

Kissinger Watch

issue #14 17 December, 2002

About This Issue

Dear readers,

In the last issue we called for the removal of Kissinger as chairman of the 911 enquiry commission. He anticipated this by resigning last Friday (article 1). He refused to divulge his business partners as requested by congressional democrats and families of the victims. In this issue we reproduce articles which shed some light on his consulting activities. One of the best-documented cases is his role as advisor to Freeport-McMoRan (article 2, 3). We have been reporting on the broader context of Kissinger's intricate relationship with Indonesia in previous issues: his complicity in the genocide against the population of East Timor. (see Kissinger Watch 1 and 7 in particular)

Less well known are his connections to the Italian bank Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL). BNL is alleged to have provided \$4 in loans to the government of Iraq between 1985 and 1990. According to a letter to President Bush Senior by then chairman of the House Banking Committee Henry Gonzales, Kissinger served on the International Advisory Board of BNL during that same time period and BNL was a client of Kissinger Associates (article 4). We have not been able to refute or verify the allegation made by Rep. Gonzales a decade ago. If you have knowledge of this affair and are able to shed some light on this, please get in touch.

On Friday December 6, 2002, the BBC-backed documentary „The Trials of Henry Kissinger“ opened in 120 (!)
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1. Kissinger resigns as chairman of inquiry into September 11 attacks

**Julian Borger in Washington
Saturday December 14, 2002
The Guardian**

Faced with a choice between his new appointment as the head of an inquiry investigating the September 11 attacks and keeping his business contacts secret, Henry Kissinger last night chose the path of discretion and resigned from the inquiry.

The resignation came just over two weeks after Mr Kissinger's appointment as chairman of the September 11 commission, a period that had been filled with controversy over the former secretary of state's business consultancy, Kissinger Associates, and suggestions that he might face a conflict of interests.

Mr Kissinger repeatedly refused to divulge his client list and on Thursday attempted to make a deal by which he would inform the White House, an independent arbiter and a group of victims' relatives of his business dealings but not make them public.

The White House defended Mr Kissinger's decision but congressional Democrats and some victims' relatives remained sceptical and had called on him to follow the normal rules of disclosure for members of official inquiries, which require panel members to name clients who paid them more than \$5,000 in the past two years.

“It is clear that, although specific potential conflicts can be resolved in this manner, the controversy would quickly move to the consulting firm I have built and own,” Mr Kissinger wrote in his resignation letter to President George Bush, saying that the time it took to wind up Kissinger Associates would delay the start of the inquiry. It was unclear whether he had been asked to close his business.

“I have, therefore, concluded that I cannot accept the responsibility you proposed,” Mr Kissinger wrote.

The president issued a statement in response, expressing regret.

“His chairmanship would have provided the insights and analysis the government needs to understand the methods of our enemies and the nature of the threats we face,” the statement said.

Mr Bush promised to choose a new panel chairman to “uncover every detail and learn every lesson of September

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US cities (article 5). We recommend everybody to see this enlightening film.

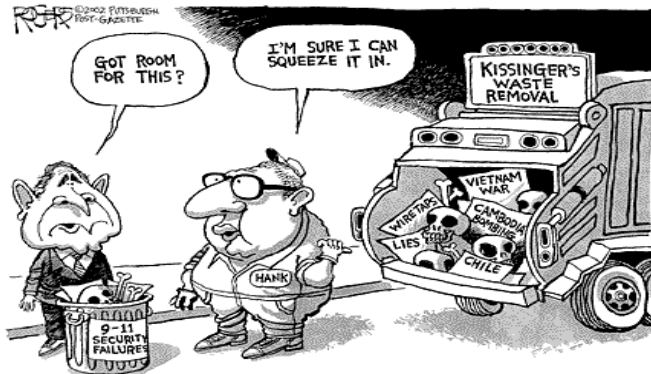
Finally, we installed a search engine on our website (www.icaonline.org) so that individual articles (for example on Kissinger and Indonesia) can be found more easily. We are slowly developing an elaborate data base on Kissinger's crimes. There are about 80 articles, extensive extracts of various books as well as a legal assessment on the website which provide a comprehensive overview of Kissinger's machinations.

