



NIXONS & JOHNSONS AT LUNCHEON IN WHITE HOUSE

A FEELING OF FORBEARANCE

IN the wake of Richard Nixon's election, speculation inevitably focused on the impact that his narrow victory would have on his ability to govern. Lacking a popular majority, or even a respectable edge over Hubert Humphrey, would he be hamstrung by an opposition Congress and hounded by his always numerous critics? The answer is likely to be: not for a while. After a year of crises and threats of more to come, the nation, and the world seem eager for a respite. Moreover, the U.S. has long had a tradition of forbearance toward a new President: a willingness to let him show what he can do, even if he does not enjoy wide and enthusiastic public support.

Humphrey sounded the proper note when he met Nixon in Florida two days after the election: "I'm going to want his presidency to be an effective presidency, because as he succeeds, we all succeed." Gracious words from the loser are almost obligatory, but others under less compulsion to be generous to the winner after a close campaign also indicated a readiness to withhold judgment. Georgia's Governor Lester Maddox, a loyal Wallace man, sent congratulations to "my President." So did George Meany, while Walter Reuther, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. and Whitney Young Jr. expressed good wishes. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, a special target for Nixon during the campaign, said there should now be "no recriminations."

In this week's New York Times Mag-

azine, Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. allows that he finds Nixon more palatable as a President-elect than as a candidate, and concludes: "If Mr. Nixon can really listen to the diversity of ideas, agonies and hopes in this great and turbulent land, he may yet achieve the capacity to move beyond himself and to serve the nation and the world." Columnist Max Lerner, another longtime Nixon critic, wrote sympathetically that the President-elect "will need all the help he can get from all of us," and proposed that his opponents "meet him better than halfway."

One willing to go even further was John Freeman, London's Ambassador-designate to Washington. Six years ago, when he was editor of Britain's left-wing *New Statesman*, Freeman wrote that Nixon's record "suggests a man of no principle whatever," one who has "done lasting damage to the conventions of American political life." Freeman now argues differently, saying that Nixon "has proved by his success, and the quite admirable struggle which he has made to achieve it, that he has the qualities of leadership that make him worthy of high office."

Of course, Nixon can hardly expect the sniping to cease altogether while he gets his bearings. Chicago Daily News Columnist Mike Royko mocked Nixon for having won a "mand," or "about half a mandate." A mand, Royko wrote, means something to the effect that "We've got to hire somebody for the job, so it might as well be you. But try

not to mess things up, huh?" Drew Pearson, an inveterate Nixonphobe, tried to be considerably more damaging with a story—given in a speech rather than a column—that Nixon visited a psychiatrist some years ago because of his difficulty in standing up under pressure. Both a Nixon spokesman and the physician, a former internist who now specializes in psychosomatic medicine, denied the Pearson story.

An Absence of Passion. Most people, however, were more interested in Nixon's future than in his past. Nixon benefits from the character of this year's campaign. Despite the tumult, there was relatively little passion expended on behalf of either major candidate. Consequently, the letdown for those who supported Humphrey was not too severe. Even many of George Wallace's passionate partisans knew all along that their cause was lost. Nixon's own style through most of the campaign was designed to make as few new enemies as possible.

Soundings by TIME correspondents around the country last week indicated that many blacks, activist college students and supporters of Eugene McCarthy still distrust Nixon deeply. But they are outnumbered by Republicans who have been Nixon fans for years and others who are willing to remain open-minded until the President-elect has a chance to prove himself. Whatever the vote totals, that attitude constitutes a mandate—or at any rate, something more than a mand.

AN INTERREGNUM WITHOUT RANCOR

THE 36th President of the U.S. and the man who will be No. 37 are two of the most pugnacious politicians of their generation. Yet both Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon seemed determined last week to avoid the rancor that has so often accompanied the transfer of power.

If they succeed, it will be quite an achievement. In the 1932-33 interregnum, relations between Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt were frosty, though the nation was already deep in the Depression. Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower did somewhat better 20 years later, but not much. In 1960, John Kennedy declined to become involved in decisions that were made during Dwight Eisenhower's last months in the White House. Their first post-election meeting did not take place until a month after Kennedy won.

