

# CounterPunch

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## Our Little Secrets

### EDIBLE KNICKERS FALL FLAT

A Friend of CounterPunch inside the Beltway had dealings with a lobbyist for Hill and Knowlton. The lobbyist delivered. The grateful CounterPuncher duly received an invitation to the lobbyist's birthday party, to be held over lunch. The CounterPuncher, scenting a jovial occasion, scoured his closet and came up with (a) some ointment he'd bought in the bazaar in Istanbul, advertised as ensuring prodigious virility and staying power, (b) a pair of edible knickers. He wrapped them in gaudy paper, headed out to the birthday lunch and placed his gifts in the pile.

The cake was brought in, the candles extinguished and the lobbyist began to unwrap his gifts. First present: Bob Woodward's new book. Second present: Bob Woodward's new book. The lobbyist began to unwrap the edible knickers, amid the CounterPuncher's raucous guffaws. The knickers were disclosed. Icy silence. Fourth present: Bob Woodward's new book.

### "WE'RE SO SORRY"

On December 3, Oregon governor John Kitzhaber formally apologized for Oregon's past eugenics law that led to the forced sterilization of hundreds of people. Girls in reform school, people in mental institutions and poor women selected by welfare workers were among the more than 2,500 Oregonians subjected to

(OLS continued on page 2)

## "Terrorist" as New Human Type

BY DOUG LUMMIS

In the past year, a new category of human being has been introduced into public discourse: The Terrorist. Of course, people have been called terrorists before, but with the beginning of the U.S. government's War on Terrorism, "terrorist" has come to mean not simply a person who engages (or engaged) in a certain form of illegal combat, but rather a separate human type.

The Terrorist is different from, for example, the criminal. We think of a criminal as a person who was born as an ordinary human being, but has somehow "gone wrong". The criminal has committed a criminal act, but may still be capable of penitence, which is why we put most criminals in penitentiaries. The Terrorist, as President Bush has told us so often, is evil. The word "evil" is not a legal term; no court of law can convict a person of being "evil". Evil is a religious concept. The evil person is not someone who has gone wrong, but rather someone who has come into this world for the very purpose of causing pain and suffering. As you can see by putting a "d" at the beginning of the word, the evil person is here to carry out the project of the Enemy of God. Repentance is out of the question: the misery that the evil person has brought about is exactly what was intended.

In this new terrorist argot, the issue, when a particular case is being discussed, is not what the person did, but what the person is. When the John Walker case was being discussed in the newspapers, the question was framed as, Is he a terrorist, or Is he an ordinary American boy gone wrong? If the former, he should be tried (it was alleged) by a military tribunal; if the latter, he should get an ordinary jury trial (as it happened, the latter position prevailed). The terrorism discourse is

based on a form of essentialism: once a person is categorized as a terrorist-in-essence, that person can be placed in a separate legal category. The important thing is that this determination of what the person is takes place before a legal determination is made (by trial) as to what the person *did*.

I wrote above that no court of law can make a judgment of what a person is (e.g. essentially good or evil), but there is another kind of court that has claimed to make such judgments. That is the court used in witch trials, and the logic of the present terrorist discourse is witchhunt logic.

In political cartoons and commentaries, The Terrorist has most often been depicted as a gutter rat. Not the white rat or the country rat, but the plague rat, the one that is never displayed in zoos and that no one (except witches) ever keeps as a pet. The plague rat, like the cockroach, exists in popular imagination (though animal rights activists may disagree) as an animal to be killed on sight, and exterminated if possible. And "extermination", a word that, outside of Nazi prescriptions, is not often used in regard to a category of human beings, is precisely the word being used in War-on-Terrorism propaganda today.

This characterization of The Terrorist revives the emotional content of racism without being, strictly speaking, racist. Anti-Terrorist propaganda cannot be racist because The Terrorist, while a category, is not a race. The people the U.S. government calls terrorist belong to a variety of nationalities and speak a variety of languages. Moreover, given the multi-ethnic makeup of the U.S. voting population today, it is no longer politically wise for U.S. politicians to lay this kind of stereotype (Lummis continued on page 6)

# OUR LITTLE SECRETS

sterilizations under a law that stood from 1917 to 1983.

"To those who suffered, I say the people of Oregon are sorry," Kitzhaber said. "Our hearts are heavy for the pain you endured." Kitzhaber is the second governor to atone for state eugenics laws after Virginia governor Mark Warner, who also erected a memorial in May to the first woman sterilized under the policy.