Thanks for your readership,

Michael Schmitt
The International Campaign against Impunity
michael@icaonline.org

John M. Miller
East Timor Action Network
fbp@igc.org

Gérman Westphal
Instituto Cono Sur
westphal@umbc.edu



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Kissinger Watch

www.icaonline.org/kissingerwatch
a joint project of:

East-Timor Action Network
(www.etan.org)

International Campaign against Impunity
(www.icaonline.org)

Instituto Cono Sur
(<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/politicaconosur/>)

Kissinger resigns — continued from page 1

11, even as we act on what we have learned so far to better protect and defend America”.

So far the president is finding it hard to find volunteers willing to give up their day jobs. His nominee for the inquiry's deputy chairman, the former senator George Mitchell, stepped down on Wednesday, saying that he could not afford to resign from his legal practice.

The idea behind the inquiry was to examine the nation's readiness for a terrorist attack on September 11, amid evidence that the CIA and FBI had missed signs that it was being planned.

There have been allegations that the role played by the Saudi Arabian government has not been fully investigated, in part because of close ties between the Republican establishment and Saudi business circles.

Mr Kissinger's critics wanted him to reveal names of corporations that his consultancy advised to check if any had business dealings with Saudi Arabia or elsewhere in the Middle East.

He had said that he would sever relationships with any clients implicated in the investigation, that he had no Saudi Arabian clients and did not represent any Middle Eastern governments.

The appointment came as a surprise in Europe, where Mr Kissinger is widely seen as tainted for his role in the Vietnam war, the secret bombing of Cambodia and the overthrow of the Chilean president Salvador Allende and his replacement with General Augusto Pinochet.

In the US, however, he retains the image of a popular elder statesman.

The resignations of Mr Kissinger and Senator Mitchell left the September 11 commission in disarray last night.

Many of the families of victims were pressing for the appointment of a former Republican senator, Warren Rudman, who co-authored a report in early 2001 warning of the dangers of a terrorist attack on the US homeland.

2. The Mining Menace of Freeport-McMoRan by Pratap Chatterjee, *The Multinational Monitor* (April 1996)

KOPERAPOKA, New Guinea — On Friday, March 8, 1996, a vehicle belonging to mining company Freeport McMoRan knocked down William Kogoya, a Dani person from Waa, near the company's giant mine site in Indonesian-controlled Irian Jaya, the western half of the island of New Guinea.

Freeport says that Kogoya was hurt in an accident, but other sources claim that they heard Kogoya was beaten and tossed into a creek where he was later found by a Freeport expatriate worker.

Rumors spread rapidly that Kogoya had died, stirring unrest among the local people. Two of his relatives — Guarimo and Binut — were reportedly

denied access to the hospital.

Two days later, local residents heard more reports of rough treatment at the hands of Freeport staff. "We heard that a woman and her son, from the village of Banti, were pushed out of a shopping center in the mine site on Sunday by Freeport security officials," says a local human rights activist, who asked not to be named.

"They were very scared and they tried to run. One of them fell and was bleeding in the head. They returned to Banti, which is about five minutes drive from [Freeport company town] Tembagapura to tell other villagers."

The early March events ignited long-smoldering embers of resentment among indigenous people in the area surrounding the Freeport mine. "A crowd of men, women and children who were really mad marched to Tembagapura at about noon to confront the Freeport security," says the activist, who estimates that there were approximately 3,000 protesters.

"They were armed with bows, arrows, sticks and stones and they attacked the security office. The violence continued on Monday morning when they attacked offices, schools and the shopping center breaking windows, throwing out files and computers and damaging cars."

"We fight against [Freeport Chief Executive Officer] Jim Bob Moffett, Freeport and the government," says a statement issued by the protesters. "We fight because our rights are not recognized, our resources are extracted and destroyed while our lives are taken," it reads.

Freeport closed down its mine for most of the week as the violence spread to Jayapura, the capital of Irian Jaya, when army officials refused to allow local people to see the body of a freedom fighter who died mysteriously in prison in Jakarta. Five people were killed in the riots before the army restored calm.

"Due to vandalism and sporadic violence in Timika, Freeport shut down operations for a few days. Operations resumed on Thursday, March 14 at about 4 p.m. and returned to normal levels about four hours later, says Kristin Lamkau, a Freeport spokesperson at the company's New Orleans headquarters.

