Henry Kissinger kept his word. Scarcely a week had passed since he underwent an angioplasty, but there he was, almost exactly on time for his lunch appointment.

He engaged in a bit of schmoozing at a couple of banquets with people like Sanford Weill, the Citigroup chairman. Then the former secretary of state sat down at the table that was once the preserve of another legendary figure, the late Philip Johnson, the architect who'd designed the restaurant more than four decades ago.

"I'm sorry that I let you down a couple of times," Mr. Kissinger said to the reporter, referring to canceled appointments last week. In view of his heart situation, those cancellations hardly warranted an apology. But his words seemed to be entirely in character for the 82-year-old statesman. The Nobel Peace Prize and scores of other high honors and encomiums notwithstanding, Mr. Kissinger - at least to those like the reporter who had followed his academic and public-service career for 35 years - has been remarkably plainspoken and intellectually accessible.

And so the reporter was emboldened to ask a delicate question: How did Mr. Kissinger cope with all the
relentless personal attacks against him, jeremiads directed not only at his record as national security adviser to Presidents Nixon and Ford, and as vicar of American foreign policy, but also the subsequent - and flourishing - period as an adviser on international relations and investments to corporations, and as the author of best-selling memoirs?

"I don't want to pretend that I don't notice this criticism," Mr. Kissinger said. "Of course I notice it. But the virulence of some of these attacks is such that if one answers it, then one exhausts oneself in a guerilla war with an implacable group. So I would rely on the historical record to take care of it."

That historical record, fashioned by a lifelong Republican who was a protege of Nelson Rockefeller, has been extraordinary by any rational measure - which is perhaps why it has invited attacks from ideologues of the left, for the most part, who often equated his pragmatism with cynicism.

Consider this: Mr. Kissinger's secret diplomacy opened the way for re-establishing political ties between America and China in the early 1970s while Mao Zedong - who famously referred to Americans as the "running dogs of capitalism" - was still alive. His interaction with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho - with whom he shared the 1973 Nobel Prize - led to eventual peace in Indochina.

His ideas on detente led to triangular American-Chinese-Soviet diplomacy and the drawing of the erstwhile Soviet Union into the web of international affairs, according to Professor Dennis Kavanaugh of the University of Liverpool.

And Mr. Kissinger's celebrated "shuttle diplomacy" between Israel and various Arab countries after the 1973 Yom Kippur War contributed significantly to developing an incremental approach toward the peace process in the Middle East and three agreements - two between Israel and Egypt, and one with Syria that is still in force.

Wasn't he tempted to respond in kind to his critics?

"I never attack any person, nor have I replied to any of these attacks," Mr. Kissinger said. "I think perhaps once I replied to something that was carried in the New York Review of Books. Basically, I've always tried to raise the debate above the level of personalities."

Wasn't he distressed by the rancor of public debate in America today?

"I don't want to put anything in terms of the day-to-day issues," Mr. Kissinger said. "I think we're watching a change in humankind. The generation that learned by reading had a certain conceptual approach - and they would fight more ideological battles. The generation that has been brought up by the Internet has a more visual approach, and therefore the temptation to go emotional grows stronger and stronger."

"I think the Vietnam War was a sort of dividing line," Mr. Kissinger continued. "When I started in government 35 years ago, one had many opponents. But there was a bedrock of people who were quite well informed at the outset of many of the aspects of the issues. But it's much less today. People take positions before they've studied the issues. Their views on issues reinforce set positions rather than the other way around."

For Mr. Kissinger, the notion that careful study of issues must precede any pronouncements on them has always been an article of faith. It dates back to his time when, after obtaining his Ph.D. from Harvard, he taught government there.

His book "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy," published in 1957, made the case that America's survival
and victory depended not only on its military and economic strength but also on its capacity to fight aggression in all forms. That argument - and the book in which it was developed - burnished Mr. Kissinger's reputation as a rising star among the nation's political scientists.

During the lunch, he recalled that time of promise.

"When I was a graduate student and a young professor at Harvard, we used to have faculty seminars with scientists and political scientists and others to discuss the implications of the nuclear age," Mr. Kissinger said. "Most of them were Democrats, but the emphasis was national, not partisan. And it was never personal. Every point of view was welcomed."

But as the 1960s and 1970s evolved, he said, America's intellectual community split into two groups: "Job applicants - people who wanted government jobs- and revolutionaries, who denied that anything valid could be done unless the system was changed or destroyed.

"It was really about access to power," Mr. Kissinger said. "It was no longer about access to ideas. The nature of the intellectual community has changed. If more and more see themselves as advocates rather than as generators and debaters of ideas, then it's a different society."

"What the government needs from the intellectual world is a five-year perspective, but the job applicants, like government officials, focus only a two-year perspective," he said. "And what the revolutionaries do is to attack the premise that motivates the system. So there's a gap now in our country."

And how should this gap be addressed, the reporter asked?

The question elicited a reflection from Mr. Kissinger about the very meaning of America, where he came in 1938 as a refugee from Nazi Germany; where he attended high school in Manhattan's Washington Heights at night while working during the day at a shaving brush factory; and where he was drafted in 1943 into the 84th Infantry Division and from there onto the 970th Counter Intelligence Corps.

