

Kissinger Watch

issue #3 April 10, 2002

About This Issue

Dear readers,

Initially we planned to publish KissingerWatch only several times per year, but with ever more subscriptions, ever more articles concerning Kissinger's crimes appearing and more public and legal actions being instigated, we feel compelled to share this information with you more often. We can't guarantee that we will be able to keep up such a high pace, but we shall do our best to inform you on developments in the "Kissinger Case".

In this issue you will find articles on Kissinger's role in the Angola conflict, the Coup d'Etat in Chile and Operation Condor as well as the most recent protests against his public appearances. The remarkably critical New York Times articles on Angola and Chile – which were reprinted in the International Herald Tribune - might be an indication of a paradigm shift. A few months ago Kissinger had to admit to NY Times journalists that parts of his memoirs did not correlate with newly declassified US-government documents and so confirmed that he had misled, if not lied!!! Let's hope and work for more articles like this in the mainstream media.

We would also like to draw your attention to the very first KissingerWatch Radio Interview, with KALX Berkeley,
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1.a) U.S. lied about Cuban role in Angola

Reuters, April 1, 2002

By Anthony Boadle

Washington - The United States and South Africa intervened in Angola months before Cuban troops arrived in 1975, and not afterward as Washington claimed, according to a historian who recently wrote a book on the subject. Piero Gleijeses, a professor at Johns Hopkins' School of International Studies, said that President Gerald Ford's administration lied about Cuban military presence to justify its covert operations against Marxist guerrillas. Angola was a Portuguese colony until 1975.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger denied then and in his memoirs later that the U.S. government knew that South African troops invaded Angola posing as mercenaries in 1975, he said. He also required the Central Intelligence Agency to rewrite a document on Angola to show an earlier Cuban presence than was accurate, Gleijeses said in an interview.

"Kissinger had the CIA rewrite its report to serve the political aim of the administration, and so the poor CIA ended up lying," he said, speaking tongue-in-cheek.

Declassified CIA papers for August through October of 1975 talk of the presence of only a few Cubans in Angola trying to pass themselves off as tourists, the historian said.

The first academic to gain access to archives in Havana, Gleijeses has put together a almost day-to-day account of the arrival of Cuban troops in Angola.

With the departure of the Portuguese in 1975, Angola had a power vacuum that the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, or MPLA, and conservative UNITA sought to take advantage of. The fighting that marked the struggle for independence became a civil war.

A CIA-funded covert operation was launched from Zaire in July, at the same time as a South African operation from the south backed the UNITA rebel group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by led by Jonas Savimbi, who died this year.

But by October 1975, the groups with U.S. and South

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California (90.7) FM's "Amandla" program. The first of two interviews will be given by John Miller (East Timor Action Network) next Sunday (April 14) between 5:30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. The second interview with Michael Schmitt (International Campaign against Impunity) is likely to be broadcast on Sunday April 21 at the same time. (If you can arrange other interviews have producers and reporters get in touch with us.)

Protests will take place on the day of Kissinger's visit to London on April 24. Prior to the visit, a public mock trial is planned for the 15th April featuring Vietnamese, Chilean, East Timorese and British peace and human rights activists. For more information, consult <http://www.resist.org.uk/diary/kissinger.html>.

Additionally, on a rather sad note: we have received a few emails with anti-Semitic content. As human rights activists we denounce any form of racism, anti-Semitism and sexism and reject any conspiracy theory which maintains that our world is ruled by an alternative and Jewish world government.

Last but not least, we are pleased to announce that one month after the launch of KissingerWatch, more than 460 people have subscribed and we have welcomed about the same number of visitors PER DAY to our website (a total of more than 16000 hits). In March more than 100 visits were made from US government & US military computers. We welcome our readers from the US Administration!

Thank you again for your readership,

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Kissinger Watch

www.icai-online.org/kissingerwatch

a joint project of:

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

International Campaign against Impunity
(www.icai-online.org)

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

Angola—continued from page 1

African support were losing the war and white-ruled South Africa sent in regular troops.