Lamkau confirms that some windows and testing equipment were damaged at the company environmental laboratory, but denied that any other damage had occurred.

The newspaper The Australian estimates that Freeport lost \$9 million in production and that \$2 million worth of damage was inflicted on company property.

The day the mine was re-opened, Moffett, accompanied by heavy security, met with local leaders and promised to develop a plan of action to solve local grievances. The plan, together with an independent environmental audit, is to be made public in April.

Wasting the waters

Local grievances are rife in the area around Freeport's mine, probably the world's most controversial. Allegations of major environmental damage and human rights abuses have provoked investigations and protests in the United States and riots on the island itself.

Freeport McMoran has shaved off more than 120 meters of the 4,884 meter-high Puncuk Jaya Mountain — the highest peak between the Himalayas and the Andes, lying approximately 90 kilometers to north of Koperapoka — to extract copper and gold.

Vast quantities of ore-bearing rock from the world's largest gold mine and third-largest copper mine are ferried by an aerial tramway to a mill, where the ore is crushed and mixed with water and other additives to allow the metals to float to the surface. The concentrated

slurry is then piped 112 kilometers away to the coastal town of Amamepare, where ships carry the precious cargo for further processing in Spain and Japan. Further refining yields some \$7.2 million worth of metals every day.

The remaining waste from this operation — more than 110,000 tonnes a day — is dumped into the rivers that course down the mountain into the swamps below, where the indigenous Komoro peoples have lived in the village of Koperapoka for centuries. The name of the village is ironic because it is a Dutch bastardization of two Komoro words which mean "the place of the palm tree."

Environmentalists say that the palm trees were killed by the waste from the Freeport mine. And the Komoro say

Kissinger's Dream (December, 2001)

by Stephen Kobasa

(for F.P.)

***This is the past I never visit.
The loop of screams
flickering behind the
blind lens in an
empty theatre.
My excellent lies.
Enough.
I am rarely angry.***

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that that this is not the only impact of the waste. This January, Agnes Amai died in a small two-room shanty house in Koperapoka. Her brothers say that abscesses developed on her face and armpits a day or two before she collapsed.

"It happened just after she collected some food at Payefe where the contamination from the Freeport's copper and gold mine is very heavy," claims Amatus Amai, her brother.

Freeport vehemently refutes this account. "The reports of 'mystery diseases' have been investigated by our medical experts, by government medical experts and by journalists such as yourself," wrote Edward Pressman, spokesperson for Freeport Indonesia's head office in Jakarta in a faxed statement.

"In each authoritative investigation, there has been no evidence that anything Freeport is doing in carrying out its mining operations has anything to do with real or perceived health problems."

Pressman says in addition to providing free medical care to those in need, Freeport conducts "comprehensive monitoring programs that constantly analyze water quality." The results are "conclusive ... the tailings [mining waste] are not toxic and pose absolutely no health threat to the local population whatsoever."

Amai disagrees. "Many people have stomach aches, skin rashes and they often cough up blood. Freeport set up a clinic for us a year ago but sometimes — as in the case of my sister — there is no time to go there. She died a day after complaining of problems," he says.

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The Komoro say the mine has changed their lives in many ways. For centuries they have lived off "eraka" and "amena" — the local words for fish and sago palm.

"Today it is hard to find the yuaro, lifao, mufao, irao and ufurao — the traditional fish that we used to catch," says Agapitus Maerimau, another Komoro person who lives in Nawaripi, a small community of 160 people, some eight kilometers away.

Maerimau and his family, who used to live in Koperapoka, moved here 14 years ago when Freeport built them new houses to replace their own which were sinking as a result of the mining operations. "The fish that we find tastes bitter, like malaria medicine. The only fish that thrives is the mujahir, a fish from Java. The sago tastes like sand," he says.

"We have to walk 20 kilometers from here to find food. The fish we have to buy in the Timika markets where it costs 2,000 rupiah (90 cents) for five small fish. But we have no jobs to get money," he adds.

The Komoro peoples are not the only ones to complain about the mining activity. Also angry are the Amung peoples (also known as the Amungme, the name for a male Amung) who live in the 17 valleys of the highlands, where

Schooling Freeport

The reports of environmental damage and human rights abuse at Freeport's mine in Irian Jaya have struck a chord in the United States.