"One lesson I drew during my time in the military was that it was important to make a difference in life," Mr. Kissinger said. "Before that, I just wanted to be an accountant and make money. I knew after the military that I would be in public service someday - although I had no idea at the time what that public service would be."

"One respect in which somebody with my background is different from the mainstream is that those of us who are refugees, and who have lived abroad, find it hard to accept challenges to the American Dream itself," Mr. Kissinger said. "We've lived in societies with a long history. We know that history moves more slowly than American ideology, but we also know that there are very few societies with the freedoms and liberties and tolerance that America offers. We know what America meant to us when we were young. And so all these accusations of imperialist America - we don't like that attitude. It's almost painful to us. We like to believe there are solutions to our social and political problems."

And what about critics of America? How does he relate to their positions?

"Student critics of America don't bother me - that's the face of youth," Mr. Kissinger said. But it's those who seek "an upheaval in America's institutions and commitments" that disturb him.

"In any case, I don't debate with them," Mr. Kissinger said.
"I think that America, with all its faults and shortcomings, is still the hope of the world," he said. "First of all, in day-to-day living, no country can offer a better life for its people. No other society is so charitable, and its people so generous in human contacts. And no other society facilitates human contact like we do in the family that is America."

So does it puzzle him that Americans frequently seem flummoxed by what's happening in the world out there, the very international arena that Mr. Kissinger has studied closely for seven decades?

"Most Americans don't know much about other lifestyles around the world," he said. "Most Americans think that most foreigners are aspirant Americans, that they would all like to come and live here. Most Americans want to be left alone by the rest of the world."

Given such a scenario, then, the reporter asked, does it surprise him that there's so much dislike for America around the world?

"It's painful to observe," Mr. Kissinger said. "But it's also true that so many of these societies, when they get into a real crisis, turn to us. What has undoubtedly occurred in many countries, especially European countries, is that there's been a coalescence of protest movements of the 1960s with the arrival of governments who are themselves sympathetic to these movements."

His assertion created an opening for another question. Wasn't the current American effort to promote public diplomacy intended to placate countries that begrudged America's social and political objectives?

"I'm not the best person to ask that," Mr. Kissinger said. "In my period, I had no formal public diplomacy."

Rather, he said, his approach was to give the media "a running commentary on my thinking" so that the objectives and purposes of American foreign policy could be better disseminated to the wider public and the media could understand individual decisions when the need for them arose.

"If you have to sell every policy in retail, then you're on an impossible ground," Mr. Kissinger said. "That's because the public may not always understand the context of those policies."

Tomorrow, part two: How Mr. Kissinger sees America's challenges in the emerging world order.
By PRANAY GUPTA

Henry Kissinger kept his word. Having a weak hand makes him look uncertain at an interview, but he was very crisp and exact in the answers to our questions.

He engaged in a bit of extrapolating at the beginning of our interview, a polite formality, the kind of thing people do to fill the silence of the air. It was obvious that he was not comfortable with the idea of being asked to talk about public policy. That would mean talking about the 82-year-old statesman.

“Tly sorry that I let you down a couple of times,” he told me. “I wanted to keep my commitment to keep the secret of our conversations with you. But I don’t want to keep anything secret that’s not important.”

Mr. Kissinger copes with the idea of being asked to talk about public policy by advising on international relations and international economic relations, and the author of two-selling memoirs?

He doesn’t want to go into politics. “I told you I wouldn’t do it.”

And Mr. Kissinger’s celebrated “shut up and listen” diplomacy intended to placate various countries and deal with the world’s problems has been historically successful, but has also been attacked by some observers. The fact that he was still so dominant in the world’s affairs, in the face of the Vietnam War, the Cold War, and the current political climate, is a matter of debate.

But it’s that very success that makes the issues seem more urgent. Mr. Kissinger’s reputation as a rising power and a statesman can be used to advantage or disadvantage. It can be used to advantage in America’s foreign policy, but also the subsequence of the American people, who are not well informed at the source of any serious policy issues.

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Mr. Kissinger has studied closely for seven years in the New York Review of Books. Basic Americans, that they would all like to come to the intellectual community, and the American people will all like to come to the intellectual community.

I didn’t want to get into this, but in the long run, you have to do what’s right for the world. I don’t want to pretend that I don’t have a lot on the road, but I want to do what’s right for the world. I don’t want to pretend that I don’t have a lot on the road, but I want to do what’s right for the world.

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Kissinger Says Intellectuals Have Evolved From Debating Ideas to Partisan Advocacy

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**Business & Finance**

**STOCKS WITH VERBENAE: QUEST REJECTS RAISE TO RED IV**

MS. LEE writes to Verenae: Quest seekers to reject raise to Red IV.

**THE NEW YORK SUN THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 2005 PAGE 13**

**BUSINESS DESK**

**FOREIGN EDITIONS**

In the rest of the world couldn't overcome a 13% drop in America as Asian au-

**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1602]**

**THE NEW YORK SUN THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 2005 PAGE 13**

**INTRO**

**GM TO INVEST $20 BILLION TO BUILD HUMMERS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

General Motor Corporation, which sold about half its annual sales in South America, will invest $10 billion over the next five years to produce a Hummer sport-utility vehicle in Africa, the first time the brand will be built outside of North America.

