

Kissinger Enters an Office He Often Kept in the Dark

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WASHINGTON, Sept. 21 — In the four years and eight months he has been in the White House, Henry A. Kissinger has often gone in one direction while the State Department was going in another.

Two current instances in which he is operating alone without drawing in the State Department officialdom involve the Administration's "year-of-Europe" approach to the European Economic Community and negotiations with India over writing off New Delhi's sizable "rupee debt" to the United States.

In his capacity as President Nixon's adviser on national security, Mr. Kissinger supervised the President's on-again, off-again plans for a trip to Western Europe, and consulted directly with Cabinet ministers of the nine-member community, or Common Market. The State Department has been cut out of much of this.

Mr. Kissinger also bypassed the State Department in an effort to improve relations with India by dealing directly with Ambassador T. N. Kaul on the \$2-billion "rupee debt" deliberately starting with what a knowledgeable official called "the last U. S. bargaining position."

Implications of Secrecy

The Indians are understood to have "accepted immediately" Mr. Kissinger's proposal that the debt — incurred in the nineteen-sixties through purchases of American grain and accruing heavy interest through the years — be written off.

American officials and foreign diplomats say that Mr. Kissinger sees the ambassadors of "major" foreign powers regularly and privately.

Mr. Kissinger and his deputy in the White House post, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, become indignant when it is suggested that the United States Govern-

ment was too secretive toward allies in some of its recent international dealings involving the Soviet Union and China.

"Those who needed to know got to know," Mr. Sonnenfeldt has been quoted as saying, in response to such suggestions, "and anything else was a matter of their own domestic politics." Mr. Sonnenfeldt implied that Kissinger confidants from abroad had kept information to themselves, allowing domestic opponents at home to remain in ignorance and make statements about United States policy they would otherwise have regretted.

The division of knowledge—resembling a division of power—between the State Depart-

ment and Mr. Kissinger's White House offices has caused what a Japanese diplomat characterized as "strong frustration."

The Kissinger Regulars

The diplomat cited Mr. Kissinger's secret trip to China in 1971 and the secret negotiations with North Vietnam last year as cases indicating "a lack of confidence" in the Japanese Government on the part of the Nixon Administration. Mr. Kissinger, the Japanese said, apparently did not grasp the psychology of Japanese politics and was wanting in good advisers on that subject. But the diplomat also praised Mr. Kissinger as a practitioner of realpolitik and said that "shock treatment" in the fields of monetary and trade policy was something that Japanese leaders appreciated as "rough tactics."

Japan's Ambassador, Nobuhiko Ushiba, has been one of Mr. Kissinger's regular guests. The former Indian Ambassador, L. K. Jha, was another, and his successor, Mr. Kaul, is now a regular Kissinger guest. The British Ambassador, the Earl of Cromer, sees Mr. Kissinger as frequently as did his predecessor, John Freeman.