Students at Loyola University in New Orleans and the University of Texas in Austin, both of which receive hundreds of thousands of dollars in grants from Freeport, have held demonstrations to protest the company.

Following the OPIC decision in November, Loyola students and faculty demonstrated outside Freeport Chief Executive Officer Jim Bob Moffett's New Orleans mansion. They were joined by Catholic peace activists from Pax Christi.

The protest was organized by John Clark, a philosophy professor. Clark also works with an environmental group called the Delta Greens, which has protested the dumping of radioactive gypsum waste into the Mississippi river from Freeport's phosphate processing plants in New Orleans. Freeport is the worst polluting company in the United States, based on the quantity of pollutants discharged into the land, air and water, according to U.S. Environmental Protection Agency records.

Freeport is also a major sponsor of the University of Texas Geology Department, from which Moffett graduated in 1961. The company gives the department \$1 million a year to send students to study the mine site in Irian Jaya.

Freeport has also given over \$2 million to the university for a new molecular biology building. In return, the university proposed to name the building after Moffett and his wife, although the faculty voted to name it after Barbara Jordan, a civil rights activist who recently died.

In November, a group called Students for Earth Awareness (SEA) held a 37-hour sit-in at the main university building to protest the university's connections to Freeport. Steven Feld, a professor of ethnomusicology, quit his job in protest against Freeport.

"We have 3,200 signatures from students calling for Moffett's name to be dropped. Considering that 4,100 students voted in the last election, we think that's pretty impressive," Hannah Gould of SEA says.

— P. C.

Freeport's mine is located.

The Amungme depend on "erom," "mow" and "baw-eh" (sweet potato, taro and pig) for their food. Today, say the Amung, the leaves of these vegetables and the skin of the pigs show strange discoloration.

"We call this 'aspal' because it looks black like the color of the asphalt on the road," says Tom Beanal, who works for

Lemasa, a non-governmental organization set up by the Amung. "We don't have any word for this in our language because we never saw anything like this before," he adds.

Freeport insists all of these charges are baseless. "The allegations of serious health problems resulting from the tailings, lodged by whomever you spoke with, are utterly false," says Pressman.

"Regarding the knowledge of aquatic life, while the local people may possess superior knowledge of local wildlife, our diversity surveys (show that) the Ajkwa river is very similar to other river systems tested in the number of aquatic species present and the abundance of those species," he adds.

The Study and Information Centre for Papuan Peoples (PaVo) in Delft, the Netherlands, says that there is no concrete evidence one way or another on whether Freeport's operations are toxic.

This is because there have been no independent tests for environmental quality, says PaVo. Freeport itself only began testing water quality a few years ago.

But based on Freeport's reports of its mining activities, PaVo estimates that 20 to 40 kilometers of the Ajkwa river here will be hazardous to fish and humans for about 15 years. PaVo also projects that a 35-square-kilometer area in the floodplains will be poisoned over some 35 years, while a 100-square-kilometer area of the estuary and delta will be contaminated for the same period.

Environmental experts — both at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and at Freeport's laboratories — agree that minute concentrations of waste metals can be toxic.

"One part per million of dissolved copper can present a significant health threat to humans and animals [but] the copper concentration in the Ajkwa river has been shown to be roughly 0.007 parts per million," says Pressman.

Controversy comes home

The complaints of the indigenous people have won support in faraway Washington D.C. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) — a political risk insurance agency owned by the U.S. government — withdrew a five-year-old, \$100 million insurance policy for the mine last November.

By way of explanation, Robert O'Sullivan, a lawyer for OPIC, cited environmental problems associated with "acid mine drainage, ... toxic metals ... and the mismanagement of solid and hazardous wastes at the site," in a letter to Freeport.

Freeport immediately brought in the heavy hitters. Days before the decision, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger called the State Department to stop the cancellation, according to the Los Angeles Times. The newspaper reported that Kissinger and his consulting firm received \$600,000 from Freeport in 1994.

Indonesian president Suharto also made a personal appeal to U.S. President Bill Clinton, when they met at the White House, to no avail. James Woolsey, a former Central
Kissinger Watch.....