**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1415]**

**BUSINESS DESK**

**SEC May Act Against Morgan Stanley For Failure To Retain E-Mails**

By RICHARD BILDENGROSS

Morgan Stanley, facing 17 million Class action suits and challenges to Chief Executive Philip Purcell’s leadership, may also face a sec-

**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1358]**

**BUSINESS DESK**

**Regulator: Worker Forced To Sign Unfair Terms In Sexual Bias Suit**

By DAVID GLOVIN

The government-chartered company, with about 65% of its assets in the United States, a key -ingredient of sup-

**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1281]**

**BUSINESS DESK**

**NFL WorldStore To Open In Rockefeller Center**

Debut Scheduled For Late Spring

By RODRIGUE BOYCE

Video-game icon Super Mario and Donkey Kong are to join their counterparts in New York when Nintendo World opens in Rockefeller Center this spring.

**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1396]**

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**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1444]**

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**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1462]**

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**[Image 0x0 to 1003x1668] [27x1548]**

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Jessee Incao

From: Pranay Gupte / www.pranaygupte.com [pranaygupte@att.net]
Sent: Wednesday, April 06, 2005 5:18 PM
To: jincao@kmaglobal.com
Subject: Here’s REVISED KISSINGER PART ONE for tonite, thx

SUNBIZ Revised
KISSINGER PART ...

--
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http://www.pranaygupte.com
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Lunch at the Four Seasons with: Henry A. Kissinger
(PART ONE OF A TWO-PART INTERVIEW)

By Pranay Gupte
Special to the Sun

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And so the reporter was emboldened to ask a delicate question: How did Mr. Kissinger cope with all the relentless personal attacks against him, jeremiads directed not only at his record as national security adviser to Presidents Nixon and Ford, and as vicar of American foreign policy, but also the subsequent -- and flourishing -- period as an adviser on international relations and investment to corporations, and as the author of best-selling memoirs?

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That historical record, fashioned by a life-long Republican who was a protégé of Nelson Rockefeller, has been extraordinary by any rational measure -- which is perhaps why it has invited attacks from ideologues of the left, for the most part, who often equated his pragmatism with cynicism. Consider this: Mr. Kissinger's secret diplomacy opened the way for re-establishing political ties between America and China in the early 1970s while Mao Zedong -- who famously referred to Americans as the "running dogs of capitalism" -- was still alive. His interaction with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho -- with whom he shared the 1973 Nobel Prize -- led to eventual
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During the lunch, he recalled that time of promise.
"When I was a graduate student and a young professor at Harvard, we used
to have faculty seminars with scientists and political scientists, and others, to
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But as the 1960s and 1970s evolved, he said, America's intellectual community split into two groups: "Job applicants -- people who wanted government jobs -- and revolutionaries, who denied that anything valid could be done unless the system was changed or destroyed."
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"What the government needs from the intellectual world is a five-year perspective, but the job applicants, like government officials, focus only a two-year perspective," he said. "And what the revolutionaries do is to attack the premise that motivates the system. So there's a gap now in our country."
And how should this gap be addressed, the reporter asked?
The question elicited a reflection from Mr. Kissinger about the very meaning of America, a country to which he came in 1938 as a refugee from Nazi Germany; where he attended high school in Manhattan's Washington Heights at night while working during the day at a shaving brush factory; and in whose military service he was drafted in 1943 into the 84th Infantry Division and from there onto the 970th Counter-Intelligence Corps.
"One lesson I drew during my time in the military was that it was important to make a difference in life," Mr. Kissinger said. "Before that, I just wanted to be an accountant and make money. I knew after the military that I would be in public service some day -- although I had no idea at the time what that public service would be."
"One respect which somebody with my background is different from the mainstream is that those of us who are refugees, and who have lived abroad, find it hard to accept challenges to the American Dream itself," Mr. Kissinger said. "We've lived in societies with a long history. We know that history moves more slowly than American ideology, but we also know that there are very few societies with the freedoms and liberties and tolerance that America offers. We know what America meant to us when we were young. And so all these accusations of imperialist America -- we don't like that attitude. It's almost painful to us. We like to believe there are solutions to our social and political problems."
And what about critics of America? How does he relate to their positions? "Student critics of America don't bother me -- that's the face of youth," Mr. Kissinger said. But it's those who seek "an upheaval in America's institutions and commitments" that he takes issue with.
"In any case, I don't debate with them," Mr. Kissinger said. "I think that America, with all its faults and shortcomings, is still the hope of the world," he said. "First of all, in day to day to day living, no country can offer a better life for its people. No other society is so charitable, and its people so generous in human contacts. And no other society facilitates human contact like we do in the family that is America." So does it puzzle him that Americans frequently seem flummoxed by what's happening in the world out there, the very international arena that Mr. Kissinger has studied closely for seven decades? "Most Americans don't know much about other lifestyles around the world," he said. "Most Americans thinks that most foreigners are aspirant Americans, that they would all like to come and live here. Most Americans want to be left alone by the rest of the world." Given such a scenario then, the reporter asked, does it surprise him that there's so much dislike for America around the world? "It's painful to observe," Mr. Kissinger said. "But it's also true that so many of these societies, when they get into a real crisis, turn to us. What has undoubtedly occurred in many countries, especially European countries, is that there's been a coalescence of protest movements of the 1960s with the arrival of governments who are themselves sympathetic to these movements." His assertion created an opening for another question. Wasn't the current American effort to promote public diplomacy intended to assuage countries that begrudged America's social and political objectives? "I'm not the best person to ask that," Mr. Kissinger said. "In my period I had no formal public diplomacy." Rather, he said, his approach was to give the media "a running commentary on my thinking" so that the objectives and purposes of American foreign policy could be better disseminated to the wider public and the media could understand individual decisions when the need for them arose. "If you have to sell every policy in retail, then you're on an impossible ground," Mr. Kissinger said. "That's because the public may not always understand the context of those policies."