Cuban President Fidel Castro decided on Nov. 4, 1975, to send soldiers to Angola but did so without informing Moscow, which two months later halfheartedly provided Aeroflot IL-62 planes for an airlift.

The arrival of 30,000 Cubans tilted the civil war in favor of the MPLA which had controlled the capital of Luanda, Gleijeses said, and the South Africans withdrew in March 1976. The war stretched on for another 25 years, with the latest cease-fire deal signed just last weekend.

SOUTH AFRICAN LINK DENIED

"The key element of the covert operation was cooperation with South Africa, and that was totally denied," Gleijeses said. "Kissinger went to the extreme of saying he only learned a couple of weeks later that South Africa had invaded."

In his book "Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington and Africa 1959-1976," based on U.S. documents and archival research in Cuba and Angola, Gleijeses maintains that Cuba dispatched troops as a result of the South African invasion.

He argues that Kissinger's account of the U.S. role in Angola was misleading, both in testimony to Congress in 1976 and more recently in the third volume of his memoirs "Years of Renewal."

The historian interviewed the then CIA station chief in Luanda, Robert Hultslander who, speaking on the record for the first time, criticized U.S. policy in Angola as "shortsighted and flawed." The former CIA agent told Gleijeses that he was unaware at the time that "the U.S. would eventually beg South Africa to directly intervene to pull its chestnuts out of the fire."

CHINA'S DENG HELD OFF

Gleijeses also argues that Kissinger misled Americans by saying that an attempt to gain China's help in Angola was thwarted by the refusal of the U.S. Congress to approve funding for the covert operation. In his memoirs, Kissinger recounts a meeting he and Ford had on Dec. 2, 1975, in Beijing with Chairman Mao Tse-tung in which Angola was discussed and Mao suggested China was willing to cooperate. Gleijeses said Kissinger failed to mention a meeting held the following day with Deng Xiaoping in which, according to a White House memorandum, the Chinese president refused to help in Angola while South Africa was involved.

"The reason why China held back was not Congress'

refusal to vote additional aid. It was because the South Africans were there," he said, adding that Mao was very ill by then and Deng was in charge of decisions of state.

"Kissinger ignores the other document which contradicts what he wants to say, and that is very dishonest," Gleijeses said.

The documents can be found at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB67/>

1. b) Old files contradict U.S. account of war

Howard W. French, The New York Times (source: International Herald Tribune) Tuesday, April 2, 2002

In the summer of 1975, with the Cold War raging and the memory of Saigon's fall terribly fresh, the United States sponsored a covert operation to prevent another communist takeover, this time across the world, in Angola.

The effort failed to keep a Marxist government from taking power but ushered in a long and chaotic civil war, involving U.S., Chinese and Russian interests, and Cuban and South African soldiers.

Now, coinciding with the death in February of Washington's longtime rebel ally in Angola, Jonas Savimbi, a trove of recently declassified U.S. documents seems to overturn conventional explanations of the war's origins.

Historians and former diplomats who have studied the documents say they show conclusively that the United States intervened in Angola weeks before the arrival of any Cubans, not afterward, as Washington claimed. Moreover, though a connection between Washington and South Africa, which was then ruled by a white government under the apartheid policy, was strongly denied at the time, the documents appear to demonstrate their broad collaboration.

"When the United States decided to launch the covert intervention, in June and July, not only were there no Cubans in Angola, but the U.S. government and the CIA were not even thinking about any Cuban presence in Angola," said Piero Gleijeses, a history professor at Johns Hopkins University, who used the Freedom of Information Act to uncover the documents. Similarly, cables of the time have now been published by the National Security Archive, a private research group.

"If you look at the CIA reports which were done at the time, the Cubans were totally out of the picture," Gleijeses said. But in reports presented to the Senate in December 1975, "what you find is really nothing less than the rewriting of history." Cuba eventually poured 50,000 troops into Angola in support of a Marxist independence group, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. The group held the Kissinger Watch.....

capital in the months just before independence from Portugal, declared in August 1975.