Intelligence Agency chief, is now representing Freeport in arbitration proceedings regarding the OPIC cutoff.

Concerned about news reports concerning Freeport's operations, the World Bank, which has sold a \$50 million insurance policy to the New Guinea mine, recently asked its staff to conduct an internal investigation into the matter. Freeport was more than cooperative. This February, Jim Bob Moffett, Freeport's chief executive, flew to Washington to offer Bank officials a free trip to the mine site in his personal 747 jet.

Bank officials have not taken up the offer to date, but other financial analysts have been happy to do so. In November, 21 representatives of major investment companies — 15 from the United States, three from England, two from Canada and one from France — were taken to the mine site in Indonesia and to Spain to visit the processing plant.

"I think the OPIC letter is a crock. I looked at the river and I looked at other rivers nearby and they looked just the same to me. I think Freeport is one of the most environmentally responsible companies in the world," says Chuck Bradford, a mining analyst at Union Bank of Switzerland in New York.

"Mind you, I'm not an environmental expert, but I've seen a lot of other mines around the world. I think that OPIC pulled out because of reports of human rights abuses. But we were told that they happened 90 kilometers away," he adds.

Corporate rights or human rights

These abuses, blamed on Indonesian army officials guarding the mine, took place over a variety of occasions and have been documented from eyewitness accounts by H.F.M. Munninghof, the Catholic bishop of Jayapura, the capital of Irian Jaya. The report was translated and published by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) last August.

According to the bishop's report, on Christmas day 1994, people from three churches in the villages of Arwanop, Banti and Waa gathered near the mine site to pray after a major peaceful demonstration protesting the mine.

After the religious ceremony, a group of 15 people left to go to the Freeport company town of Tembagapura but were arrested on the way by a group of soldiers who accused them of being thugs.

One of the 15, who requested anonymity, says that the group were beaten and locked into a Freeport "container" at eight o'clock in the morning on Christmas day.

"The 15 of us were beaten with sticks and rifle butts and were kicked with boots by the troops ... until about noon. They stripped us stark naked and took our belongings such as beads and money," says the member of the group.

The group was released from the container and escorted by soldiers on to a Freeport bus which was on its way to Timika.

One of the group — Wendi Tabuni, a 23-year-old man from Timika — "tried to jump out of the window but one soldier quickly jumped up and stabbed him in the belly with

his bayonet ... [but he] still jumped out of the window and ran away," says the group member who requested anonymity.

"The bus stopped at once and a number of soldiers jumped down and without warning shot Wendi in the head. The soldiers took his body and threw it in a ravine," he adds.

The other 14 were taken to the Freeport workshop in Koperapoka at about two o'clock in the afternoon where "we were beaten and tortured one by one by the soldiers."

Three people — Yoel Kogoya, aged 27, Peregamus Waker, aged 28, and Elias Jikwa, aged 28, — "were tortured by being beaten with sticks on the neck from behind, left, right and from the front, till their necks were broken and they died," says the member of the group.

The following day, Yunus Omabak, a 33-year-old Amung tribal chief from Waa, says he was summoned to a military post in Tembagapura together with three other elders from his tribe, to report on the religious service.

Omabak says he was put on a Freeport bus and taken to a Freeport "security cell." There the soldiers accused them of raising an Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free Papua Movement) flag at the Christmas day protest and supplying the rebels with rice and cigarettes.

"They hit me over the head with a big stone till blood streamed over my body. They put an iron bar in the hollow of my knees and forced me to squat and lean against a chest for hours. I was screaming in pain," he says.

"Meanwhile my friend Octo was stabbed with a bayonet in his left shoulder and armpit till he screamed out loudly. His hands were put on the cement and stamped on with boots and hit with gun butts. I thought he was dead," says Omabak.

Freeport representatives say that none of their officials were involved in the incident. They refused to comment on the allegations of torture by the Indonesian military.

"Freeport operates under its host government laws and respects the jurisdiction of the military, which is responsible for the safety and security of its people," says Greg Probst, a Freeport spokesperson.

Some 37 people were killed in such abuses in 1994 and 1995 — no real surprise to local people who have watched thousands of people die at the hands of army officials in the past decades. But placing documentation of these incidents into the hands of the priests appears to have paid off. Since August, no further deaths stemming from army activities have been reported, and this February army courts sentenced four officers for their role in the massacre.