(Tomorrow: How Henry Kissinger sees America's challenges in the emerging world order.)
Kissinger's Views on Nuclear Proliferation, Religious Crusades, Children Who Can't Spell

By PRASNYA GUPTA
Special to the Sun

Henry Kissinger, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, is a man of daunting intellect and sometimes daunting pronouncements. A term I coined to describe some of his words, worries about how America's approach to foreign policy is perceived by the rest of the world. 'In the global community, we should always present ourselves as the greatest of all,' he said in a recent interview. 'We must always remember, as Henry Kissinger is fond of saying, that the United States is the only country that can say, "I was there in the beginning."'

But in my view, they are best resisted by the United States, not by the rest of the world. The answer to their question is returned as indescribable, the prize will be briefed and awarded to an alternate. Does 'aiming depend on the total sum of eligible entries received? War

"I could conceive of the spread of nuclear weapons that might result in the coalition of three or four nuclear powers."

But then I looked up my notes on the subject and found some 500,000 references to the fact that we are the only country that can say, "I was there in the beginning." Kissinger said, "But there is no question that the world is changing, Mr. Kissinger said. "I think that in the end, they will be successful."

He is worried about the proliferation of weapons, he said in a recent interview, and about the impact of such proliferation, he said, "It is a mistake to think that it is too late to do something about it." Kissinger said. "But I have no dear idea of the world that will come about, I don't know." He is worried about the proliferation of weapons, he said, "It is a mistake to think that it is too late to do something about it." Kissinger said. "But I have no dear idea of the world that will come about, I don't know." He is worried about the proliferation of weapons, he said, "It is a mistake to think that it is too late to do something about it." Kissinger said. "But I have no dear idea of the world that will come about, I don't know."
DIPLOMATS SAY HEIR NORTH KOREA SNUCK MATERIAL TO LIBYA

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The resolution rnelis for full coopera-

UN. Authorization of Investigation For Hariri Death

By BARRY AVN

The FitzGerald team conduded that

The resolution rnelis for full coopera-

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil—Police...
Jessee Incao

From: Jessee Incao [jincao@kmaglobal.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 07, 2005 11:54 AM
To: 'Pranay Gupte / www.pranaygupte.com'
Subject: Revised draft for tomorrow

Please contact me if you have additional questions.

Jessee
Lunch at the Four Seasons with: Henry A. Kissinger
(PART TWO of a TWO-PART INTERVIEW)

By Pranay Gupte
Special to the Sun
Henry A. Kissinger, the Nobel Peace Prize-winning former American secretary of state, worries about how America's values and foreign-policy objectives are perceived in the global community.
So, the reporter asked, how does America get across its objectives to the international audience?
"The most important thing is to get it right in our own head, to analyze what it is that we want," Mr. Kissinger said. "Secondly, we need to get our policy right. Look at figures like the late Pope John Paul II who could symbolize the necessities of the age -- if the next pope simply tried to emulate everything that the late pope did, you'd have a shipwreck. So I wouldn't say that we should supply a cookbook for recipes. But it's a unique challenge." That challenge comes at a time of peculiar global tensions and of globalization, which is intended to generate a freer flow of capital, goods, services and ideas between nations.
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"Multilateral institutions are a tool of foreign policy and foreign policy involves a sovereign decision to adapt ones freedom of action to circumstance, national purpose, and moral values. Multilateral institutions should be judged by how to fit these criteria, not by abstract debates in sovereignty."

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Dear Jessee--I attach PART TWO of the story on Dr. Kissinger. You will see that I've inserted a section toward the end where a response from Dr. Kissinger would be appreciated. Warm thanks, Pranay

--
PRANAY GUPTE
E-mail: pranaygupte@att.net
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Lunch at the Four Seasons with: Henry A. Kissinger
(PART TWO of a TWO-PART INTERVIEW)

By Pranay Gupte
Special to the Sun

Henry A. Kissinger, the Nobel Peace Prize-winning former American secretary of state, worries about how America’s values and foreign-policy objectives are perceived in the global community.

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Jessee Incao

From: Jessee Incao [jincao@kmaglobal.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 06, 2005 4:35 PM
To: 'Pranay Gupte'; 'Pranay Gupte / www.pranaygupte.com'
Subject: FW: Interview with Dr. Kissinger

Please confirm receipt.
-----Original Message-----
From: Jessee Incao [mailto:jincao@kmaglobal.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 06, 2005 4:26 PM
To: 'Pranay Gupte / www.pranaygupte.com'
Subject: FW: Interview with Dr. Kissinger

One small change - on page 6, it should read "statecraft", not "stagecraft".

