

## ...and the Dangers That Lie Ahead

For beleaguered President Nixon the elevation of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger to Secretary of State was a political master stroke, but for Kissinger himself it is fraught with dangers that threaten his charmed life.

For the President, the move takes advantage of by far the brightest shining figure in his pallid administration. By elevating Kissinger to the No. 1 Cabinet post, the President at once exploits the mystical public appeal of his ace foreign policy adviser and reinforces his administration at its weakest point: the State Department, cleanly vacuumed of all power by Kissinger's staff at the White House. The impact is felt simultaneously on domestic and world opinion.

But Kissinger could become the victim of the dormant State Department bureaucracy he will now try to energize. If he is undercut in that struggle, U.S. foreign policy and the battered President will suffer along with Kissinger.

Kissinger's aura even in these grim Watergate days is indisputable considering his routine experience wherever he goes. He is literally besieged by citizens, of every age and shape, seeking his autograph and a handshake. He is the only inner-circle Nixon man to have risen and stayed above the sordid White House climate of fear and secrecy that marked the ascendancy of H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman.

Kissinger was himself a prime victim of that climate. According to second-level White House aides, he was sometimes deliberately kept away from crowds on Haldeman's orders to

avoid comparison with the President in terms of applause.

The Kissinger appointment was desperately needed by Mr. Nixon as domestic tonic in the wake of his widely criticized Watergate speech and his dismal performance in New Orleans last Monday. Likewise, it is of inestimable political value in relations with foreign nations, particularly Moscow and Peking, which are ominously concerned about the credibility and vigor of the Nixon administration's remaining years. Kissinger's elevation is the first solid indication, since he was forced to fire Haldeman and Ehrlichman April 30, that the President can act boldly and imaginatively.

That was clearly a central reason for relentless persuasion by the new White House chief of staff, Alexander M. Haig Jr., that the President transfer Kissinger to the polished seventh floor of the State Department. Quietly and patiently, Haig had been displaying to Mr. Nixon the political assets he predicted would pile up if Kissinger were given the foreign portfolio in name as well as deed.

The President, desperate for such assets, first indicated his mind was made up last Saturday (Aug. 18), when he asked Kissinger to cancel all foreign trips for the immediate future. The hard offer came three days later.

Kissinger accepted instantly, assuring a bureaucratic revolution in the moribund State Department that Kissinger, no tidy bureaucrat, may not be able to control. Kissinger is an intellectual and a strategic planner, not a paper-pusher keeping tabs on fitness reports.

Kissinger intends to use his new

post to "institutionalize" the vast foreign policy changes he and the President have made. He wants to take unconventional patterns of diplomacy developed in the White House and graft them onto conventional State Department patterns. That means taking the regular foreign service into his full confidence and giving it real authority.

Such State Department offices as the Bureau of European Affairs, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and the Bureau of Planning and Coordination have been virtually bypassed in the Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy revolution. As Secretary of State, Kissinger either must return these and other bureaus to their old eminence or risk fatal bureaucratic ambush.

Both the President and Kissinger want Kenneth Rush, who as under secretary of state in effect has been running the Department, to continue as chief administrator under Kissinger. That will depend on how well Kissinger and Rush mesh. But the job of gearing Kissinger's White House operation neatly into his new State Department operation, certain to trigger power battles and bureaucratic problems, will be Kissinger's.

"It's going to be turbulent and chaotic here for a while," says one top State Department official who has long hoped for the departure of outgoing Secretary William P. Rogers.

Whether Kissinger continues to lead his charmed life or is irretrievably bloodied by this predictable turbulence now depends on Henry Kissinger. No man since John Foster Dulles has been given such supreme power over foreign policy. The possibilities and risks are immense.