But Gleijeses' research shows that the Cuban intervention came in response to a CIA-financed covert invasion via neighboring Zaire, now known as Congo, and South Africa's simultaneous drive on the capital, using troops who posed as Western mercenaries.

The Marxist party quickly defeated the United States' first ally in the war, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, based in Zaire. Then, in a decisive but little known battle at the village of Ebo in November 1975, 1,300 Cuban troops battled a much larger South African column, halting its advance.

The United States gradually switched its support to Savimbi's movement, UNITA, and continued to support it intermittently during nearly two decades of devastating warfare.

Gleijeses' research documents significant coordination between the United States and South Africa, from joint training missions to airlifts, and bluntly contradicts the official congressional testimony of the era, as well as the memoirs of Henry Kissinger, the former secretary of state.

The work draws heavily on White House, State Department and National Security Council memorandums, as well as extensive interviews and archival research in Cuba, Angola, Germany and elsewhere. It was carried out in preparation of Gleijeses' recently published history of the conflict, "Conflicting Missions, Havana, Washington and Africa, 1959-1976" (Chapel Hill).

"The book does seem to have nailed Henry quite specifically on this question," said Thomas Hughes, a former director of intelligence for the State Department during that period. The book, Hughes said, "is an impressive account; a sad story that seems to be written almost out of a feeling that it might be lost.

"It is an amazing story of Cuban resourcefulness and persistence."

But in the end, Hughes said, the Cubans' commitment meant little. "Angola, where they won, has been a disaster for 30 years; so you can hardly speak of a triumph." The book strongly challenges common perceptions of Cuban behavior in Africa. In the 1960s and 1970s, when Havana and Washington clashed repeatedly in central and southern Africa, Cuban troops in the continent were typically seen as Soviet foot soldiers.

In fact, Gleijeses writes, Cuba intervened in Angola without seeking Soviet permission and persisted in the face of balking support from Moscow. Eager not to derail an easing of

tension with Washington, the Soviets limited themselves to providing 10 charter flights to transport Cubans to Angola in January 1976. The next year, Havana and Moscow supported opposite sides in an attempted coup in Angola, in which the Marxist government, Cuba's ally, prevailed.

After reviewing Gleijeses' work, several former senior U.S. diplomats who were involved in making Angola policy broadly endorsed its conclusions.

"Considering that things came to a head over covert action in the U.S. government in mid-July, there is no reason to believe we were responding to Cuban involvement in Angola," said Nathaniel Davis, who resigned as Kissinger's assistant secretary of state for African affairs in July 1975 over the Angola intervention. He is now a humanities professor at Harvey Mudd College in Claremont, California.

Davis said he could find no fault with Gleijeses' scholarship. Asked why the story of America responding to Cuban intervention in Angola had persisted for so long, he said: "Life is funny. What catches on in terms of public debate is hard to predict." The United States denied collaboration with South Africa during the Angolan war, but it was quickly discovered by China, an erstwhile American ally against the Marxists in Angola, and was suspected and deeply resented by Washington's main African partners.

In a White House meeting Dec. 3, 1975, Kissinger repeatedly urged the Chinese to resume training of anti-government forces in Angola, but they demurred, citing U.S. collaboration with South Africa. "Please understand this with regard to African countries, even the small ones," said the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping. "They are extremely sensitive on matters involving national pride."

2. a) For Chilean Coup, Kissinger Is Numbered Among the Hunted

March 28, 2002 , New York Times
By LARRY ROHTER

SANTIAGO, Chile - With a trial of Gen. Augusto Pinochet increasingly unlikely here, victims of the Chilean military's 17-year dictatorship are now pressing legal actions in both Chilean and American courts against Henry A. Kissinger and other Nixon administration officials who supported plots to overthrow Salvador Allende Gossens, the Socialist president, in the early 1970's.