Thank you,
Jessee
-----Original Message-----
From: Jessee Incao [mailto:jincao@kmaglobal.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 06, 2005 3:08 PM
To: 'Pranay Gupte'
Subject: Interview with Dr. Kissinger

Dear Mr. Gupte:

Attached is your piece from your interview with Dr. Kissinger on Tuesday, April 5. I have incorporated the few changes he made.
Please contact me if you have any further questions or concerns.

Best,
Jessee
Jessica Incao
Office of Henry A. Kissinger
Kissinger Associates, Inc.
350 Park Avenue
26th Floor
New York, NY 10022
Lunch at the Four Seasons with: Henry A. Kissinger

By Pranay Gupte
Special to the Sun

Henry A. Kissinger kept his word. Scarcely a week had passed since he underwent an angioplasty, but there he was, almost exactly on time for his lunch appointment. He engaged in a bit of schmoozing at a couple of banquettes with people like Sanford Weill, the Citigroup chairman. Then the former American secretary of state sat down at the table that was once the preserve of another legendary figure, the late Philip Johnson, the architect who'd designed the restaurant more than four decades ago.

"I'm sorry that I let you down a couple of times," Mr. Kissinger said to the reporter, referring to canceled appointments last week. In view of his heart situation, those cancellations hardly warranted an apology. But his words seemed to the reporter to be entirely in character for the 82-year-old statesman. The Nobel Peace Prize and scores of other high honors and encomiums notwithstanding, Mr. Kissinger -- at least to those like the reporter who'd followed his academic and public-service career for 35 years -- has been remarkably plain-spoken and intellectually accessible.

And so the reporter was emboldened to ask a delicate question: How did Mr. Kissinger cope with all the relentless personal attacks against him, jeremiads directed not only at his record as national security adviser to Presidents Nixon and Ford, and as vicar of American foreign policy, but also the subsequent -- and flourishing -- period as an adviser on international relations and investment to corporations, and as the author of best-selling memoirs?

"I don't want to pretend that I don't notice this criticism," Mr. Kissinger said. "Of course I notice it. But the virulence of some of these attacks is such that if one answers it, then one exhausts oneself in a guerilla war with an implacable group. So I would rely on the historical record to take care of it." That historical record, fashioned by a life-long Republican who was a protégé of Nelson Rockefeller, has been extraordinary by any rational measure -- which is perhaps why it has invited attacks from ideologues of the left, for the most part, who often equated his pragmatism with cynicism. Consider this: Mr. Kissinger's secret diplomacy opened the way for re-establishing political ties between America and China in the early 1970s while Mao Zedong -- who famously referred to Americans as the "running dogs of capitalism" -- was still alive. His interaction with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho -- with whom he shared the 1973 Nobel Prize -- led to eventual peace in Indochina. His ideas on détente led to triangular U.S.-Chinese-
Soviet diplomacy and the drawing of the erstwhile Soviet Union into the web of international affairs, according to Prof. Dennis Kavanaugh of the University of Liverpool.

And Mr. Kissinger's celebrated "shuttle diplomacy" between Israel and various Arab countries after the 1973 Yom Kippur War contributed significantly to developing an incremental approach toward the peace process in the Middle East and three agreements, two between Israel and Egypt, and one with Syria which is still in force.

Wasn't he tempted to respond in kind to his critics?

"I never attack any person, nor have I replied to any of these attacks," Mr. Kissinger said. "I think perhaps once I replied to something that was carried in the New York Review of Books. Basically, I've always tried to raise the debate above the level of personalities."

Wasn't he distressed by the rancor of public debate in America today?

"I don't want to put anything in terms of the day-to-day issues is," Mr. Kissinger said. "I think we're watching a change in humankind. The generation that learned by reading had a certain conceptual approach -- and they would fight more ideological battles. The generation that has been brought up by the Internet has a more visual approach, and therefore the temptation to go emotional grows stronger and stronger.

"I think the Vietnam War was a sort of dividing line," Mr. Kissinger continued. "When I started in government 35 years ago, one had many opponents. But there was a bedrock of people who were quite well informed at the outset of many of the aspects of the issues. But it's much less today. People take positions before they've studied the issues."

Their views on issues reinforces set positions rather than the other way around.

For Mr. Kissinger, the notion that careful study of issues must precede any pronouncements on them has always been an article of faith. It dates back to his time when, after obtaining his Ph.D. from Harvard, he taught government there. His book, Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy, published in 1957, made the case that America's survival and victory depended not only on its military and economic strength but also on its capacity to recognize and fight aggression in all its forms. That argument -- and the book in which it was developed -- burnished Mr. Kissinger's reputation as a rising star among the nation's political scientists.

During the lunch, he recalled that time of promise.