The eugenics movement that sponsored these sterilization laws was embraced most eagerly by northern liberals, progressive politicians, medical experts and genteel women's groups. States pioneering such laws included LaFollette's Wisconsin and Woodrow Wilson's New Jersey. Indiana led the way in 1907. California was filled with rabid eugenicists, headquartered Cal-Tech and in the Sierra Club. It was an Alabama governor in the 1930s, Bibb Graves, who vetoed a sterilization bill, citing the "hazard to personal rights".

After 1967, the Oregon law was chiefly used to sterilize those with mental illness or mental disability. These days Oregon wages war on the poor in

other ways, locking them up, starving them, destroying the public school system. Don't worry. The Malthusians are always out there, alert for opportunity to curb the dangerous classes.

## "IF I LOSE, UNMASK ME!"

### GARZON VS MARCOS

BY SCOTT HANDLEMAN

The Basques are a few million people who live in northern Spain and southern France. Their language is Euskera; their origins are shrouded in mystery. Some Basque nationalists assert that Euskera is the only surviving pre-Indo-European language in Europe, and that Basques, an "autochthonous" people, evolved directly from Cro-Magnon man whose painted caves dot their landscape. Eighteenth-century scholars advanced even more grandiose theories about the origin of the Basques. Abbe Dominique Lahetjuzan opined that Adam and Eve spoke Euskera in the Garden of Eden, while the Abbe Diharce de Bidassouet argued that Euskera was the language of the Creator Himself.

Whether or not the Basques are descended from the first human artists, their sense of national identity is a distinctively modern phenomenon. According to Robert Clark, Basque ethnic sentiment had become "extremely weak" by 1880; Euskera had been in decline since the late 1700s, and cultural practices "had been forgotten or were derided as anti-modern". Beginning in 1876, however, British investors began to exploit the iron ores of Vizcaya, leading to a rapid industrialization of the Basque country. The idea of a Basque nation was promoted by the old bourgeoisie which was being socially displaced by the wealth of a new capitalist class. Efforts were made to revive the Basque language. A Basque flag was invented and a Basque Nationalist Party founded.

Fast forward to 1931, the founding of Spain's Second Republic. The new constitution allowed for provincial autonomy. After Franco's coup in 1936, two of the four Basque provinces stayed with the republic, and the republican government in Valencia granted their

autonomy late in 1936, in the midst of the civil war. With little help forthcoming from Valencia, Basques fought bravely against Franco and the Nazis. In 1937 the Luftwaffe destroyed the Basque city of Guernica, killing 1,654 persons in a small town with no military significance. At Nuremberg, Goering admitted that Guernica had been a testing ground for the Germans to develop their techniques of aerial bombardment.

Franco triumphed in 1939, but Republicans maintained a sporadic guerilla resistance until 1952. Since Basque nationalists were prominent among the guerillas, Franco tried to stamp out their autonomy movement. The Spanish government banned Euskera from churches, schools, and even street conversation; Basque names were replaced with Spanish equivalents on birth, marriage and death records; even Basque inscriptions on tombstones and buildings were scraped off. Thousands of political prisoners were jailed; citizens seized off the street were beaten, tortured or disappeared.

Franco's heavy hand only strengthened popular support for the Basque freedom struggle. Basque armed resistance to Spanish fascism re-emerged in 1961 in the form of a sabotage action by ETA (Euskadi ta Askatasuna). Over the years, ETA has adopted increasingly violent tactics, moving from bank robberies to assassination of police to assassination of politicians and capitalists.

Since the restoration of Spanish democracy in 1975, ETA's violence has continued hand-in-hand with Spain's brutal repression of radical Basque nationalism. The 1980s saw the emergence of the Anti-terrorist Liberation Groups (GAL), a right-wing assassination squad that targeted Basque separatists. Spanish police were given powers of preventive detention, tapping telephones, holding detainees incommunicado, and warrantless home searches. The torture of prisoners continues to the present day. The first-hand accounts of 77 Basque prisoners tortured by Spanish police in 2000 are available online in English at [www.basque-red.net/eng/guesueng/tat00/tat00e.pdf](http://www.basque-red.net/eng/guesueng/tat00/tat00e.pdf).

