

bill that blocked environmental researchers from getting state agriculture department records on hog farm sites and sizes. In 1991, when Murphy was still installed as tribune for the pig business, the North Carolina legislature brazenly passed Senate Bill 669 allowing the North Carolina Pork Producers Association to collect a hog levy which could be used to lobby state legislators and fight lawsuits as well as for other purposes which federal check-off money can't be used for.

The pig men of North Carolina have a friend even higher up the political chain in the form of Senator Faircloth, who is part owner of Coharie Farms, the 30th largest hog producer in the country. In Congress he is now ensconced as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Clean Water, Wetlands, Private Property and Nuclear Safety.

When challenged that his hog interests conflicted with his new post, Faircloth asked for an Ethics Committee ruling, and that wise body, taking into account that hog factories are poisoning North Carolina's waters, and that hog barons try to exempt their private property from all regulation, ruled that Faircloth had NO conflict of interest. Small wonder Packwood feels aggrieved at being singled out.

At least Faircloth cannot be charged with hypocrisy. In 1993, shortly after his election to the senate, he celebrated his arrival by inviting lobbyists to attend his swearing-in party at the Hyatt Regency Hotel — at \$1,000 per head.

More recently, Faircloth co-sponsored an amendment which will steer a new highway through Greensboro, N.C., instead of through Winston-Salem, as originally planned. Faircloth owns hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of stock in the Greensboro-based Jefferson-Pilot Corporation, which owns a big tract of undeveloped land near the route of the new highway. A shopping mall will spring up there if Faircloth's amendment is approved.

In 1992, Jefferson-Pilot and its executives contributed \$16,600 to Faircloth's senate campaign. A Faircloth aide, Harris Vaughn, told D.C.-based *Roll Call* that any link between Faircloth's investment in Jefferson-Pilot and his diversion of the highway route was "absolutely" coincidental. ■

Punch Bowl

The *Oregonian* newspaper published a special section on Bob Packwood's fall from grace the day after his resignation. The impression given was that its digging played a major role in the senator's downfall. The newspaper must have reckoned that most of its readers had forgotten *The Oregonian's* servile role down the years in covering up for Packwood.

In 1991, well before Packwood's tight re-election campaign against Rep. Les AuCoin the following year, an *Oregonian* reporter, Roberta Ulrich, held an interview with Packwood. After plying her with wine, the Oregon Senator lurched across the table, fondled her and kissed

***The Oregonian* must have reckoned that most of its readers had forgotten its servile role down the years covering up for Packwood.**

her on the lips. Ulrich told her editors, but the newspaper chose not to report the story.

This decision came despite the fact that just a few weeks before the Ulrich incident, Julie Williamson, a former Packwood aide, told *Oregonian* columnist Steve Duin that the senator had tried to rip off her clothes in the late 1960s. Duin did write a story about that attack, but Packwood was described simply as a "Northwest politician."

The following year *The Oregonian* endorsed Packwood in his senate race. The Packwood scandal was broken by *The Washington Post* — a few weeks after Packwood had won re-election.

Roots, Nineties-Style

CONGRESS PASSED A lobbying "reform" bill last summer, but Republicans succeeded in suspending disclosure requirements for "grassroots" lobbyists — who push legislation but don't personally meet with lawmakers — on the grounds that such restrictions would be a violation of free speech. Today almost all "grassroots" lobbying is done by busi-

ness, with practitioners employing phone banks, letter-writing campaigns and other activist tools on behalf of their corporate clients. Some \$790 million was spent on grassroots lobbying during the past two years, a jump of 70 percent.

In its second quarter of 1995 issue, *PR Watch* printed a report on a gathering of corporate "grassroots specialists" at a 1994 conference, "Shaping Public Opinion: If You Don't Do It, Somebody Else Will". PR executive Pamela Whitney said that her outfit could parachute into a community and within two weeks "have an organization set up and ready to go".

The key to success, said Whitney, is looking local. To that end, she hires local "ambassadors" — a woman who had been the head of the PTA was an ideal candidate. "It's important not to look like a Washington lobbyist. When I go to a zoning board meeting I wear absolutely no make-up, I comb my hair straight back in a ponytail, and I wear my kids' old clothes." A special added touch was the donning of a baseball cap.

Speaking to the same conference was John Davies of Davies Communications. His firm's literature claims that it "can make a strategically planned program look like a spontaneous explosion of community support".