"When I was a graduate student and a young professor at Harvard, we used to have faculty seminars with scientists and political scientists, and others, to discuss the implications of the nuclear age," Mr. Kissinger said. "Most of
them were Democrats, but the emphasis was national, not partisan. And it was never personal. Every point of view was welcomed."
But as the 1960s and 1970s evolved, he said, America's intellectual community split into two groups: "Job applicants -- people who wanted government jobs -- and revolutionaries, who denied that anything valid could be done unless the system was changed or destroyed."
"It was really about access to power," Mr. Kissinger said. "It was no longer about access to ideas. The nature of the intellectual community has changed. If more and more see themselves as advocates rather than as generators and debaters of ideas, then it's a different society."
"What the government needs from the intellectual world is a five-year perspective, but the job applicants, like government officials, focus only a two-year perspective," he said. "And what the revolutionaries do is to attack the premise that motivates the system. So there's a gap now in our country."
And how should this gap be addressed, the reporter asked?
The question elicited a reflection from Mr. Kissinger about the very meaning of America, a country to which he came in 1938 as a refugee from Nazi Germany; where he attended high school in Manhattan's Washington Heights at night while working during the day at a shaving brush factory; and in whose military service he was drafted in 1943 into the 84th Infantry Division and from there onto the 970th Counter-Intelligence Corps.
"One lesson I drew during my time in the military was that it was important to make a difference in life," Mr. Kissinger said. "Before that, I just wanted to be an accountant and make money. I knew after the military that I would be in public service some day -- although I had no idea at the time what that public service would be."
"One respect which somebody with my background is different from the mainstream is that those of us who are refugees, and who have lived abroad, find it hard to accept challenges to the American Dream itself," Mr. Kissinger said. "We've lived in societies with a long history. We know that history moves more slowly than American ideology, but we also know that there are very few societies with the freedoms and liberties and tolerance that America offers. We know what America meant to us when we were young. And so all these accusations of imperialist America -- we don't like that attitude. It's almost painful to us. We like to believe there are solutions to our social and political problems."
And what about critics of America? How does he relate to their positions?
"Student critics of America don't bother me -- that's the face of youth," Mr. Kissinger said. But it's those who seek "an upheaval in America's institutions and commitments" that he takes issue with.
"In any case, I don't debate with them," Mr. Kissinger said. "I think that America, with all its faults and shortcomings, is still the hope of the world," he said. "First of all, in day to day to day living, no country can offer a better life for its people. No other society is so charitable, and its people so generous in human contacts. And no other society facilitates human contact like we do in the family that is America."

So does it puzzle him that Americans frequently seem flummoxed by what's happening in the world out there, the very international arena that Mr. Kissinger has studied closely for seven decades?

"Most Americans don’t know much about other lifestyles around the world," he said. "Most Americans thinks that most foreigners are aspirant Americans, that they would all like to come and live here. Most Americans want to be left alone by the rest of the world."

Given such a scenario then, the reporter asked, does it surprise him that there's so much dislike for America around the world?

"It's painful to observe," Mr. Kissinger said. "But it's also true that so many of these societies, when they get into a real crisis, turn to us. What has undoubtedly occurred in many countries, especially European countries, is that there's been a coalescence of protest movements of the 1960s with the arrival of governments who are themselves sympathetic to these movements."

His assertion created an opening for another question. Wasn't the current American effort to promote public diplomacy intended to assuage countries that begrudged America's social and political objectives?

"I'm not the best person to ask that," Mr. Kissinger said. "In my period I had no formal public diplomacy."

Rather, he said, his approach was to give the media "a running commentary on my thinking" so that the objectives and purposes of American foreign policy could be better disseminated to the wider public and the media could understand individual decisions when the need for them arose.

"If you have to sell every policy in retail, then you're on an impossible ground," Mr. Kissinger said. "That's because the public may not always understand the context of those policies."

So how does America get across its objectives to the international audience?

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And what about the so-called "soft issues" that have figured prominently in global affairs in recent years -- issues such as environmental security and social justice?

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"If at the age of 82 you're driven by an unfulfilled goal, that's bad -- because you do know the actuarial reality. I cannot conceive doing that," Mr. Kissinger said. "I will continue to write, and I do hope that my book on statecraft will be read. I do not feel that there's one more specific thing that I need to do. But I am determined to keep working until I am physically incapable."
Then he gave his trademark mischievous smile. Behind his thick spectacles, his eyes twinkled. "I hope you won't give your article the headline, 'Henry Kissinger, War Criminal,'" he said. It was a reference to the title of a book penned by an unreconstructed critic from the left. The reporter decided that Henry Kissinger certainly had a sense of humor.
Lunch at the Four Seasons with: Henry A. Kissinger

By Pranay Gupte

Special to the Sun

Henry A. Kissinger kept his word. Scarcely a week had passed since he underwent an angioplasty, but there he was, almost exactly on time for his lunch appointment. He engaged in a bit of schmoozing at a couple of banquettes with people like Sanford Weill, the Citigroup chairman. Then the former American secretary of state sat down at the table that was once the preserve of another legendary figure, the late Philip Johnson, the architect who'd designed the restaurant more than four decades ago.

