

Kissinger Becomes Secretary

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Throughout the Nixon administration, Henry A. Kissinger has been Secretary of State in everything but name. Yesterday the title was bestowed.

For more than four years, William P. Rogers has operated in his shadow. Foreign policy declarations emanated from the White House. On major breakthroughs the word came from the President. But the explanation of policy was invariably made in the guttural, German-accented tones of Kissinger.

Rogers went to the State Department with the most impressive of all credentials—a record of long friendship with the President. He left with that President's expression of "regret," but the departure came only two days after Rogers spoke out for the first time about the events of Watergate, saying the nation must not become "so obsessed with security matters that laws are freely violated."

In speaking out, Rogers, who has never been connected in any way with the scandals, put as much distance as possible between himself and Watergate. Kissinger was drawn into it peripherally when he either condoned, ordered or acquiesced in the wiretapping of his own staff. One of his former aides, Morton H. Halperin, has filed a lawsuit asking for damages against Kissinger and 10 other defendants.

At the State Department yesterday there was a curious mixture of jubilation and concern. The jubilation came from those who hoped the decision-making for foreign policy would return "to where it belongs." One more restrained official said there was "a certain anticipation about Dr. Kissinger's arrival and a lot of question marks about whether the fact that he is remaining the President's national security adviser will mean that the National Security Council's functions will shift over to State."

And there were the usual

apprehensions, with many wondering which heads would roll. Clearly big changes are anticipated. Kissinger, in his many years as an academician writing and consulting on foreign policy, wrote frequently about the difficulty of moving bureaucracies. The State Department presents him with a long-recognized challenge in that area. In fact, it was to circumvent the built-in slowness of large bureaucracies that Kissinger established a powerful national security council in the shadows of the White House.

With the first-term breakthrough in relations with China and with the reduction of tensions with the Soviet Union crowned by two summits, and with the Americans out of Vietnam, at least physically, Kissinger had looked toward the second Nixon administration as the time to institutionalize the making of foreign policy that had become a White House operation. It was also to be a time of patching up relations with America's allies. Europe and Japan had become worried that in moving from conciliation to negotiation with its adversaries, the United States had jettisoned its special relationships with its friends.

But the scandals known as Watergate had brought new pressures to bear. "Is it possible," he asked some Newsweek interviewers recently, "to insulate foreign policy from the general difficulties we are facing as a nation?" He said: "I don't know the answer, but that is the question that torments me."

"The basic design of foreign policy is intact," he said at that time. Now it will be up to him to assure that the design becomes ingrained in American history.

And Kissinger is a man imbued with history, a German-born immigrant, a refugee from Hitler's Reich, who assumes the chair that was once occupied by Thomas Jefferson and George Catlett Marshall and Dean Acheson.

If confirmed by the Sen-

ate, Kissinger would be the first foreign-born Secretary of State, and the first Jew to hold the job.

Kissinger came with his

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parents to New York City in 1938, a bookish, somewhat shy teen-ager. He became a naturalized citizen after he was drafted into the Army in 1943. During World War II he served as a foot soldier with the 84th infantry division until he was plucked out to serve in counterintelligence. He saw action in the Battle of the Bulge.

He enrolled in Harvard College in 1946 where he made a brilliant record and won his Phi Beta Kappa key. In 1954 he got his doctorate and proceeded to write a number of influential books that were read widely in the arms control and foreign affairs community. Through a seminar he ran while a professor at Harvard, he got to know many of the world's leaders, and many lower-echelon foreign officials who eventually rose to power.

Then he himself rose to power. Kissinger had served as a consultant for the government but also as foreign policy adviser to New York's Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller. At the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami Kissinger worked hard for Rockefeller's nomination and was bitterly disappointed in defeat. Thus it came as something of a surprise when President-elect Nixon tapped him for the job as his own national security adviser.

Before being named to the post Kissinger had written an article for Foreign Affairs in which he gave a part philosophical, part-practical blueprint for ending the American involvement in Vietnam. That was the overriding preoccupation of the first Nixon administration and by the time it ended most Americans were out, but the settlement was uneasy and the outcome still unclear.

In Nixon's Washington Kissinger became the magnet for the capital's social set and one of the few people in the administration "liberals" felt they could talk to. But then came the invasion of Cambodia—what he called the incursion to clear out Communist sanctuaries—and scorn, even anger, replaced admiration.

On the outside Kissinger became known as the "secret swinger," because he dated pretty girls. It was a useful facade behind which the national security adviser hid about a dozen secret meetings with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho in Paris and two secret flights to Peking to meet with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai to prepare for the Nixon trip. Meanwhile, there were talks with the Soviet Union leading to the inevitable Moscow summit to match the Peking trip.

Kissinger, not Rogers, became the man for foreign diplomats to see. Rogers or any one of his top aides might make public statements, but ambassadors sought assurances or clarifications from the office in the White House.

In his State Department office Kissinger will exchange a view of the White House driveway for the whole panorama of Washington, with the Lincoln Memorial just outside. He also exchanges the protection of executive privilege for the prospect of considerable exposure—and possibly confrontation—with a Congress that has been waiting for better communication on foreign policy matters.

Since he will be wearing two hats, Kissinger may still invoke executive privilege, but only concerning direct conversations with the President. For the rest Congress can be expected to question closely and Kissinger can be expected to give his customary scholarly dissertations. And he will probably request that the distinguished senators insert the verbs where necessary.

For Rogers, always amiable and full of charm, there will be an escape from

in Name as Well as in Function

the never-ending reports of his rivalry with Kissinger and his inability to get a handle on the nation's foreign policy.

"I feel like the last of the whooping cranes," he told reporters yesterday. "I'm the last Cabinet officer to leave." Rogers is the last of the original members who President Nixon introduced on television back in early 1969, each of whom, the President said, had an "extra dimension."

He returns to the job he came from, as a partner in the law firm of Royall, Koegele and Wells. The name will be changed to Rogers and Wells on Sept. 4. As the firm's Washington man, Rogers represented such operations as The Washington Post, a newspaper which found little favor with the

Nixon team. In his earlier years, after graduating from Colgate University and Cornell University law school, Rogers served as chief counsel of two Senate investigating committees and later as Attorney General under President Eisenhower.

As Mr. Nixon's Secretary of State, Rogers was often credited with taking a moderate line in the private councils, urging restraint, for example, when the North Koreans shot down an American EC-121. But there were complaints among members of the department that Rogers didn't seem interested enough in taking hold of issues. His first deputy secretary, Elliot L. Richardson, was seen as the take-charge man. Kenneth Rush, the present deputy secretary, also came out

on top in many comparisons. Rush was meeting with the Netherland defense minister when the news came through yesterday. It was business as usual, his secretary said.

But there were regrets at Rogers' departure. Said one official who saw him in action: "He is a man of great charm who brought grace to the conduct of foreign affairs." But then there was also, what this official called the "regret that the foreign affairs he dealt with were only rarely of the first importance." The big ones—except for the Middle East where Rogers takes much credit for a three-year cease fire—were the province of the President, and Kissinger, often known as the second most powerful man in Washington.

Rogers handled the problems of multilateral diplomacy, attending meetings of NATO, SEATO and the other international conclaves with alphabet-soup names. Now it will be Kissinger who will have to face protocol along with policy, with the former often more time-consuming, if less mind-consuming, than the latter. He is already said to have a number of trips planned—to Europe and to China—and, inevitably in September to the United Nations, an organization he has not rated highly in his scale of priorities.

Kissinger also will have to face the massive bureaucratic task of running the State Department itself. He has had the power. He will soon have the glory—and a lot of hard, unpleasant work.