

'World's 2nd Most Powerful

By Mark Newhouse

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WASHINGTON — Henry A. Kissinger has been called the second most powerful man in the world, but his undoubted power derives not from any constitutional provision but directly from his special relationship with President Nixon.

Indeed, the constitution omits the matter of presidential advisers. Kissinger therefore is not directly responsible to the electorate,

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nor are his appointment and growing power as Nixon's chief foreign policy adviser subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, like cabinet members.

The 48 year old German-born scholar — whose lingering German accent invites invidious comparisons with the "Dr. Strangelove" of the movie — has drawn most attention for his central role in formulating the Administration's foreign policy stance and its conduct of the war in Indochina.

Yet this, and his secret, crucial journey to arrange a proposed visit by Nixon to the leaders of Communist China in Peking, has tended to obscure his other important functions in the White House.

Domestic Strategy

Perhaps more than anyone else in the Administration, and certainly more than Richard M. Nixon, Kissinger has met with hundreds of delegations of the Administration's critics from the academic community, students, minorities and the professional - executive - intellectual elites of the East Coast.

Thus he has served as Nixon's

liaison with, placater of and shock absorber to major elements of the opposition, and this has been a significant element in the Administration's domestic political strategy.

But his prime task has been the taming of the unruly bureaucracy that helps shape foreign policy and focuses on the White House — including the State Department, Defense Department and a host of lesser agencies and committees.

To this end he has transformed the National Security Council into a clearing house for policy ideas under his direction. And he has developed a system of options that screens the President from ordinary bureaucratic pressures.

"There is no 'Kissinger policy' on any substantive questions," he has said. "My job is to convey the full range of policy options to the President."

Complicated

Kissinger is an extremely complicated personality, something of an enigma, a mixture of dry wit and deadly seriousness. He has stepped on many toes even within the Administration's highest councils. Attorney General John N. Mitchell once called him an "egotistical maniac." He has drawn dark suspicion and heavy criticism from former academic colleagues who sometimes also grudgingly admire his better qualities.

He is a bear for work — 12 and 15-hour days are not uncommon, though he manages to maintain his reputation as a suave bachelor (by divorce) about town, and he expects his staff to keep up with his work pace.

This physical exhaustion, plus policy disputes and lack of access to the President by his own staff, has combined to cause a high turnover in the Kissinger ranks. At least a dozen of his top-ranking aides, including some he

to Kissinger

Man' Tells His

Attitudes

brought from Harvard, have left.

His offhand joking has raised some eyebrows, but apparently it is irrepressible. "There cannot be a crisis next week. My schedule is already full," was a typical crack he made shortly after moving into the White House job. Another: "Everything is going according to plan — over the cliff."

Kissinger rarely speaks for the record, but in background sessions with newsmen and in a private interview before his secret trip to Peking he made some of his thinking known:

- Character is more important than intelligence. You can always hire intelligence.

- Undergraduates are far

more interesting to teach than graduate students. Basically graduate students are after a recommendation from you so they can get a job. Undergraduates are trying to form a philosophy of life.

- The students' curse: They have to personalize their situation — can't face the fact that they are caught in a tragic process. They have to see the cause of it in evil people in key position. He wishes it were that easy, but life is more complex than that. The real tragedy is not that there are evil people, and if one could get rid of them everything would be different — the real tragedy is that good people are in conflict with each other.

- The student movement



KISSINGER BRIEFS NIXON

A shock absorber, tamer of the bureaucracy — and an enigma

—AP Photo

s pathetic. They don't know what they're talking about. Faculty protesters bother aim more. Students are brought up on television—it gives them one point of view, it's simple-minded. His generation was brought up on books. With books there is time for reflection, for re-reading. With TV the reaction is more immediate and more emotional.

Daniel Ellsberg, the confessed purloiner of the Pentagon Papers and the generator of the storm that greeted their publication, has said in private conversation:

"Kissinger is a very ingratiating person. He would like to see and charm all of his enemies. His deference to them would be surprising. Kissinger is a person who hates to have enemies. Yet

he is snide and snotty about other people when they're not there . . .

"When I'm with Henry he'll treat me like a sage of the universe. He once said to me in front of other people at Rand that he learned more from me than anyone else in Vietnam . . .

"He is constitutionally unable to give intellectual credit to anyone else. For example, his articles contain very few footnotes. He is a very intelligent man and a good analyst, but he is not original, although he wants to be thought of as an originator. Virtually all his ideas come from other people. He will freely acknowledge this in person but not in print . . .

'I'm against trying to kidnap Henry Kissinger (as the "Harrisburg eight," a group

of pacifist Catholic priests and nuns are accused of plotting) because that would serve to legitimize the kidnaping of two million Asians which the U.S. government and Kissinger are party to. He has made his policy the forced evacuation of millions in Vietnam and Cambodia, an act, by the way, which is clearly a war crime. He's the kidnaper."

Among other criticisms from his peers, which he tries to shrug off, this came from Konrad Bloch, a Noble Prize-winning professor of biochemistry:

"He doesn't understand that the end-justifies-the-means philosophy is exactly the problem and what is antagonizing the large part of the population."

But Harvard professor Stanley Hoffman assesses Kissinger this way: "I'm fond of him, despite his reputation for great ego of which he has a normal dose. He has seriousness and humility. He doesn't think he knows all the answers as some of his predecessors did. Even in his government work he has a large amount of detachment. He is fully conscious of what he is doing and how it looks — he watches himself from the corner of his eye."

Amid such brickbats and roses, Kissinger's major foreign policy concern is world stability, and to some extent this may reflect the insecurity of his own childhood.

Born in 1923 in Fuerth, Germany, into a comfortable middle-class Jewish family. Kissinger had his world shattered by the rise of Hitler. His father lost his teaching job and was humiliated, and Kissinger was forced to go to an all-Jewish school and was beaten regularly.

From the age of seven to 15, when in 1938 the family fled to New York, Kissinger led the life of an outcast. Later 12 relatives died in Hitler's concentration camps.

Perhaps determined not to be victimized again, Kissinger,

after a stint in the Army, entered Harvard in 1946. He quickly earned bachelor's, master's and doctor's degrees as he studied power in world politics. He made a national reputation with his first book, "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy," in 1937.

Rockefeller Aide

He first entered the national political scene as foreign policy adviser to Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York in 1968, and became a strong Rockefeller partisan as the governor unsuccessfully sought the Republican presidential nomination.

But despite these ties, he was offered a White House job immediately after Nixon took office. Kissinger apparently was leery of Nixon's right-wing background and asked to think it over for a week. "Nixon had a certain reputation. I needed to assure myself that reputation was not deserved," he said later.

But his Kennedy friends, his Harvard friends and his Rockefeller friends all urged him to accept and he did, says a source, "because his misgivings were overcome by the prospect of exerting that much influence."

He has made that influence very great, making Secretary of State William Rogers' foreign policy role nearly invisible and giving rise to talk of Kissinger's "Shadow" state department in his basement White House office.

But some believe his zest and thirst for the game of world politics — the global chess game that he shares with Nixon — equals his concern with world stability.

"Henry is fascinated by playing one more round of power in the Vietnam game," says a professor who worked with Kissinger on peace negotiations. "I got the impression that he was not primarily interested in ending the game — but rather in playing it."