"I'm sorry that I let you down a couple of times," Mr. Kissinger said to the reporter, referring to canceled appointments last week. In view of his heart situation, those cancellations hardly warranted an apology. But his words seemed to the reporter to be entirely in character for the 82-year-old statesman. The Nobel Peace Prize and scores of other high honors and encomiums notwithstanding, Mr. Kissinger -- at least to those like the reporter who'd followed his academic and public-service career for 35 years -- has been remarkably plain-spoken and intellectually accessible.
And so the reporter was emboldened to ask a delicate question: How did Mr. Kissinger cope with all the relentless personal attacks against him, jeremiads directed not only at his record as national security adviser to Presidents Nixon and Ford, and as vicar of American foreign policy, but also the subsequent -- and flourishing -- period as an adviser on international relations and investment to corporations, and as the author of best-selling memoirs?

"I don't want to pretend that I don't notice this criticism," Mr. Kissinger said. "Of course I notice it. But the virulence of some of these attacks is such that if one answers it, then one goes to the level of the physical. So I would rely on the historical record to take care of it."

That historical record, fashioned by a life-long Republican who was a protégé of Nelson Rockefeller, has been extraordinary by any rational measure -- which is perhaps why it has invited attacks from ideologues of the left, for the most part, who often equated his pragmatism with cynicism. Consider this: Mr. Kissinger's secret diplomacy opened the way for re-establishing political ties between America and China in the early 1970s while Mao Zedong -- who famously referred to Americans as the "running dogs of capitalism" -- was still alive. His interaction with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho -- with whom he shared the 1973 Nobel Prize -- led to eventual
peace in Indochina. His ideas on détente led to triangular U.S.-Chinese-
Soviet diplomacy and the drawing of the erstwhile Soviet Union into the
web of international affairs, according to Prof. Dennis Kavanaugh of the
University of Liverpool.

And Mr. Kissinger's celebrated "shuttle diplomacy" between Israel and
various Arab countries after the 1973 Yom Kippur War contributed
significantly to developing an incremental approach toward the peace
process in the Middle East.

Wasn't he tempted to respond in kind to his critics?

"I never think that I've ever attacked any person, nor have I replied to any of
these attacks," Mr. Kissinger said. "I think perhaps once I replied to
something that was carried in the New York Review of Books. Basically,
I've always tried to raise the debate above the level of personalities."

Wasn't he distressed by the rancor of public debate in America today?

"I don't want to put anything in terms of what the threat is," Mr. Kissinger
said. "I think we're watching a change in humankind. The generation that
learned by reading had a certain conceptual approach -- and they would fight
more ideological battles. The generation that has been brought up by the
Internet has a more visual approach, and therefore the temptation to go
against tradition grows stronger and stronger."
"I think the Vietnam War was a sort of dividing line," Mr. Kissinger continued. "When I started in government 35 years ago, one had many opponents. But there was a bedrock of people who were quite well informed at the outset of many of the aspects of the issues. But it's much less today. People take positions before they've studied the issues."

For Mr. Kissinger, the notion that careful study of issues must precede any pronouncements on them has always been an article of faith. It dates back to his time when, after obtaining his Ph.D. from Harvard, he taught government there. His book, Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy, published in 1957, made the case that America's survival and victory depended not only on its military and economic strength but also on its capacity to recognize and fight aggression in all its forms. That argument -- and the book in which it was developed -- burnished Mr. Kissinger's reputation as a rising star among the nation's political scientists.

During the lunch, he recalled that time of promise.

"When I was a graduate student and a young professor at Harvard, we used to have faculty seminars with scientists and political scientists, and others, to discuss the implications of the nuclear age," Mr. Kissinger said. "Most of them were Democrats. And it was never personal. Every point of view was welcomed."
But as the 1960s and 1970s evolved, he said, America's intellectual community split into two groups: "Job applicants -- people who wanted government jobs -- and revolutionaries, who denied that anything valid could be done unless the system was changed or destroyed."

"It was really about access to power," Mr. Kissinger said. "It was no longer about access to ideas. The nature of the intellectual community has changed. If more and more see themselves as advocates rather than as generators and debaters of ideas, then it's a different society."

"What the government needs from the intellectual world is a five-year perspective, but the job applicants are willing to offer only a two-year perspective," he said. "And what the revolutionaries do is to attack the premise that motivates the system. So there's a gap now in our country."

And how should this gap be addressed, the reporter asked?

The question elicited a reflection from Mr. Kissinger about the very meaning of America, a country to which he came in 1938 as a refugee from Nazi Germany; where he attended high school in Manhattan's Washington Heights at night while working during the day at a shaving brush factory; and in whose military service he was drafted in 1943 into the 970th Counter Intelligence Corps, where, among other things, he was a German language interpreter.
"One lesson I drew during my time in the military was that it was important to make a difference in life," Mr. Kissinger said. "Before that, I just wanted to be an accountant and make money. I knew after the military that I would be in public service some day -- although I had no idea at the time what that public service would be."

"One respect which somebody with my background is different from the mainstream is that those of us who are refugees, and who have lived abroad, find it hard to accept that there is a problem with the American Dream itself," Mr. Kissinger said. "We've lived in societies with a long history. We know that there are very few societies with the freedoms and liberties and tolerance that America offers. We know what America meant to us when we were young. And so all these accusations of imperialist America -- we don't like that attitude. It's almost painful to us. We like to believe there are solutions to our social and political problems."

