

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. ■



(Punch Bowl, continued from p. 3)

That Dingy Dartmouth Dame

LAST FEBRUARY, James Atlas wrote a cover story for *The New York Times Magazine*, "The Counter Counterculture", which devoted considerable space to young conservatives like David Brock, Richard Brookhiser and Adam Bellow. Today's Beltway conservatives listen to 10,000 Maniacs and Smashing Pumpkins, and advertise themselves as "hip" to popular culture.

Also featured in Atlas's story was Laura Ingraham, a former editor of the *Dartmouth Review*. Like many of her colleagues at the *Review*, Ingraham's session at the newspaper was designed to catch the eye of right-wing patrons and win her a good job in Washington.

After working as an aide to the Reagan administration's Education Department, she served as Clarence Thomas's law clerk.

Ingraham now works at the Washington law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom. She also is a leading member of the Independent Women's Forum (IWF), a conservative group popular with the media whose members include Wendy Lee Gramm, Senator Phil Gramm's wife.

One of the IWF's top priorities is fighting affirmative action. As part of its campaign, Ingraham wrote a *New York Times* op-ed piece which argued that women no longer faced a "glass ceiling", and that "the idea that women are constantly thwarted by invisible barriers of sexism relegates them to permanent victim status".

Ingraham was featured on the cover of the *Times*'s magazine piece, wearing a leopard-skin miniskirt. Though not part of her customary attire, the *Times* implored her to wear the miniskirt in the interest of a story hyping the wild and crazy young right-wing.

Over drinks at Washington's Tabard Inn, Ingraham told Atlas about a trip she made in the mid-Eighties to El Salvador. Asked how she spent her time, Ingraham, with "a dry laugh", replied, "Subjugating third world nations". A Dartmouth professor who read the article recalled that the *Review* berated university teachers who traveled to El Salvador during the Eighties, and suggested that they stay at

the "Five Dead Nun Inn". Ho, ho.

James Atlas didn't mention a cruel trick pulled by the *Review* during Ingraham's years as editor, one of the most reprehensible in its history — and bear in mind that this is a newspaper which found it amusing to hold a lobster and champagne lunch on the same day that students had scheduled a series of events to combat hunger.

In May of 1984, a *Review* writer, Teresa Polenz, infiltrated a meeting of the newly founded Gay Students' Association (GSA). Polenz, masquerading as a gay student who was questioning her own sexual preferences, secretly taped the meeting. Ingraham and her colleagues published transcripts in the *Review* and sent them to the parents of GSA members.

A U.S. Naval research lab is trying to meld neurons and computer chips in studies that may produce an army of "zombies"

Accompanying the issue with this story was a "Letter from the Editor" from Ingraham, who called GSA members "cheerleaders for latent campus sodomites" who were "helping frightened gays shed heterosexual peer pressure and act in accordance with their urges". Ingraham also attacked Dartmouth administrators, saying that in supporting the GSA the university was guilty of "jumping on the pink bandwagon".

Kelly and the Zombies

IN THE LATE SPRING, Michael Kelly had a silly piece in *The New Yorker* in which he derided the far left and the far right for peddling paranoid fantasies about political power in the U.S. Kelly, whose point seemed to be that there's no difference between the KKK and Ralph Nader, claimed that both left and right were guilty of creating an Us/Them mentality.

"The Us are the American people and the Them are the people who control the people — an elite comprising the forces of the state, the money-political-legal class, and the producers of news and entertainment in the mass media. From this fundamental assumption, fusion paranoia builds to an array of related beliefs: that

the government elite tells lies as a matter of course; that it is controlled by people acting in concert against the common good and at the bidding of powerful interests working behind the scenes; and that it routinely commits acts of appalling treachery."

Yes, you'd have to be completely paranoid to believe anything like that. Kelly's the sort of journalist who'd still be denying that the U.S. military used human guinea pigs in radiation testing if it weren't for the fact that Hazel O'Leary called a press conference to announce it.

We have another story for Kelly to raise his eyebrows at. A U.S. Naval research lab is attempting to meld neurons and computer chips in studies that may produce an army of "zombies".

No, this isn't a story from the *National Inquirer*. It's a headline, almost verbatim, from a report earlier this year in *Defense News*, which was sent to us by a *CounterPunch* subscriber. The article said that "battles of the future could be waged with genetically engineered organisms, such as rodents, whose minds are controlled by computer chips engineered with living brain cells" (as opposed to the other bio-genetic trend, human soldiers fitted with pigs' organs).

Research on this promising development is underway at the Naval Research

Buchanan/Kaptur '96

Exhibiting sound judgment on the impatience of the voters with the sanctioned political spectrum, Pat Buchanan, running for the Republican presidential nomination, approached Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), one of the most liberal members of Congress, about becoming his vice presidential candidate. The offer was looked upon favorably by Ross Perot's United We Stand movement, from which Buchanan could receive a fair amount of support.

