

Last-Minute Kissinger Critics Get Licks In

By Murray Marder

Washington Post Staff Writer

A broadside on Henry A. Kissinger's qualifications to be Secretary of State was quickly crowded into the public record yesterday in the final day of open hearings on his nomination.

In 2½ hours before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Kissinger was accused of "mendacity," "duplicity," "war crimes," "moral unfitness for office," "dishonesty," "anti-black racism," "promoting security risks," "pro-Zionism, and the opposite—turning 'his official back' on the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Only two of the committee's 17 members were present throughout the morning of record-making: Sens. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) and George D. Aiken (R-Vt.), accompanied part of the time by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.).

Nine organizations and one individual, former Sen. Ernest Gruening (D-Alaska), one of only two senators to vote against U.S. involvement in Vietnam in August, 1964, joined in opposing Kissinger's nomination for various and differing reasons. They testified under a 10-minute limit on statements, generally recognizing that the committee on Tuesday is expected to report out Kissinger's nomination perhaps unanimously.

The elderly Gruening, who charged "the Nixon-Kissinger 'team' with escalating 'the ghastly tragedy' of Indochina warfare, said he recognized that the committee confronts a dilemma. If it blocks Kissinger's nomination, Gruening noted, Kissinger "will continue as he has been as a presidential adviser not subject to Senate confirmation."

McGovern indicated that that is why senators who have opposed administration policies can conclude they have no real alternative except to confirm Kissinger.

"It would seem to me," McGovern said, "that if we deny him confirmation, he just stays there at the White House" with a powerful hand in the control of foreign policy "and we are denied even the opportunity to question him."

With Kissinger as Secretary of State, McGovern said, "we can at least call (him) up here and cross-examine him . . . so perhaps there is something to be said for giving him the title."

Aiken made a similar point in response to opposition witnesses, saying that whether confirmed or not, Kissinger will continue to exert "considerable influence" in shaping foreign policy.

Rep. Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn.), appearing as a member of the House Committee

on Foreign Affairs and as national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, said Congress must have "complete assurance" that the Nixon administration will end "official deception and contempt for congressional authority."

Combining the posts of Secretary of State and national security adviser under Kissinger can make U.S. policy "more internally coherent," Fraser said. But he said Kissinger's pledge to develop "a climate of mutual trust" with Congress is inadequate, because "the President made an identical promise in 1969 at the beginning of his first administration."

The administration's "false reporting" on bombing in Cambodia, its actions in the Indo-Pakistani war, and "Kissinger's initial denial of knowledge of wiretaps on his staff reveal a pattern of dishonesty in dealing with the American people," Fraser said.

Kissinger, who would be the first foreign-born American to be named Secretary of State, as well as the first Jew to hold that post, was challenged on ethnic grounds by two groups. William A. Small, president of the Federation of American Arab Organizations, of New York, said: "Dr. Kissinger has stated that his religious background will not affect his poli-

cy decisions, and we believe that he is, intellectually, honest in so stating his position. We are not so sure, however, that Dr. Kissinger, as other Zionist Jews, can emancipate themselves, emotionally, from the traditional link to Zionism and the Jewish state."

There is "a great apprehension that Dr. Kissinger's appointment as Secretary of State will aggravate the crisis of U.S.-Arab relations and the (oil) energy shortage," Small said.

"We believe it is imperative that Dr. Kissinger should publicly renounce all Zionist claims that he has any ties, emotional or philosophical or political, to the foreign state of Israel."

A stronger ethnic protest against Kissinger was made by Nicholas Camerota Jr. of Springfield, Mass., for the National Youth Alliance, which Camerota described as a group that represents "the majority of America . . . white, gentle, America."

"Kissinger is Jewish and therefore has a personal stake in another nation . . . Israel," said Camerota. Camerota said that Kissinger "appointed Daniel Ellsberg to a National Security Council position in 1969"—which an NSC official said yesterday is untrue—"shortly before Ellsberg began 'stealing' the Pentagon Papers.

He said Kissinger also showed "deplorably poor judgment" in hiring for the NSC staff "Morton Halperin and Helmut Sonnenfeldt" who, "incidentally, are also Jews."

John D. Hemenway, a former foreign service officer "selected out" of the State Department in a celebrated grievance case, opposed Kissinger's nomination on behalf of the National Association of Pro America. Hemenway also has been active in opposing Sonnenfeldt's nomination as under secretary of the treasury.

Hemenway charged Kissinger with "bad judgment," pursuing a "no-strategy" foreign policy that permits the Soviet Union to outmaneuver the United States, and other inadequacies.

He criticized Kissinger from the other end of the ethnic argument, saying that "I cannot understand why Mr. Kissinger turns his official back on his co-religionists and the other groups being persecuted in the Soviet Union."

The Rev. Douglas Moore of Washington, and Absalom F. Jordan Jr., representing the Black United Front, charged that Kissinger is "a functional racist" because "there is not one black in a policy-making position" on the National Security Council staff.

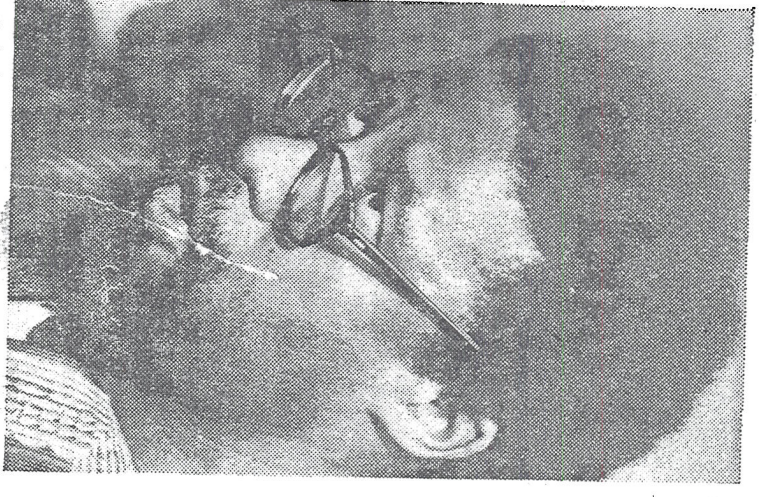
Kissinger is "a Europeanist or Eurocentric," said Moore,

who said Kissinger's preoccupation with Europe and big-power foreign policy "can only bring nightmarish results in the future of Africa."

"Dr. Kissinger has ignored our cry for justice in Southern Africa," in Rhodesia, Portugal, Angola and Mozambique, said Moore, "but he has made sure that the Jews in Russia be heard. This is racist."

Bronson P. Clark of the American Friends Service Committee said Kissinger engaged in "deception" in promising an early end to the war in Vietnam, and also by pursuing a policy of continuing to support "the killing" in Vietnam by aid to the Saigon government. To confirm Kissinger, said Clark, "is to confirm a foreign and military policy with a shocking history of war and deceit."

Similar opposition was expressed by Joseph H. Crown for the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, and by Prof. Saul H. Mendlovitz of Rutgers University, representing the Committee of Concerned Scholars for a Just World, which called Kissinger "morally unfit" for office. Mendlovitz said he should face "war criminal" charges. Curtis Dall, for the Liberty Lobby, attacked Kissinger for a policy of "interventionism and internationalism."



William A. Small, Saul H. Mendlovitz, former Sen. Ernest Gruening and the Rev. Douglas Moore: all opposed to Kissinger.

Photos by Douglas Chevalier—The Washington Post