In perhaps the most prominent of the cases, an investigating judge here has formally asked Mr. Kissinger, a former national security adviser and secretary of state, and Nathaniel Davis, the American ambassador to Chile at the time, to respond to questions about the killing of an American citizen, Charles Horman, after the deadly military coup that brought General Pinochet to power on Sept. 11, 1973.
Kissinger Watch

General Pinochet, now 85, ruled Chile until 1990. He was arrested in London in 1998 on a Spanish warrant charging him with human rights violations. After 16 months in custody, General Pinochet was released by Britain because of his declining health. Although he was arrested in Santiago in 2000, he was ruled mentally incompetent to stand trial.

The death of Mr. Horman, a filmmaker and journalist, was the subject of the 1982 movie "Missing." A civil suit that his widow, Joyce Horman, filed in the United States was withdrawn after she could not obtain access to relevant American government documents. But the initiation of legal action here against General Pinochet and the declassification of some American documents led her to file a new suit here 15 months ago.

Last fall, after gaining approval from Chile's Supreme Court, Judge Juan Guzmán, who is also handling the Pinochet case, submitted 17 questions in the Horman case to American authorities. An American Embassy official here confirmed that the document, known as a letter rogatory, has been received in Washington, but said it has not yet been answered and that he did not know if or when there would be a response.

"We're pressing the case in Chile because this is the first opportunity we have had to see if there is still some real evidence there," Mrs. Horman said by telephone from New York. "But the letters rogatory seem to be in a paralysed state."

William Rogers, Mr. Kissinger's lawyer, said in a letter that because the investigations in Chile and elsewhere related to Mr. Kissinger "in his capacity as secretary of state," the Department of State should respond to the issues that have been raised. He added that Mr. Kissinger is willing to "contribute what he can from his memory of those distant events," but did not say how or where that would occur.

Relatives of Gen. René Schneider, commander of the Chilean Armed Forces when he was assassinated in Oct. 1970 by other military officers, have taken a different approach than Mrs. Horman. Alleging summary execution, assault and civil rights violations, they filed a \$3 million civil suit in Washington last fall against Mr. Kissinger, Richard M. Helms, the former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and other Nixon-era officials who, according to declassified United States documents, were involved in plotting a military coup to keep Mr. Allende from power.

In his books, Mr. Kissinger has acknowledged that he initially followed Mr. Nixon's orders in Sept. 1970 to organize a coup, but he also says that he ordered the effort shut down a month later. The government documents, however, indicate that the C.I.A. continued to encourage a coup here and also provided money to military officers who

had been jailed for General Schneider's death.

"My father was neither for or against Allende, but a constitutionalist who believed that the winner of the election should take office," René Schneider Jr. said. "That made him an obstacle to Mr. Kissinger and the Nixon government, and so they conspired with generals here to carry out the attack on my father and to plot a coup attempt."

In another action, human rights lawyers here have filed a criminal complaint against Mr. Kissinger and other American officials, accusing them of helping organize the covert regional program of political repression called Operation Condor. As part of that plan, right-wing military dictatorships in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay coordinated efforts throughout the 1970's to kidnap and kill hundreds of their exiled political opponents.

Argentina has also begun an investigation into American support for and involvement in Operation Condor. A judge there, Rodolfo Cancioba Corral, has said he regards Mr. Kissinger as a potential "defendant or suspect." But lawyers say it is virtually impossible for a foreign court to compel former American officials to answer a summons.

During a visit by Mr. Kissinger to France last year, for instance, a judge there sent police officers to his Paris hotel to serve him with a request to answer questions about American involvement in the Chilean coup, in which French citizens also disappeared. But Mr. Kissinger refused to respond to the subpoena, referred the matter to the State Department, and flew on to Italy.

"I think it is clear that Kissinger is now one of many, many officials who have to think twice before they travel," said Bruce Broomhall, director of the international justice program at the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. "It will be surprising to many that an American secretary of state is among that group, but times have certainly changed" as a result of the Pinochet case, he said.