Among those implicated in the political repression of the Basque people is Baltasar Garzon, the Spanish judge who came to prominence by issuing an arrest warrant for Augusto Pinochet for

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the murder of Spanish citizens during his dictatorship in Chile. The warrant led to Pinochet's house arrest in Britain; the British government eventually let him return to Chile.

In August, Garzon banned Herri Batasuna for 3 years. HB is the Basque separatist political coalition. Garzon says HB is a front group for ETA; HB denies links to ETA. Now HB is trying to get Garzon's ban overturned, and Garzon, in turn, is trying to build a case against HB for "low-level ethnic cleansing," alleging that they want to drive non-basques out of the Basque provinces.

Enter Subcomandante Marcos. In a letter to Zapatista sympathizers in Spain, published in November, Marcos made special mention of the Basques. He also said "this grotesque clown who is the self-proclaimed judge Garzon, of the hand of the Spanish political class. . . is carrying forward a true State terrorism that no honest man or woman can observe without indignation. Yes, the clown Garzon has declared illegal the political struggle of the Basque Country. After making himself ridiculous with that fools' tale of seizing Pinochet (the only thing it did was to give [Pinochet] an expenses-paid vacation), he shows his true fascist vocation by denying the Basque people the right to political struggle for a cause that is legitimate." Marcos then thanked the large numbers of Basques who have participated in the civil peace encampments in Chiapas.

On December 3, ETA exploded a car bomb, wounding three. On that date, Garzon answered Marcos harshly. "I prefer to see my name openly associated with democracy as a clown, than to hide it behind false rebellion, violence, the lie, ignorance, lack of ethic and scruples, and additional characteristics that you, with ever-increasing clarity, represent. . . . Has nobody told you that 853 persons have been assassinated with car-bombs, with pistols, machine guns, grenade throwers, etcetera, in the back, with treachery or with a shot in the neck? Where in your letter are some words for these victims of terrorism? They are nowhere, because you drip with hatred towards these victims, and towards all of us who are not or think not like you. . . . You need not remove your mask to have unmasked yourself: you, simply, do not believe in the essential rights of man

nor in democracy nor even in the civic rights of your own people." That said, Garzon challenged Marcos to debate him without mask, in the time and place of his choosing. Nowhere did Garzon state a specific topic for debate.

On December 7, Marcos agreed to debate, but, as the "challenged knight", attached a few non-negotiable conditions. The debate must take place in April on the island of Lanzarote (in the Canaries), as part of a public encounter to be organized on the topic of "The Basque Country: Paths." Garzon should convince the Spanish government to create propitious conditions for the encounter and to send a high-level delegation to listen. The debate itself is to have seven judges (four picked by Garzon, three by EZLN). If Marcos loses, Garzon can unmask him and Marcos will "subject himself to the action of Spanish justice that they may torture him (just as they torture detained Basques)." But if Garzon wins, he must commit to become a juridical advisor to the EZLN on their demand for the recognition of indig-

al Qaeda or Bush.

As of this writing, no response from Garzon or from ETA.

## STORMS IN VENEZUELA:

### A LETTER FROM TOM HART

I'm in my tiny classroom perched on the 3rd floor of the school normally in full range of the racket caused by the construction of a huge parking garage, swimming pool and ball court which has been going on all term. Today it is rather ghostly in its silence. Not a single worker is on the job. They all come everyday, hopeful for a day's wage but are sent home by their foremen. We're in our fifth day of the national strike begun Monday Dec. 2. We held classes with scant enrollment for two days and then tear gas from an overreaction by police on Tuesday wafted up to the school and which frightened the administrators who immediately called off classes and joined the rest of Venezuelan private schools in the strike.

Venezuelans are fearful about a re-

## ***If Marcos loses, Garzon can unmask him and Marcos will "subject himself to the action of Spanish justice that they may torture him (just as they torture detained Basques)".***

enous rights and culture. The Zapatistas will also present legal actions against Zedillo and his accomplices in the Spanish government for the Actael massacre.

