

Joseph Alsop W&A Post

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'The Political Role of the Media'

It is a time to stop being mealy-mouthed. If the U.S. government loses the invaluable services of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, the enormous, Watergate-induced self-importance of the American press will be to blame.

If the U.S. dollar—your dollar and my dollar—loses a lot of its value on the world markets, and if American foreign policy also joins American economic policy on the dung-heap of disorder, you can thank your friendly media.

The plain fact of the matter is that we now have in Washington, not just a double standard, but a triple standard. You have to begin right there to understand the resulting orgies of hypocrisy. And the first part of this triple standard for public judgment of public men concerns the political role of the press, or media.

It is the smartest kind of hypocrisy to pretend that the press was not directly responsible for Dr. Kissinger's decision to resign his office unless his name could be promptly and decisively cleared.

On last Thursday, he had just returned from one of the greatest and most totally exhausting diplomatic feats in rather more than a century. The secretary was being very modest if he merely thought he had "deserved well of the Republic"—in the phrase of old Rome.

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His reception was a savage and disgusting press conference, during which he was treated like a common criminal. At one point, one of his interrogators even suggested that he might well be indicted for perjury, and bellowingly inquired whether he had already retained counsel to represent him in case of a perjury indictment. To be sure, only a minority thus disgraced the formerly honorable reporter's trade.

Yet in the subsequent commentaries, the members of this minority were never rebuked by their colleagues. Instead, Dr. Kissinger was rebuked. The climax came on the evening of Monday, when The New York Times hit the streets with an editorial accusing Dr. Kissinger of "dissembling" in tones majestically combining self-righteousness and pecksniffery. Telegraphed to Salzburg, the editorial promptly triggered Dr. Kissinger's press conference and resignation statement on Tuesday.

These are the plain facts. What has happened cannot be comprehended without those facts. Yet this reporter has seen no account of Dr. Kissinger's

threat to resign that has set forth the facts either fully or forthrightly. Over all, it seems a mite odd for the major political role of the press to be left out of the accounting, when we have taken to holding out public men so strictly accountable.

This is the first part of the prevailing triple standard in Washington. As to the other part that justifies the word, "triple," it is simple enough. Dr. Kissinger has in fact been accused of "dissembling," and has even heard the word "perjury" hurled at him, because of a crucial national security matter involving less than a score of wiretaps. Under the law, such wiretaps are entirely permissible for national security purposes.

One wonders, then, why it was so shocking for a servant of the Nixon administration to worry about national security to the extent of knowingly approving under a score of wiretaps. After all, national security wiretaps were very much more numerous in the Truman administration, and they were vastly more numerous in the administration of President Kennedy.

This reporter, with a known three

wiretaps to his credit, all pre-Nixon, has long held the doctrine that if you have not been tapped, you have been slacking on your job. As to the Johnson administration, President Johnson sensibly did not trust the late J. Edgar Hoover—so he had the Secret Service do the tapping for him, again on a major scale. In short, the servants of the Nixon administration are plainly being judged by different tests than those that prevailed in happier times.

So we come back to the Watergate-induced self-importance of the American press that was noted at the outset, noting this is not meant to detract for one moment from the great achievement of exposing the crimes and squallors that now go by the name of Watergate.

Yet it seems this success has now led to a new and dangerous situation. Some people have now openly begun to follow the rule: "'I'll be judge, I'll be jury,'" said Cunning Old Fury; "'I'll try the whole cause, and condemn you to death.'"

Meanwhile Sen. J. William Fulbright, who has seen more than mere leaked bits of the total data, is reportedly confident that Dr. Kissinger did not dissemble when he appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee. Furthermore, even with Cuning Old Fury, one supposes that some vague notions of national interest usually prevailed.