The uproar appears to have forced Mr. Kissinger to cancel a trip to Brazil. He was scheduled to make a speech and receive a government medal in São Paulo on March 13, but withdrew after leftist groups there said they would demonstrate against him and also called on judges and prosecutors to detain him for questioning about Operation Condor.

A spokeswoman for Kissinger Associates in New York attributed the change of plans to a "scheduling conflict." But the organizer of the event, Rabbi Henry Sobel of the Congregação Israelita Paulista, said "the situation had become politically uncomfortable" both for Mr. Kissinger and local Jewish community leaders who had invited him.

"I spoke with him many times on the telephone and made it very clear to him what was happening behind the scenes, and he was very sensitive to that," Rabbi Sobel said in a telephone interview. "This was a way to avoid any problems or embarrassment for him and for us."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/28/international/americas/28KISS.html?ex=1018320208&ei=1&en=f0e729ac9fe722db>

2. b) Letter to the editor of NYTimes (not-published) / ICAI

Your article "For Chilean Coup, Kissinger Is Numbered Among the Hunted" (March 28 2002) provides important insight into Henry Kissinger's role in the deliberate and unlawful destabilisation of the democratically elected Allende government as well as his involvement in Operation Condor. Indeed, declassified Government documents prove his responsibility for the murder of General Schneider in Chile as well as his approval of the repressive tactics of the military junta in Argentina.

Latin America is only one of the continents where Henry Kissinger is accused of having endorsed or committed violations of international law of the gravest nature. Declassified documents released last December proved that Kissinger and then-president Ford gave the green light to Suharto's genocidal occupation of East Timor and continuously supplied weapons in violation of U.S. law. Moreover, there is increasing evidence that Henry Kissinger bears direct responsibility for war crimes and crimes against humanity in Indochina. He himself admits to having directed the secret bombings of Cambodia, which led to the death of several hundred thousand civilians (Serious estimates reveal a startling figure: up to 600,000 Cambodians might have lost their lives directly as a result of the carpet bombings). Legal experts maintain that the U.S. bombings of Laos and Cambodia violate Customary International Law and that Kissinger can and should be held accountable under theories of command responsibility.

Henry Kissinger is still at large. However, encouraged by the Pinochet Precedent and the trial of Slobodan Milosevic, the international movement to bring Kissinger to justice is rapidly gaining momentum: It is time that the West confronts its own criminals; it cannot remain blind to their crimes.

Michael Schmitt, Brussels
Coordinator of the International Campaign against Impunity and editor of KissingerWatch

3. Campaign and Protests at College of William and Mary

Last February, Henry Kissinger was installed as Chancellor of The College of William & Mary. This decision was made by the politically appointed Board of Visitors with no input from the students, faculty, or alumni of the college. We have organized a student campaign to educate the community about Kissinger's crimes, work for change on campus, and let Mr. Kissinger know that he is not welcome by all here at W&M. In the past year, we have organized three well attended teach-ins, created and distributed educational materials, and created an information based website, www.kissinger.20m.com. Please visit our site, and send an e-mail to William & Mary's president Tim Sullivan at tjs@wm.edu to let him know what you think about our College endorsing Henry Kissinger.
Jason Maxfield (notmychancellor@yahoo.com)

3. a) Kissinger visits College / Flat Hat

Student Newspaper of the College of William and Mary
Vol. 93, No. 15 April 5, 2002
By Mary Claire Whitaker
Flat Hat Staff Writer

Chancellor of the College and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visited campus Wednesday for a series of forums with students and faculty. The forums were attended by college community members who saw the event as a unique opportunity for both educational inquiry and critical questioning.

Kissinger spoke to government professor Clay Clemens' two U.S. Foreign Policy classes. During another meeting, Kissinger spoke with Board of Visitors members Donald Patten and Robert Roberson and a group of presidents' aides. Another session, moderated by Dean of International Affairs Mitchell Reiss was held with selected graduates and undergraduates studying International Relations. Finally, Kissinger spoke with a group of about 70 law students.