Kaptur and Buchanan both were leading critics of the NAFTA agreement, and generally espouse an economic populism which is not terribly popular on the op-ed pages and in opinion forming circles. But Kaptur — pro-choice, pro-gay rights and generally liberal on social issues — never seriously considered the offer. ■

Hollywood Zapatistas

Reports from Mexico say there are at least three Hollywood projects in the works inspired by the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas. According to *Proceso*, a Mexican news weekly, Subcomandante Marcos has already read and approved two of the scripts.

Oliver Stone, whose film "Nixon" will open later this year, is one of the directors considering a movie on the Zapatistas. As reported in *El Financiero*, Mexico's leading independent daily, Hollywood scriptwriter John Leone is drafting a script for Stone.

The story is said to revolve around a dissident American intelligence agent who enters Mexico — under journalistic cover — one day after the Chiapas revolt. Our enterprising hero interviews Marcos and, after entering a prohibited zone, discovers that the CIA is assisting the Mexican government in its effort to crush the Zapatistas. *El Financiero* compared the script to a Tom Clancy novel.

A few years ago, Stone was interviewed on Brazilian television by Bruna Lombardi, a model and actress who had an hour-long interview show on the Manchete network. The formal interview concluded and Lombardi began chatting with Stone. The director, unaware that the cameras were still rolling, exclaimed, "That was an exhausting interview. I hope you're not that exhausting in bed". ■

Laboratory (NRL) in Washington. The military claims that the purpose of its research is entirely benign, the creation of an electronic "canary" — the bird once used by coal miners to warn of toxic gases — which would serve as an early warning of the presence on the battlefield of biological and chemical poisons.

However, William Tolles, who retired earlier this year as associate director of research at the NRL, told a conference sponsored by the American Defense Preparedness Association that "once this technology is proved, you could control a living species." Lawrence Korb, who is now at Brookings Institution and previously was a Defense Department official

during the Reagan years, was quoted as saying that the new technology "could potentially be used on people to create zombie armies".

Other bizarre military research continues apace. Human Rights Watch recently reported that the U.S. is seeking to develop at least ten "tactical laser weapons that have the potential of blinding individuals ... The function of all these weapons, as described by the military, is to counter battlefield surveillance by disrupting optical and electro-optical devices — from binoculars to gunners' sights to infrared sensors. But it appears that all can also function as blinding antipersonnel weapons."

A prototype of one such weapon — the Saber 203, developed by the Air Force's Phillips Laboratory in Albuquerque, New Mexico — was deployed to Somalia by the Marine Corps in early 1995. Its experimental use was stopped, says Human Rights Watch, "at the eleventh hour" for what the military called "humane reasons".

Appropriate Behavior: Scratch My Back

IN SEEKING TO UNDERSTAND how Washington works, it's crucial to have an understanding of the appropriations process. Every year, Congress passes thirteen appropriations bills, which set funding for federal agencies.

Because the bills must be passed or the government shuts down (a temporary possibility this year), big contributors see the appropriations bills as exceptional targets of opportunity. By bribing members of Congress to quietly attach riders or amendments to such bills, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, "what could take months — or even years — of hearings, debate and negotiations can be accomplished in hours" with a carefully worded addition.

The Center has compiled a long list of riders and amendments approved by the House this year. The appropriations bills still must be debated by the Senate, but at least some of the egregious measures discussed below will almost surely get through.

Republicans attached seventeen riders to various appropriations bills, largely the Interior Department and the VA-HUD bills, which prevent the Environmental Protection Agency from en-

forcing laws on everything from clean water to clean air to pesticides. Mining companies, which contributed more than \$1 million to congressional candidates in 1993-94, induced their congressional allies to insert a rider stopping the EPA from adding new plants or animals to the endangered species list. Pesticide firms, which gave \$2.5 million to congressional candidates during the past few years, won themselves a rider which prevents the EPA from spending money to enforce the Delaney Clause, which prohibits cancer-causing additives in processed foods.

The best Congress money can buy also helped business groups by inserting riders or amendments which hacked away at workers rights. Riders to the Labor/Health and Human Services appropriations bill prevent the expenditure of funds to prohibit federal contracts with businesses that hire striker replacements and another which denies funding for the development of OSHA's ergonomics rule, intended to protect workers from repetitive stress injuries.

Leading the fight for the latter was (employee-owned) United Parcel Service, which only in July — when Congress was debating the Labor/HHS bill — unbuckled \$70,315 to House members. UPS this year has also held 55 "meet and greet" sessions at its townhouse in Washington, D.C. with members of Congress. The company's PAC spends about \$450 for food and drink for the affairs, and also gives the attending lawmaker a direct campaign contribution of \$4,550, this coming in just at the \$5,000 legal limit. Of 17 lawmakers on the House appropriations subcommittee who attended a "meet and greet," 16 voted with UPS high brass and against the workers on the ergonomics rider.