<http://www.etan.org/news/kissinger/themine.htm>

3. Walhi protests Kissinger's Freeport statement

March 1, 2000

JAKARTA (IO) - A leading environmental group yesterday slammed former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger for urging Indonesia not to review business deals with giant copper and mining company PT Freeport Indonesia.

Kissinger Watch

The Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi) said the statement was a form of "intimidation" against the Indonesian government considering that Freeport Indonesia was accused of pollution in Irian Jaya, where the company is based.

"We, Walhi, strongly protest against Kissinger's statement because it sounds like intimidation. We think his statement is unethical, bullying and ignores the democratization process now underway in the country," said a statement signed by Walhi leader Emmy Hafild.

Kissinger is a member of the board of directors Freeport's parent company, Freeport McMoRan Copper and Gold Inc.

Hafild said it was improper for a former minister of a country that upholds democracy and human rights to act like that. "It is unfair of Henry Kissinger to ask Gus Dur to respect a work contract that was signed by [former president] Soeharto," she said.

She accused Kissinger of making use of his power as a former foreign minister to pressure the Indonesian president.

Kissinger on Monday with President Abdurrahman Wahid, better known as Gus Dur, who then appointed him as his political advisor.

The former US secretary of state said Indonesia should respect working contracts it signed with Freeport, otherwise no foreign investor would come to Indonesia.

In response, Gus Dur said the government would not make any change to the mining contracts, but told Freeport to provide special care for people in Irian Jaya.

Walhi's statement said environment groups around the world have been fighting for years to overcome environmental problems caused by Freeport's activities.

The Amungme tribe in Irian Jaya where Freeport operates, struggled for years to assert their rights and make their voice heard. Their voice and rights had long been ignored by Soeharto, she said.

Now when the Amungme people's struggle was beginning to draw the attention of parliament, Henry Kissinger had come to cite unethical reasons to protect the company which was making profits at the expense of the environmental interests of the locals, she said.

Walhi urged the government and the House of Representatives (DPR) to go ahead with their plans to evaluate and assess Freeport's performance and work contracts.

The government and the House should not be influenced by Kissinger's pressure, said the group.

Walhi said PT Freeport's working contracts were made by Soeharto when the situation was undemocratic with House members merely acting as rubber stamps and people living in fear. The contract was also made in a business atmosphere that did not respect the people's aspirations and the democratic mechanism to make decisions, said Hafild.

She said the Indonesian government, the people and the House were at present just embarking on building a system based on democratic principles, and Kissinger has to respect that. If he really represents the US, which always

puts democracy above financial considerations, he should adjust the company's contract, she added.

Hafild said Freeport's work contract "is not legitimate in the eyes of the Indonesian people because it was made by Soeharto during a transitional period from the Old Order to the New Order and under a wrong system and mechanism".

The contract was also made without the involvement of local people and when Papua was still not a part of Indonesia, she said.

4. Letter to President from Rep. Gonzalez on BNL

**COMMITTEE ON BANKING, FINANCE AND URBAN AFFAIRS
Washington, DC, May 2, 1991.**

Hon. GEORGE BUSH,
President of the United States,
Washington, DC

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

The House Banking Committee is conducting an investigation into over \$4 billion in unreported loans the former employees of the Atlanta branch of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL) provided to the government of Iraq between 1985 and 1990. The Committee's investigation has uncovered the fact that Henry Kissinger was on the International Advisory Board of BNL during that same time period and that BNL was a client of Kissinger Associates.

As you are aware, Mr. Brent Scowcroft and Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger were high ranking officials of Kissinger Associates -- Mr. Scowcroft as Vice Chairman and Mr. Eagleburger as President. Kissinger Associates represents many large multinational companies involved in various aspects of international trade, including the arms business. Since these firms sell their wares worldwide, they often are the beneficiaries of U.S. policy towards foreign countries. I am deeply concerned over the potential influence Mr. Kissinger may exert over the decisions and actions of Mr. Scowcroft and Mr. Eagleburger, and am especially troubled by a potential conflict of interest involving Mr. Scowcroft.