Prior to the event, Clemens informed his students that they were "free to ask anything," and he "encouraged them to ask about the past, the present and the future." Of the approximately 60 students present, only six were able to vocalize their questions during the 50-minute time period they were given with Kissinger, because of the length of the Chancellor's responses. Students asked the Chancellor to respond on current policy issues regarding Israel and China, the recently released Nixon tapes, as well as his past dealings with Chile, Cambodia and Vietnam.

"At the beginning I was a little bit concerned because people didn't seem to be asking tough questions that held [Kissinger] accountable," junior Elizabeth Tregaskis said, "but then people asked him about Chile, the Nixon tapes

and Cambodia, which gave him an opportunity to respond to these issues in an academic manner."

Junior Tini Dinh raised a question about the secret bombings reportedly to have taken place over Laos and Cambodia during the Vietnam War under Kissinger's supervision.

"In his career he made a lot of decisions that affected a lot of people - civilians, nations and third-world regimes ... I thought it was important to bring up a question about his career because he was so influential in policymaking during a really tumultuous time," Dinh said. "It was a really neat opportunity to ask him and to get his perspective."

Junior Emily Lindenberg said that while she had gone into the discussion expecting more questions to be asked and that Kissinger's responses were "extensive for the time allotted." But, according to Lindenberg, this quantity did not sacrifice quality of response.

"He was very receptive to all of the questions; he was very honest and very thorough in his responses," Lindenberg said. The Chancellor commented on the difficulty of a job such as the one he held as Secretary of State. "[Kissinger] made it very clear that policymakers have to make tough decisions," junior Brian Knight said, "But they have to be done for the good of the country."

According to some of those who listened to him speak, Kissinger's remarks were very predictable to any who were familiar with previous comments he has made, and did not say much to change the way his listeners felt towards him.

"[Kissinger] was just as diplomatic as he always is and just as long-winded," Tregaski said. "He gave the answers that everyone expected and left the same questions that people always had, the same differences in opinion as before."

The first three sessions took place in Blow Hall, outside of which a crowd of about a dozen police officers and a dozen protesters stood at the time of the Chancellor's arrival.

"[The protesters want] to let people know we're not happy because students and faculty were under-represented in the Board of Visitor's decision [to install Kissinger as Chancellor]," Julie Griffiths, '01 said, "and that we're unhappy about the choice they made."

The protesters were handing out, among other information, a recent New York Times article about legal action against Kissinger and a bibliography of Kissinger criticism. According to senior Peter Maybarduk, the group was later joined by more students, as well as philosophy professor Mark Fowler and anthropology professor D.J. Hatfield.

"This is a university, obviously we have room for dissent,"

Director of University Relations Bill Walker said. "I think that students expressed their opinions in appropriate ways."

The William and Mary News was the only media group allowed into the question-and-answer sessions. According to Walker, this was because University Relations had "a prior agreement ... to really give the Chancellor a chance to meet with the students and answer questions without external influence."

<http://flathat.wm.edu/April052002/newsstory9.shtml>

3. b) Kissinger Draws Small Campus Protest / Washington Post

Thursday, April 4, 2002; Page B03

VIRGINIA

Former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger was greeted by a few protesters yesterday as he visited the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg for the first time since he was installed as chancellor more than a year ago.

About 20 campus police officers surrounded the entrance to Blow Hall, where Kissinger met privately with government students. About 10 students stood behind a roped area and chanted "not our chancellor" as Kissinger got out of the back seat of his car and was hurried into the basement entrance. A few students banged pots, and others handed out leaflets accusing Kissinger of prolonging the Vietnam War and orchestrating bombings in Cambodia and Laos.

A few other students heckled the protesters with comments such as "get a life" and "hug a tree." Government students listened for about an hour as Kissinger answered questions about past and current foreign affairs.