The Major Risk. Nixon, on the other hand, visited Johnson at the L.B.J. ranch immediately after he became the G.O.P.'s nominee in August, has since spoken on the phone with the President perhaps a dozen times. Last week, just six days after the election, Dick and Pat called on Lyndon and Lady Bird. The four lunched together. Then, as the hostess took her successor for a tour, the men went to work. Sitting in a familiar spot—the Cabinet Room's vice presidential seat—Nixon was briefed on major security problems by Defense Secretary Clark Clifford and other ranking officials. After three hours and 50 minutes, Johnson and Nixon faced the press. It was Nixon who drew attention to the major risk of the transition period: paralysis in foreign affairs. "The current Administration," said Nixon, "is setting forth policies that will be carried forward by the next Administration." Therefore, Nixon gave his assurances that Johnson and Rusk "could speak not just for this Administration but for the nation, and that meant for the next Administration as well."

Johnson was surprised that Nixon publicly made such a pledge. He was also elated. Nixon's statement, first of all, was a clear message to the Saigon government as well as Hanoi that the incoming Administration could not be played off against the outgoing one. From Nixon's viewpoint, the faster the war is settled, the better able he will be to unite the nation and put across his own programs.

Nixon's apparent offer of *carte blanche* to the Administration whose policies he has so roundly criticized did, however, raise several questions. What if Johnson begins serious nego-

tiations with the Russians over arms control? Nixon, after all, is on record as favoring such negotiations only after the U.S. improves its military posture. What if Johnson promises the Communists something that Nixon is not prepared to give in order to achieve peace in Viet Nam? It would be Nixon who would have to live with the arrangement.

No Co-President. To erase the impression that he had given Johnson unconditional support for any contingency, Nixon later in the week said that he had made his pledge with the understanding that there would be "prior consultation and prior agreement" between himself and the White House before



"GATHER YE ROSEBUDS WHILE YE MAY!"

any major step was taken in foreign affairs. To this end, he appointed as his liaison man Robert D. Murphy, 74, a retired career diplomat who has handled sensitive assignments in hot wars and cold, and who will now occupy an office next to Dean Rusk's at the State Department.

The implication remained that Nixon had become a kind of co-President, and Johnson decided to weigh in with some explanations of his own the next day. With Murphy at his elbow, Johnson told reporters that "of course, the decisions that will be made between now and January 20th will be made by this President and by this Secretary of State and by this Secretary of Defense." Despite the caveats from both sides, the objective sought by Johnson and Nixon—to let Washington speak "with one voice," as Nixon put it—remained reasonably clear. On the Viet Nam talks (*see THE WORLD*), at least for now, there are no fundamental differences between the two. Nixon will have an opportunity to speak out on any important foreign policy decision that may

bind the next Administration. But until Jan. 20, Johnson has the last word.

"Will the marriage last?" mused Bryce Harlow, who will serve Nixon as a White House assistant. "I don't know. They're acting like it will. They are strong men with strong positions, but there is a heavy compulsion on these men—the national interest."

Harmony was evident at lower levels too. While the Nixons were occupied with the Johnsons, the President-elect's aides met their counterparts in the White House for briefings, tours and lunch in the basement mess. For the first time, the terms of the 1964 Presidential Transition Act were in force. The act authorizes up to \$900,000 for the expenses of the changeover and allows the President to make available extensive facilities, including office space, for his successor's advance party. Johnson went beyond the letter of the law by letting Nixon use his new, heavily armored, \$175,000 Lincoln limousine, though he has yet to try it out himself.

Head-Hunting. In New York, shielded by swarms of local cops and Secret Service men,* Nixon divided his time between temporary headquarters on the 39th floor of the elegant Hotel Pierre (the same floor that Aristotle Onassis often occupied) and his apartment a block and a half up Fifth Avenue. He conducted almost continuous staff meetings, many of them devoted to the talent search for Cabinet members and the 2,200 or so other officials who will make up the core of his Administration.

As if to underscore the theme he has adopted for his inaugural and touched on in his victory speech—"Bring us together"—Nixon also played host to a diverse cast of characters. In a single day, his guests at the Pierre included A.T. & T. Ex-Chairman Frederick Kappel, Central Intelligence Agency Chief Richard Helms, A.F.L.-C.I.O. President George Meany and Urban League Executive Director Whitney Young Jr. After his meeting, Young quipped, in a reference to Nixon's neglect of the Negro during his campaign: "I wanted to make sure the 'forgotten Americans' he's been talking about get together with the 'forgotten Americans' I'm talking about."