In a letter to Spanish and Basque civil society, Marcos asks them to pressure Spain and ETA to create "an opportunity for the word". In a separate communique addressed directly to ETA, Marcos asks them to hold to a ceasefire for 177 days beginning December 24, to create propitious conditions for the proposed encounter (and says that "in case you do not accept, I offer myself personally as a propitious victim for your next attack. You can accuse me of 'collaborationism' with the Spanish state.") He elaborates that the EZLN supports the cause of Basque sovereignty but never supports the killing of civilians as a means to any end, whether by ETA or Spain, Israelis or Palestinians,

currence of the sniping and violent events of last April when 18 were killed. (We still don't know by whom). The last thing the school wants is to be held responsible for the deaths of anyone who was trying to attend classes. The streets fill up each day of the strike in the afternoon with marches and countermarches, just as we're dismissing the kids and traffic can be inhibitive, even dangerous.

For over a year, the "Coordinadora Democratica" or the opposition has been trying to pry Chavez out. This opposition is all but hopeless. A loose-knit group of over 34 "parties", it represents all of the old guard, the old war horse generals, the enfranchised, . . . in fact the oligarquistas. They have little or no plan, no candidate and very little patience. They're used to being in power, not ne- (OLS continued on page 4)

gotiating for it. Chavez came in on the populist sled. 70-80% of Venezuela is poor, undereducated and exploited. Even if Chavez were to call early elections, which is what the Pope, Anan, Gavrira (head of the OAS) and Jimmy Carter want him to do, he'd win hands down if he could rally the underclass vote.

Meanwhile, as across the rest of Latin America, the economy is in ruins, unemployment 23%, the Bolivar worth half of what it was last year and people leaving the country for Miami, New York and Europe. Tonight the unthinkable has occurred again: several crazed gunmen pulled pistols and shot wantonly into the crowd of opposition gathered in Plaza Altimira killing up to eight (at last report) and wounding some 20.

The political turmoil, of course takes up most of people's thoughts and since Venezuelans love to talk (especially to foreigners), I find myself daily in intense political conversations. Several of my favorite conversants who, in my opinion, have fine-tuned the art of "holding forth and being held forth" are: Robinson one of the quirky gatemen to our apartment complex who lets me into his smoky booth on the street to watch a snowy TV image; Felix, a security, man at school who epitomizes the eternally well-dressed Venezuelan man by appearing daily in cuff links, a starched shirt and perfect shoes (this to park cars); and most of all Francisco, a young, single Caraqueño by birth who teaches literature.

I could sit in "El café Bistrot" with Francisco nursing a tiny shot of Venezuela's finest espresso for an entire Sunday afternoon discussing Latin American art and culture. Sometimes I look up at his wide-set, dark eyes, his flat intelligent brow and I see the Iberian intellectual. At other times he appears as the ultimate "creollo", that uniquely American race of mixed Indian and European ancestry.

Caracas is a terrible city for the non-motorized. The vehicle of choice is the wide-tired "safari" rig: 4x4 (to make it look as though the driver ventures out to the hinterland) belching smoke from leaded gas at about 80 US cents per gallon. The poor walk, ride blating busses and take the metro. The roaring "Harley look alike" is also very popular among the paunchy young businessmen. Caraqueños use their horns constantly.

The traffic engineering in the city

must have been done by someone blindfolded, drawing lines on a map, because traffic flow is completely arbitrary and utterly confusing. There is an intersection (unfortunately right below our apartment) that is called "the spider's web" where seven roads intersect—two of them are one-ways. Four traffic lights bob on a cable suspended over the tangle and it is impossible to tell which light governs which street. The usual process is to wait thirty seconds or so until there is a large enough build-up of halted Range-Rovers and Hulks from the 70's to create sufficient volume and then as though at a signal, a single blaring horn turns into dozens and finally the cacophony, by sheer decibel strength, causes the traffic flow to hesitate and the direction changes, only to begin again as the cavalry once again amasses its braying jack asses from another direction. The traffic lights bob and change; blinking (or short circuiting) signaling "turn at your own risk", but no one even glances up. I haven't witnessed a single accident.

Now, during the strike, the klaxons are blaring constantly. They signal the cry of the opposition to the beleaguered

I can get about 25 kilometers out of the city the true, uninhabited Venezuela appears. Madeline and I biked four hours out to a tiny village in the cool, mountainous jungle called Turgua. We set up our tent on a friend's little property and didn't move for 36 hours, letting the toxins of this foul city seep out of our systems. It was like a drug, awakening at dawn to a symphony of tropical birds making, not just song, but conversation as well I swear! After all we're in Latin America.