And what about critics of America? How does he relate to their positions?

"Student critics of America don't bother me -- that's the face of youth," Mr. Kissinger said. But it's those who seek "an upheaval in America's institutions and commitments" that he takes issue with.

"In any case, I don't debate with them," Mr. Kissinger said.
"I think that America, with all its faults and shortcomings, is still the hope of the world," he said. "First of all, in day to day living, no country can offer a better life for its people. No other society is so charitable, and its people so generous. And no other society facilitates human contact like we do in the family that is America."

So does it puzzle him that Americans frequently seem flummoxed by what's happening in the world out there, the very international arena that Mr. Kissinger has studied closely for seven decades?

"Most Americans don't know much about other lifestyles around the world," he said. "Most Americans thinks that most foreigners are aspirant Americans, that they would all like to come and live here. Most Americans want to be left alone by the rest of the world."

Given such a scenario then, the reporter asked, does it surprise him that there's so much dislike for America around the world?

"It's painful to observe," Mr. Kissinger said. "But it's also true that so many of these societies, when they get into a real crisis, turn to us. What has undoubtedly occurred in many countries, especially European countries, is that there's been a coalescence of protest movements of the 1960s with the arrival of governments who are themselves sympathetic to these movements."
His assertion created an opening for another question. Wasn't the current American effort to promote public diplomacy intended to assuage countries that begrudged America's social and political objectives?

"I'm not the best person to ask that," Mr. Kissinger said. "In my period I had no formal public diplomacy."

Rather, he said, his approach was to give the media "a running commentary on my thinking" so that the objectives and purposes of American foreign policy could be better disseminated to the wider public. "If you have to sell every policy in retail, then you're on an impossible ground," Mr. Kissinger said. "That's because the public may not always understand the context of those policies."

So how does America get across its objectives to the international audience?

"The most important thing is to get it right in our own head, to analyze what it is that we want," Mr. Kissinger said. "Secondly, we need to get our policy right. Look at figures like the late Pope John Paul II who could symbolize the necessities of the age -- if the next pope simply tried to emulate everything that the late pope did, you'd have a shipwreck. So I wouldn't say that we should supply a cookbook for recipes. But it's a unique challenge."
That challenge comes at a time of peculiar global tensions and of globalization, which is intended to generate a freer flow of capital, goods, services and ideas between nations.

"But then we have these religious crusades, and nobody in the world has experience with this," Mr. Kissinger said. "Coping with that by itself raises some questions. Simultaneously, there are a whole host of other problems -- proliferating weapons could bring about an entirely new world order. There's also the shift in the center of gravity of foreign policy from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And there's, of course, the impact of globalization. The last three issues don't surprise me. I more or less expected them. But the first problem has spread more rapidly than I would have predicted."

He is worried about the proliferation issue. (The reporter recalled that as secretary of state Mr. Kissinger had made arms control one of his key concerns.)

"There seems to be a great reluctance to run the risk involved in stopping proliferation," Mr. Kissinger said. "The price for that is a worse form of proliferation."

He's convinced that the impact of China and India on the world economy will grow significantly. But these Asian giants pose a threat to American economic and political dominance in years to come?
"I think it's a mistake to think of them in terms of the containment theory of
George Kennan," Mr. Kissinger said. "We must, of course, resist any
hegemonic or imperialistic aspirations they may have. But in my view, they
are best resisted by maintaining cooperative relations, by building coalitions,
with as many of these emerging countries as we can."

His reference to George Kennan -- the American diplomat who foresaw the
Soviet Union's postwar effort to spread its influence and who urged America
to adopt a "containment" policy -- prompted the reporter to ask Mr.
Kissinger what it took to be a statesmen.

He was writing a book on that very subject, Mr. Kissinger said. He wasn't
sure about its title, but it might be called "Statecraft," or "Statesmanship"; he
said that he hoped to have it ready for publication next year.

"I believe that it's important for statesmen to study history -- not because
history repeats itself but because certain problems keep recurring," Mr.
Kissinger said. "Of course, each generation has to learn for itself what
matters are applicable. Somebody can take your hand and say, this is good
and this isn't good for you. But what good is that if you can't recognize for
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As the lunch wound down, the reporter asked Mr. Kissinger what kind of a
world did he see shaping before him?
"There's certainly a greater reliance on technology -- and that makes it easier to package ideas than to produce them," he said. "I see it in my grandchildren's generation. They are far ahead of me on the computer than I am. But they can't spell. They can't write essays. And that produces a certain cast of mind."

Did that mean he yearned for an age gone by?

"No, I don't harken for the past," Mr. Kissinger said. "We live in a period which would have been inconceivable some years ago. But I looked my name on Google the other day, and found some 500,000 references. Now how do you get through that? I was talking to a writer not long ago, and I asked him what books he'd read. He looked at me almost contemptuously and said that he did not read books, that he only used the Internet."

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Jessee Incao

From: Pranay Gupte / www.pranaygupte.com [pranaygupte@att.net]
Sent: Wednesday, April 06, 2005 4:30 AM
To: jincao@kmaglobal.com
Subject: Here's draft for Dr. Kissinger

SUNBIZ Kissinger
April 7.doc (...)

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