It's sometimes possible to trace an amendment or rider directly to the member of Congress who inserted it. Rep. Tom Delay, House Republican whip, put a rider into the Interior bill which says that "none of the funds ... [appropriated] may be used ... to impede or delay the issuance of a wetlands permit ... to the City of Lake Jackson, Texas, for the development of a public golf course west of Buffalo Camp Bayou between the Brazos River and Highway 332." This would allow Lake Jackson officials to build a golf course on land including 200 acres of wetlands crucial to migratory songbirds.

Riordan Roett Redux

WHEN LAST WE LEFT Riordan Roett, author of the Chase Bank memorandum urging the Mexican government to "eliminate" the Zapatistas in order to restore the confidence of Wall Street investors, he had become the martyred darling of the financial press. Several economics publications have argued that in firing Roett, Chase violated his right to free speech: the right, that is, to advocate that the Mexican army kill peasants in Chiapas.

Now, Roett has received a fresh measure of support from a more important quarter. Roett's old friend President Ernesto Zedillo, whom he has known for more than a decade, made him one of a dozen foreign guests (excluding diplomatic personnel) specially invited to attend his State of the Union speech in early September. Roett took advantage of his time in Mexico to meet with officials from the public and private sector, the better to help him gather ripe wisdom for the two mutual funds he advises on how best to plunder Mexico on behalf of their shareholders.

Others attending the speech at Zedillo's invitation were Dalal Baer, a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and advisor to the Bear, Stearns investment house; Susan Kaufman Purcell of David Rockefeller's Society of the Americas; and Jack Sweeney of the Heritage Foundation.

In his speech, Zedillo said that the austerity measures he introduced at the behest of Wall Street were beginning to show positive results.

This came as news to most Mexicans. *The Washington Post* reported on Sept. 7 that social conditions — especially crime — have worsened since the peso collapsed last December. In Mexico City, there has been a 100 percent increase in violent car thefts, a 30 percent increase in consumption and sales of narcotics, a 16 percent rise in gang-related crime. Forty percent of crimes have been committed by first time offenders.

The crime wave is likely to get worse. As the *Post* said, "Zedillo's options for combating social problems are limited ... because of tight restrictions placed on public spending by the International Monetary Fund and U.S. government, which have extended \$36 billion in emergency credits to Mexico." ■

Gingrich: The Tom Hayden of Tulane

NEWT Gingrich's hypocrisy when it comes to his promotion of "family values" has been covered in past issues of *CounterPunch*. Now it has come to our attention that in his college days at Tulane in the Sixties, Newt lived and espoused a McGovern-like philosophy which starkly contrasts with his current ideological posture. Tim Wise of New Orleans, a graduate of Gingrich's alma mater of Tulane, sent us this report:

Hardly anyone has asked what Newt Gingrich was doing in the Age of Aquarius, other than avoiding service in Vietnam by way of a student deferment, and composing a fairly tedious dissertation on Belgian educational policy in the Congo.

It turns out that Gingrich was an iconoclastic liberal, albeit a Republican, who served as a go-between for campus radicals at Tulane and that school's administration. Particularly liberal on social issues, Gingrich would regularly complain about how "corrupt and stupid the white, New Orleans, conservative elite were, and how the city was missing the boat culturally and economically, mainly because of the racism of the old-timers", according to Gingrich's long-time friend, David Kramer. Gingrich's own children were enrolled in Head Start at a local pre-school and Newt was a staunch supporter of efforts to bring the poor into the mainstream, particularly blacks.

Gingrich consorted openly with members of Students for a Democratic Society, and led a mass movement in favor of the campus paper's right to publish nude photographs. In this role, Gingrich led a 700-strong march to the home of the University president, protesting censorship by the administration. Tulane's chief was hung in effigy. Other Gingrich-led demonstrations included protests at the New Orleans offices of Merrill Lynch, a local bank, and a department store, all of which had executives who sat on the Tulane Board of Administrators.

According to a fellow grad student, Blake Touchstone, now an associate pro-

fessor of history at Tulane, Gingrich and two other graduate students "took over the campus protest movement when they saw the undergrads weren't doing such a great job". One of those in Gingrich's inner-circle was Eric Gordon, an SDS activist known around campus as "Eric the Red".

Kramer, now a professor at the Free University in Berlin, told the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, that Gingrich was the "spokesman for student rebellion". His photo fight concerned the right of a campus journal, *Sophia*, to publish photos of nude statues with enlarged genitals, together with photos of the sculptor himself, also in the buff. Many students opposed Newt's stance, and a number fired off vitriolic letters to the editor, slamming the "radicals" for expressing their disagreements through "angry protests".

A group co-founded by Gingrich, Mobilization of Responsible Tulane Stu-

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