## OUR GREATEST WEAPONS INSPECTOR

Phil Berrigan died in the evening of December 6, at Jonah House, the community in Baltimore he co-founded in 1973, surrounded by family and friends. For 40 years he campaigned against war and violence, most of all against nuclear weapons.

Challenge America's weapons of mass destruction, its nuclear palaces, and the state locks you up. Phil Berrigan spent about eleven years in prison in the cause of peace and disarmament.

Berrigan wrote a final statement in

## ***Call Berrigan America's most dedicated weapons inspector, its most ardent would-be dismantler of weapons of mass destruction.***

Chavez: toooot-toot-toot-toot. "Ni un paso atras" (No step backwards!) Every evening now, another clamor besets the calm, lengthening shadow of the giant Avila, the 3000-meter mountain cordillera which overlooks the dwarfed city like a stern schoolmaster over a misbehaved student.

Citizens come out on their balconies one by one with their pots and spoons and begin banging away signaling, "He must go". We always know when a government official is speaking on national TV because the tin pots start up. The racket becomes deafening and it seems, after one half hour that the whole city is banging away.

I've been biking quite a bit despite horrified looks from motorists. I dodge gaping pot-holes and sewer grates with cave-entrance-like black holes and once

the days before his death, reciting it to those surrounding his bed till he choked on the liquid in his lungs. "I die with the conviction, held since 1968 and Catonsville, that nuclear weapons are the scourge of the earth; to mine for them, manufacture them, deploy them, use them, is a curse against God, the human family, and the earth itself."

The word from Jonah House is that those who mourn for Berrigan and wish to honor his memory may make donations in Berrigan's name to Citizens for Peace in Space, Global Network Against Nuclear Weapons, Nukewatch, Voices in the Wilderness, the Nuclear Resister, or any Catholic Worker house.

Call Berrigan America's most dedicated weapons inspector, its most ardent would-be dismantler of weapons of mass destruction. CP

*Police Shoot, Torture & Then Extract Confessions***Goodbye, Miranda!****BY KURT NIMMO**

It's apparently not enough that the police often show up in ninja black with automatic weapons and stun grenades. It's not enough they no longer have to knock, no longer need a search warrant, or can simply enter your home when you're away and not tell you about it. Now, if the Justice Department has its way, they won't have to bother informing you of your rights that they're intent on abusing.

The case revolves around Oliverio Martinez, a farm worker, shot five times in the eyes, spine, and legs by the police in Oxnard, California. Police say Martinez went for a cop's gun. Martinez says the police extracted a confession out of him while he lay critically wounded in an ambulance and hospital emergency room. "I am dying! ... What are you doing to me?" Martinez screamed on a recording of the relentless interrogation by police Sgt. Ben Chavez, which interrupted the work of medical personnel. "If you are going to die, tell me what happened", the officer responded.

During all of this, the cops didn't find it necessary to give Martinez his Miranda warning. Or even charge him with a crime. The legal challenge presented by the blind and paraplegic Oliverio Martinez may eventually help out the Bush administration. It wants to toss the Miranda warning into the dustbin of history. It wants those considered terrorists to be interrogated minus the bete noire of civil liberties, particularly the annoying obstruction of the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution.

The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals agreed with a federal judge that the confession was coerced and cannot be used as evidence against Martinez in his excessive-force civil case against the city. Enter the Justice Department. Ashcroft's lawyers filed a friend-of-the-court brief along with police organizations and the right wing Criminal Justice Legal Foundation. The brief argued that unrestricted (to say nothing of humane) police questioning is permissible so long as the information extracted from a suspect (even if he is critically wounded) is not used against that

person in court. The Supreme Court is hearing the case.

Portending things to come, Sandra Day O'Connor told a law school audience in Manhattan on October 2, 2001, that as a result of September 11 "we're likely to experience more restrictions on our personal freedom than has ever been the case in our country". O'Connor also said during the speech, "Where law ends, tyranny begins." She should know, having decided, along with four other so-called justices, that the people of the United States are not entitled to have their own elections if the result is Al Gore as president.

Recall that Scalia recently cited the New Testament to claim the government "derives its moral authority from God", especially in regard to the death penalty. According to Stephen E. Gottlieb, professor of law at Albany Law School, the Rehnquist Court is forsaking the rule of law in favor of "conservative" moral judg-

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***The Rehnquist court is forsaking the rule of law for conservative moral judgements about character.***

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ment. Gottlieb suggests that the Reagan-Bush Senior appointed justices have discarded the basic principles of post-New Deal individual rights jurisprudence and have instead substituted their own concepts of moral character for what were once fundamental principles.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in regard to racial discrimination and the administration of the death penalty, racial profiling, allowing states to deny competent legal assistance to the poor, habeas corpus restrictions imposed on prisoners, and — possibly all too soon — the elimination of Miranda.