Davies's firm is especially crafty in the letter writing business. He explained how his telemarketers produce "personal" letters from real folks: "We want to assist them with letter writing. We get them on the phone, and while we're on the phone we say, 'Will you write a letter?' 'Sure.' 'Do you have the time to write it?' 'Not really.' 'Could we write the letter for you? I could put you on the phone right now with someone who could help you write a letter. Just hold, we have a writer standing by.' [After another Davies employee takes down the letter] we hand-write it out on 'little kitty cat stationery' if it's an old lady. If it's a business we take it over to be photocopied on someone's letterhead. [We] use different stamps, different envelopes ... Getting a pile of personalized letters that have a different look to them is what you want to strive for."

(*Punch Bowl*, continued on p. 5)

Kissinger and Kent State

The CD-ROM version of *The Haldeman Diaries* — much longer than the book — contains revelations about Henry Kissinger's conduct while serving in the Nixon administration. Take the Kent State massacre of four students by National Guardsmen on May 4, 1970, days after the invasion of Cambodia.

Nixon himself is said to have almost suffered a nervous breakdown after the Kent State killings. He later wrote that the hours after the deaths were "among the darkest of my presidency". It was just a few days after Kent State that Nixon, accompanied by his valet, went to the Lincoln Memorial at 4:30 in the morning and sought to engage anti-war protestors in a discussion of college football.

Kissinger has claimed that he too was deeply upset by the events at Kent State, and by the anti-war movement in general. In his memoirs, he writes that "he had a special feeling [for students] ... [They] had been brought up by skeptics, relativists and psychiatrists; now they were rudderless in a world from which they demanded certainty without sacrifice. My generation had failed them by encouraging self-indulgence and neglecting to provide roots."

Kissinger held a series of meetings with student groups in the days after Kent State. According to an account in Seymour Hersh's *The Price of Power*, a former colleague of Kissinger's from Harvard, an academic dean, sat in on one of the meetings: "By the time Henry had finished with the students — he briefed them in the Situation Room — they were eating out of his hand. I was

equally taken; I really saw it as the beginning of a dialogue that Henry was going to have with American students. He told them, 'Give me six months. If you only knew what I'm staving off from the right' — a broad hint that he did not fully agree with the plans of Nixon. He sent away a very docile group of young people." (This line, that he was fighting off the right, was one Kissinger deftly used on eternally gullible liberal intelligentsia.)

But in private, while Nixon and virtually everyone else in his administration favored negotiations with the students — if only because they were frightened by the growing anger over the war in southeast Asia — Kissinger alone was urging a crackdown. Here is part of the May 6, 1970 entry in Haldeman's diary (P=President, K=Kissinger, E=Ehrlichman):

"[Nixon] agreed to plan of action: meet with university presidents tomorrow; press conference Friday night; call in all Governors Monday. Wants to hold off on appointing special commission about Kent State. Feels it may be a mistake so wait a little. Very aware of point that goal of the Left is to panic us, so we must not fall into their trap ... P realizes he's up against a real tough one. K wants to just let the students go for couple of weeks, then move in and clobber them. E wants to communicate, especially symbolically. All agreed to the plan, but K very concerned that we not appear to give in any way. Thinks P can really clobber them if we just wait for Cambodian success."

Footnote: The photographs on this

page of Henry Kissinger, seen pondering affairs at a trade conference in Brazil, originally appeared on the front-page of *Jornal do Brasil*, a major Rio de Janeiro daily, on November 13, 1992. They were taken by Adriana Lorete.

The discreet caption to the photos read:

"Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1973, the ex-all-powerful Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, said yesterday that Brazil will be able to enter the NAFTA agreement only in two to three years. At the invitation of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, he participated yesterday in a meeting on Latin America and the New World Order, at the Sheraton Hotel."

We have learned that Kissinger has been threatening to sue *Jornal do Brasil*. The newspaper received a letter from the former secretary of state's lawyer saying Kissinger would file a lawsuit for damages if *Jornal do Brasil* did not immediately cease and desist from selling the photos. To its credit, *Jornal do Brasil* refused to bow.

To our knowledge, the only previous buyer of the photos was the advertising agency of Woolward & Partners. It bought them to use in an ad for a photo scanner. Woolward & Partners also received a letter from Kissinger's lawyer demanding that it make no further use of the Nobel Peace Prize winner's image.

Here is a man who has been photographed eating lobster with Gen. Augusto Pinochet — another ethically disarranged figure who oversaw the murder of thousands of Chileans after taking power in a coup sponsored by Kissinger's ex-boss, Richard Nixon. Kissinger has mugged for the camera while nibbling duck with China's rulers. Yet it is only these images he seeks to keep under lock and key. ■