The National Security Advisor is in a position to strongly influence our national security and foreign policies, including the U.S. export licensing process. These policies often have a direct influence on individual corporations doing business abroad. Until October 4, 1990, Mr. Scowcroft owned stock in approximately 40 U.S. corporations. many of which were doing busines in Iraq. Those companies received more than one out of every eight U.S. export licenses for exports to Iraq. Several of the companies were also clients of Kissinger Associates while Mr. Scowcroft was Vice Chairman of that firm.

Mr. Scowcroft's stock holding, particularly in corporations that are clients of Kissinger Associates, present the Kissinger Watch.....

potential for serious conflicts of interest and cause one to question whether or not his decisions as National Security Advisor are completely disassociated from the interests of his former boss and longtime colleague.

Mr. Eagleburger, the current Deputy Secretary of State, as well as Mr. Scowcroft, may also be involved in a conflict of interest related to their role in promoting military sales abroad. The Legal Times recently reported that Mr. Eagleburger and Mr. Scowcroft (a lifelong Air Force Officer) are strong advocates of using \$1 billion in Export-Import Bank resources to finance the sale of U.S. military articles overseas. The Legal Times also reported that Mr. Eagleburger actually sent a classified memorandum to all U.S. Embassies urging that U.S. defense firms be given more help selling weapons abroad. Many corporations, including Mr. Eagleburger's past employer, the ITT Corporation, stand to benefit if the U.S. foreign service is forced to take a greater role in selling U.S. military articles abroad. For your information, I have attached a copy of the Legal Times article referring to Mr. Eagleburger's and Mr. Scowcroft's roles in expanding military sales abroad. I am concerned that their attempts to use the foreign service and the Export-Import Bank to assist corporations in financing military sales abroad may have been prejudiced by their past associations.

Mr. Scowcroft's and Mr. Eagleburger's actions seem out of step at a time when the U.S. should be leading a worldwide effort to limit arms proliferation. The positions held by these men are of the utmost importance to the national security of the United States. Persons filling such important positions must be independent from past associations which could cloud their judgement.

I trust you will consider the issues I have raised in this letter and, if necessary, take appropriate action to ensure that potential conflicts are eliminated.

Thank you for your time and consideration. With best wishes.

Sincerely,
HENRY B. GONZALEZ
Chairman

**5. Oh, Henry
Boston Globe
By Loren King, Globe Correspondent, 12/8/
2002**

As Kissinger begins a 9/11 job, Eugene Jarecki's documentary takes him on as a war criminal

Thanksgiving week was a busy one for filmmakers Eugene Jarecki and Alex Gibney. Bill Moyers called. WBUR's "The Connection" called. During this time their well-received but hardly blockbuster documentary, "The Trials of Henry Kissinger," transformed from simply controversial to buzzworthy.

When President Bush announced Nov. 27 that Kissinger will lead an investigation into security lapses before the Sept. 11 attacks, "The Trials of Henry Kissinger"

suddenly seemed prescient. Until the surprise announcement, the filmmakers say, despite solid reviews for the BBC-backed film, which opened in Boston on Friday, the mainstream media had largely refused to cover the documentary as a news story. This despite its biting assertions, backed by recently declassified documents, that the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize winner is - in the words of British journalist Christopher Hitchens, on whose 2001 book the film is based - a war criminal.

"The past always haunts present," says Gibney, an Emmy Award-winning documentary writer and producer who has made films for HBO and PBS's "Frontline." "Bush chose someone to lead a fact-finding committee who has dedicated his life to secrecy and to subterfuge."

Jarecki, the film's director, has worked for the BBC and "60 Minutes" and last year directed his first feature, "The Opponent," which will be released in 2003.

"The Kissinger appointment is a smug slap in the face to the victims of 9/11," Jarecki says. "It's like putting Al Capone in charge of the IRS," he says. "I'd like to ask Dr. Kissinger: Even if you don't believe that you committed [war crimes], you know that there are millions who believe you deceived the public and deceived Congress. A black cloud hovers over you. How could you bring that baggage into the sacred space of family grief?"

Strong words, but "Trials of Henry Kissinger" is strong stuff. So much so, in fact, that no American film or broadcast outlet wanted to finance the project.

