

# The Kissinger Appointment: A

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WASHINGTON, Aug. 22—Long before President Nixon nominated him to be Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger had decided that the problems of American foreign policy in Mr. Nixon's second term would be quite different from the problems of the first term, and therefore required a new approach to the formulation, negotiation and presentation of foreign policy. No doubt there were subjective reasons for the appointment of Mr. Kissinger—the need to change the question and the headlines, to get the mind of the country off Watergate by action rather than by words, to give a sense of a new beginning—but there were compelling objective reasons as well.

News  
Analysis

Mr. Nixon's first term was a time of secret diplomacy and summitry to end the Indochina war, bring China out of isolation and get the Soviet Union down to the balanced control of nuclear weapons. But the coming problems are more open, more diverse, more economic and financial, requiring much more cooperation from Congress.

Mr. Kissinger insisted in private, once the Indochina cease-fire was negotiated, that he could not go on playing the role he did from within the confines of the White House. He felt he could no longer be both remote and effective, cut off from testimony before the Congressional leaders and from

free discussion with intellectual leaders, whose support, he believed, was increasingly essential.

He brought this theme into the open at the beginning of this month in a speech before the International Platform Association in Washington.

"What we are 10 years hence," he said, "depends upon what we do today, next week, and in the months that follow. Our influence for good or ill will be measured by the world's judgment of our constancy and self-confidence. Our foreign policy will mean little if other nations see our actions as sporadic initiatives of a small group reflecting no coherent national purpose or consensus. "No foreign policy—no matter how ingenious—has any chance of success if it is born in the minds of a few and carried in the hearts of none," he declared.

Only a couple of weeks ago, Mr. Kissinger was saying that the President had never discussed the State Department job with him. But even then he was talking privately with Senators Mike Mansfield, J. W. Fulbright, George McGovern and Stuart Symington, among others, in an effort to revive a nonpartisan spirit in foreign policy.

"Foreign policy," he said in that same speech this month, "must not become an alibi or a distraction from domestic problems must not be used as an excuse for abandoning our international responsibilities.

"There can be no moratorium in the quest for a peaceful world," he went on. "And as

we pursue that quest, we will need to draw upon the country's best minds, no matter what their partisan political persuasion—not on a bipartisan but on a nonpartisan basis. Especially at this moment of necessary self-examination, we must reaffirm the basis of our national unity."

## An Old Washington Principle

Apparently, President Nixon in the midst of all his other troubles, recognized the validity of this argument, and also the force of an old Washington principle, that the weaker the President is, the stronger his Cabinet must be. In any event, after a couple of unhappy weeks, he started a brave performance in his news conference today by announcing the resignation of Secretary of State William P. Rogers and the succession of Mr. Kissinger. He explained his reasons:

Mr. Kissinger will retain his position as assistant to the President for national security as well as taking the State Department post, if confirmed, the President said.

"The purpose of this arrangement," he added, is to have a closer coordination between the White House and the departments. "And also, another purpose is to get the work out in the departments where it belongs."

It is generally agreed here that this is what Secretary Rogers wanted to do all along but could not so long as Mr. Kissinger was the principal adviser in the White House. But now Mr. Kissinger will have both access to the President and the leadership of a talented but neglected State Department, which is likely to be reinvigorated by the change.

The confirmation of Mr. Kissinger in the Senate is fairly well assured, but it will not be all easy sailing. The Foreign Relations Committee has been frustrated in getting at the heart of Mr. Nixon's foreign policy mainly because it had access to Secretary Rogers, who was not always informed, but no official access to Mr.

# New Approach to Conduct of Foreign Policy Is Seen

Kissinger, who was informed and who was in on the big meetings with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai in China and with Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party chairman, in Moscow, when Mr. Rogers was not. For this reason, Senators Fulbright and Mansfield and other critics of Mr. Nixon's foreign policy will probably welcome the switch to someone who is both knowledgeable and available, and who has tried under very difficult circumstances to see them in private throughout the bitter White House-Congressional conflicts of the last four and a half years.

Also, the President faced up to his questioners in the press today under great stress. He seemed tense and breathless, but he was patient in the face of a relentless barrage of questions, which probably brought him more sympathy from the television audience than he got from his questioners.

According, this was probably the President's best day in months, and the chances are that it will help him even more when Mr. Kissinger gets the Senate's approval and begins his new job.

## Challenge Is Seen

Nevertheless, the Democratic leaders are troubled by Mr. Kissinger's involvement in the bugging of his own National Security Council aides, and will want to know what assurances he can give them on his philosophy of carrying out this sort of secret wiretapping in the future.

How much freedom Mr. Kissinger will have in reorganizing the State Department is not clear. As one former White House aide put it: "State has been a sieve because nobody has asked it to be a bowl. Meeting Kissinger's intellectual standards and driving work habits will not be easy, but the talent is there, and it will probably be rejuvenated by the challenge."

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love of philosophic analysis are bound to open up his thought and energies to a far larger constituency at home and abroad than he has had so far.

There is, therefore, some evidence in this nomination of Mr. Kissinger that the President is acting more moderately than he indicates by his talk. The significance of this appointment is that the President's critics in Congress, the universities and

love of philosophic analysis are bound to open up his thought and energies to a far larger constituency at home and abroad than he has had so far.

For Mr. Kissinger personally, of course, the nomination is a climax to a remarkable career. "As someone who came to this country as a refugee from totalitarianism," he said the other day, "I have a special feeling for what America can still mean to the world and how a withdrawal of America from the world would deprive mankind of hope and purpose."

life. The experience of freedom enables us to rise beyond the sufferings of the past and the frustrations of history. In his spirituality resides humanity's essence, the unique which each man imparts to the necessity of self-transcendence which gives peace."

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