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human rights in general terms and human rights in a world context. I will refer in two paragraphs to the report on Chile of the OAS Human Rights Commission. I will say that the human rights issue has impaired relations between the U.S. and Chile. This is partly the result of Congressional actions. I will add that I hope you will shortly remove those obstacles.”

He told Pinochet, “I will also call attention to the Cuba report and to the hypocrisy of some who call attention to human rights as a means of intervening in governments.”

Kissinger suggested to Pinochet that his statements on Chile were calibrated to avoid greater damage to the country. “I can do no less without producing a reaction in the U.S. which would lead to legislative restrictions,” he said. “The speech is not aimed at Chile. . . . We have a practical problem we have to take into account, without bringing about pressures incompatible with your dignity, and at the same time which does not lead to U.S. laws which will undermine our relationship.”

Kissinger explained: “My statement and our position are designed to allow us to say to the Congress that we are talking to the Chilean government and therefore Congress need not act.” He emphasized the point: “My statement is not offensive to Chile. Ninety-five percent of what I say is applicable to all the governments of the

Hemisphere. It includes things your own people have said.”

As if Pinochet could have had any doubt, Kissinger said, “We welcomed the overthrow of the Communist-inclined government here.” By overthrowing Allende, you have done a great service to the West, Kissinger told him. “We are not out to weaken your position.”

**T**he memorandum also reveals that Pinochet twice complained about Orlando Letelier, Allende’s former foreign minister, who was assassinated by Pinochet’s forces in Washington, D.C., on September 21, 1976, three months after the Kissinger-Pinochet meeting.

Kissinger knew that Pinochet had set up an infamous international terrorist network, Operation Condor, to assassinate his enemies. In 1974, when the CIA discovered that Chile and its allies wanted to set up a covert office in Miami as part of Operation Condor, Kissinger rejected his own State Department officials’ advice to publicly protest the plan.

That would have been a warning to prospective victims who had sought safety in exile, but Kissinger opted instead to let the CIA quietly pass on the word to Chile’s secret police, the Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA), and the office wasn’t opened.

But Operation Condor continued to tar-

‘In the United States, as you know, we are sympathetic with what you are trying to do here,’ Kissinger told Pinochet. ‘I think that the previous government was headed toward communism. We wish your government well.’

get and murder Pinochet’s enemies. In September 1974, agents assassinated General Carlos Prats, Pinochet’s constitutionalist predecessor who had been forced out and had fled to Buenos Aires. The following September, Operation Condor organized the Rome attack that disabled Christian Democratic oppositionist Bernardo Leighton and his wife. Then in September 1976, the operation returned to the United States with a vengeance, planting the car bomb that killed Letelier and his Institute for Policy Studies colleague Ronni Moffitt in Washington.

George Landau, the U.S. ambassador in Paraguay, had warned the CIA that two Chilean agents had been trying to get visas to the United States in Asunción under false names, but the CIA never warned Letelier, a prime target for Pinochet, nor did it act through its agents at other U.S. consulates to block the agents’ travel. The U.S. consulate in Santiago issued the killers visas to the United States.

Manuel Contreras, head of Pinochet’s secret police, who is serving seven years in prison in Chile for his role in the murders, declared in December 1997 that he was following Pinochet’s orders.

Pinochet had no reason to believe the bombing would cause problems for him. After all, he had just had a warm private meeting with Henry Kissinger.

At that meeting, Pinochet said: “We are