Despite being shunned by US producers, "The Trials of Henry Kissinger" premiered in New York in June as part of the annual Human Rights Watch International Film Festival and each screening quickly sold out. "People were scalping tickets outside the theater. It was like Yankee Stadium," Gibney says. "It gave us the idea that the film could be released theatrically."

Indeed, First Run Features bought the rights to the film, and in October, it opened at New York's Film Forum, where it is still playing. It opened Friday in 120 US cities, and it will air on the Sundance Channel in March. Jarecki just returned from Amsterdam, where the film earned an award from Amnesty International, an honor that he says represents "a vote of no confidence on the appointment of Dr. Kissinger" to head the Sept. 11 committee.

Taking from Hitchens's book, "The Trial of Henry Kissinger," the film mounts a case that Richard Nixon's national security adviser orchestrated secret bombings in Vietnam and Cambodia and facilitated the 1973 CIA-led coup in Chile that led to the death of President Salvador Allende and the rise of dictator Augusto Pinochet.

The film asserts that in masterminding the coup, Kissinger arranged for the kidnapping of Rene Schneider, chief of the Chilean General Staff, an attempt that ended in Schneider's murder. To date, five countries have summoned Kissinger for questioning in connection with the Pinochet war crimes trial in London.

The film presents disturbing evidence that Nixon and Kissinger Watch

Kissinger ordered secret bombings in Cambodia, an event, the film charges, that led to the Khmer Rouge's killing fields. It also exposes Kissinger's role, as secretary of state under Gerald Ford, in the sale of US weapons to President Suharto of Indonesia, weapons that Kissinger apparently understood would be used to massacre civilians in East Timor.

The film offers an A-list of commentators who worked closely with Kissinger or who covered his ascension from academic to international diplomat and improbable media darling: American journalist Seymour Hersh; British journalist William Shawcross, who wrote "Sideshow," an account of the American bombing of Cambodia; Roger Morris, who worked under Kissinger at the National Security Council; and Kissinger biographer Walter Isaacson. Kissinger declined to be interviewed. But in his defense, the film offers New York Times columnist William Safire and former general Alexander Haig.

For Jarecki, whose father fled Nazi Germany in 1939 and whose maternal grandparents escaped czarist Russia, the Kissinger film served as his coming of age. "I grew up in the '70s, when Kissinger was seen by many as the model statesman and, for Jews in particular, as an immigrant success story," he says.

The film explores Kissinger's boyhood in Germany and his family's flight from the Nazis in an attempt to personalize his career. "My father took the path of a mistrust of power and the belief that a centralized government leads to tyranny," says Jarecki. "Kissinger took the path that power was a sport, an art form, a way to ensure his survival."

Jarecki, who studied stage direction at Princeton and New York University and became a filmmaker when his short, "Season of the Lifterbees," won a host of film festival awards, finds it puzzling that even he, an educated American, had only cursory information about the international condemnation of Kissinger's roles in two administrations. It was just last year, when the French government summoned Kissinger for questioning in the Pinochet trial, that Jarecki became "curious," he says, and began to read accounts of Kissinger's covert actions by Hersh, Shawcross, Isaacson, and, finally, Hitchens's blistering brief. He also read the former secretary of state's memoirs.

"They hardly deal with these charges," Jarecki says. "His sources are hidden in the Library of Congress with instructions that they be sealed until five years after his death. There is no respect for the truth. Our goal with the film was to bring these events into the present, into the court of public opinion, and let people judge for themselves."

The Pinochet trial and a lawsuit filed against Kissinger by Schneider's family had already made "The Trials of Henry Kissinger" relevant to contemporary audiences, the filmmakers contend. But the Bush appointment turns up the glare on a film concerned with government secrecy, deception, and power lust.

“In the Nixon White House, abuse of power was excused because we were fighting communism. Now, Bush is echoing the Nixon era by claiming that a war on terrorism is an excuse to keep policies in the shadows,” says Gibney.

Jarecki says he promised his mother that his next project would be a “feel-good movie.” But that won’t happen just yet. The making of “The Trials of Henry Kissinger” and the renewed interest in Kissinger has

pushed Jarecki away from fiction for now. “My heart is in documentary at the moment,” he says. “This is a time for truth.”

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