Tossing out the Miranda warning may not seem like a big deal. Surely, most Americans understand they have a right to remain silent and a lawyer will be appointed (no matter how incompetent) if they can't afford one. It's one thing, however, for suburban middle class Americans to learn about their rights by watching police shows on television, quite another to live on Chicago's southside, in Compton, the South Bronx, or any other number of sprawling ghettos in America where cops shoot Hispanic men in the eyes, spine, and legs and then sadistically attempt to extract confessions.

If the Supreme Court chucks Miranda, it will be sending a conspicuous message to police departments all over the country — the highest court in the land is rolling back the clock to a time when the criminally accused (or those, as in the case of Oliverio Martinez, not accused) had even less protection. CP

Kurt Nimmo is a photographer in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

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(Lummis continued from page 1)

on a particular ethnic group. So when government spokespeople say this is not a war against Muslims or Arabs, this should be taken seriously. What is happening is that the stereotype that used to be projected onto this or that ethnic group is now being projected onto this new category: The Terrorist.

In classic racism, people under the yoke were depicted as incapable of education, enlightenment, or moral improvement, so that it would be fruitless to put them in the same legal framework, and grant them the same rights as the dominating group. There is nothing for it but to place them in a separate legal category – say slavery, or apartheid, or ghettoization, or legal segregation. And today this is just what is happening: for the new human type called The Terrorist, a separate and unprecedented legal framework is being established.

The U.S. government continues to insist that the people captured in Afghanistan and presently being held in cages on the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, are not prisoners of war. If they were POWs, they would have the rights guaranteed under the Geneva Convention of 1949, and by the customary laws of war based on centuries of precedent. In particular, it would be illegal to put them on trial unless it could be shown that they had committed specific violations of the laws of war. However the U.S. government has asserted that they will be subject to trial.

But if they don't have the rights of POWs, they don't have the rights of criminal suspects either. They are placed in the new legal category established by Presi-

dent Bush's Executive Order of 13 November, 2001 under which they may be tried by military tribunal. This order states, "it is not practicable to apply in military commissions under this order the principles of law and the rules of evidence generally recognized in the trial of criminal cases in the United States district courts." (Section 1, f) That is, the basic rights of criminal suspects guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution and U.S. criminal law

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***The Terrorist has most often been depicted as a gutter rat. Not the white rat or the country rat, but the plague rat.***

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and precedent are to be denied.

Among these are the right to be informed of what you are being detained for so you can contest this in court, the right of Habeas Corpus (under which, if the prosecutor is unable within a reasonable period to show evidence you have committed a crime, you must be released), the right to confront and question witnesses (for government witnesses may be spies, and if they show their faces in court they can't be used again), the right to see the evidence being used against you (some of

it may be state secrets), the right to consult a lawyer of your choice, the right to trial by a jury of your peers, the right to appeal to a higher court, the right to an open trial, and (as all these rights are taken away before any judicial determination of guilt or innocence) the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty. Thus these prisoners are placed in the position of Joseph K in Kafka's *The Trial*: "You are accused of being guilty. We are not in a position to tell you, guilty of what, nor of who your accusers are, nor of when, if ever, your trial will take place. Defend yourself as best you can."

Critics of the military tribunals are concerned that, even though the executive order exempts U.S. citizens (Section 2, a) once it becomes established that foreign "terrorists" can be tried in these star chamber courts (or imprisoned indefinitely with no trial at all), soon it will be possible to treat U.S. citizens in the same way.

And in fact this has already begun, in the cases of Yasser Hamdi and Jose Padilla. This is extremely important of course, but it skirts the larger question: what gives the U.S. government the right to "arrest" foreign nationals on foreign territory, bring them forcibly on to U.S.-controlled territory, and place them on trial in U.S. military courts? It is clear that the U.S. is now claiming this right. In his State of the Union address on January 29 President Bush said that while some governments will cooperate in the War against Terrorism, "some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will." CP

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***Dumping the Miranda Warning***