandate to promptly process detainees' habeas claims, the president's promise to close the prison and his own victory in federal court, it is more likely than not that we will meet again in three months in this overly air-conditioned cell on a steamy island very far away from his elderly mother, his loving family and the growing son that Ravil last saw more than ten years ago when he was a baby."

Umar Abdulayev

Umar Abdulayev, a native of Tajikistan, born in 1978, has not lived in the country of his birth since 1992, when he fled with his parents, two brothers, and two sisters to escape the civil war that was beginning to tear the country apart. His father was killed in 1994 while returning to Tajikistan to investigate the situation.

Umar lived in Afghanistan until early 2001, when he moved with his family to a refugee camp near Peshawar, Pakistan. It was there, on November 25, 2001, that he was seized in a bazaar by police who handed him over to Pakistani intelligence officials and then imprisoned him.



In Pakistani custody, Umar was beaten and coerced into copying incriminating information, in his own hand, into a number of notebooks, with a promise that he would be returned to his

mother if he did as directed. Instead, he was blindfolded and driven to Kohat prison in Pakistan, where, after nine days, he was turned over, along with approximately 30 others, to the custody of the U.S. military.

Speaking about the circumstances of his detention in U.S. custody, Umar explained, “The Pakistanis are making business out of this war, including myself. The detainees are not being captured by U.S. forces, but are being sold by the Pakistani government. They are making [up to] \$10,000 to sell detainees to the U.S. ... they knew that the more evidence they created, the more dangerous they made me, the more money they would make from the Americans.”

After a month in the U.S. prison in Kandahar, Afghanistan, Umar was flown to Guantánamo, where he has been held ever since without charge or trial. President Obama’s Guantánamo Task Force approved Umar to be transferred out of Guantánamo, yet it appears that the U.S. government intends to continue to defend his imprisonment.

Irrespective of whether he is able to obtain a writ of habeas corpus, Umar appears to have few prospects for leaving Guantánamo. Umar fears for his life in Tajikistan and refuses to return there voluntarily. He needs a safe country in which to rebuild his life, but currently there is no indication that the U.S. government is taking any steps to resettle him in a third country.