No Buffer. Nixon will announce no Cabinet appointments until next month. Meanwhile, as his White House staff began to shape up (*see following story*), it became clear that he would not allow his immediate aides to exert the kind of authority that presidential assistants have enjoyed in recent Admin-

* Security precautions were tightened after three Arab immigrants from Yemen were arrested and indicted by a New York grand jury in an alleged plot to assassinate Nixon. Acting on an informer's tip, police found weapons in the suspects' Brooklyn apartment. There was speculation, however, that the "conspiracy" was invented by the suspects' disgruntled former roommate.

istrations. Under Johnson, Kennedy and Eisenhower, the White House staff often served as a buffer between the President and his Cabinet, and even leeches off much of the Cabinet's power. Nixon's men insist that there will be no Sherman Adams, Harry Hopkins, McGeorge Bundy or Bill Moyers standing between Nixon and his statutory policymakers in the Cabinet. The White House staff, they add, will concern itself far more with running the headquarters than fighting the main governmental battles.

As Vice President, Spiro Agnew may also find his role severely circumscribed. In their first meeting after the election, Nixon announced that he would give Agnew substantive responsibilities not held by previous Vice Presidents, but failed to spell them out. Agnew will not have independent executive offices or an executive staff—perquisites that Nixon, Johnson and Humphrey all enjoyed. Instead, the Vice President-elect will have an office in the White House and use Nixon's staff. Agnew thus will

be kept conveniently close at hand, where Nixon and his aides can keep an eye on him.

Awkward Interim. Aside from his talent hunt, Nixon's foremost chore for the next nine weeks is making plans to revise the fiscal 1970 budget that Johnson's men are already preparing. In his last State of the Union message, the President may well ask Congress to enact a raft of domestic programs of Johnsonian scope. Nixon's inaugural speech will have to offer constructive alternatives. For that reason, the President-elect must soon devote considerable attention to specific legislation and budgetary requests.

Nixon is moving slowly and cautiously. He is fully aware that his first steps are being closely watched and that his first task is to create what an aide calls "an overlay of credibility and sureness of purpose." The period between Election Day and Inauguration can be an awkward one; yet so far, Nixon seems to be using it with skill.

THE TRANSITION

Choosing a Team

When Richard Nixon's entourage visited the White House, one campaign aide expressed surprise at how "cellularized" Lyndon Johnson's staff is. Nixon intends to change that. The group of personal assistants he began to assemble last week is being billed as a select cadre of versatile generalists. As one aide put it: "We don't want specific people locked into specific boxes."

The new group shapes up into two echelons, and will probably be smaller than Johnson's 20-member personal staff. Members of the top rank will carry the title of "assistant" or "counsel" to the President. The second level will consist of "special assistants." As do most Presidents, Nixon is drawing heavily on old subordinates and advisers who have served him through many campaigns. Six of the seven men Nixon named last week have no Washington experience. Three, in fact, are recent alumni of

How the World Sees Nixon—Suspended Judgment

WORLD reaction to the U.S. presidential election ranged from the Saigon Post's jubilant banner, "HELLO, NIXON!" to an "Oh no, not Nixon!" from liberals who have mistrusted him for nearly two decades. Even so, the very closeness of the presidential vote exerted a curiously quieting effect on most nations. Americans after all, had been sober and responsible in casting the majority of their votes for two moderates and rejecting the Wallace extreme.

If many foreign statesmen greeted Nixon's election with equanimity and even pleasure, it was partly because of familiarity. In his eight years as Vice President and five years as a paripatetic counsel for Pepsi-Cola, Nixon had met with virtually every world leader and with hundreds of the most prominent politicians from Paris to Pnompenh. The Shah of Iran sent a congratulatory cable citing "our long relationship of cordial amity." Even Gamal Abdel Nasser of the U.A.R., which has broken diplomatic ties with the U.S., expressed good wishes.

Apparatchik

Inevitably, the North Koreans dismissed Nixon as a "notorious war maniac," while the Communist Chinese paired Humphrey and Nixon as "jackals of the same lair." In the Communist Eastern European countries, Nixon arouses deep antagonism, but most believe that the circumstances of his election, and the Democratic majority in Congress, will force him to exercise moderation.

The Soviets themselves have traditionally portrayed Nixon as a reactionary anti-Communist, particularly since his 1959 kitchen debate with Khrushchev. But some Soviets have begun to regard Nixon as an American version of Premier Aleksei Kosygin: an efficient *apparatchik*.

The world's more conservative, anti-Communist governments welcomed Nixon's election, especially such rightist strongholds as South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. It was only in Greece, however, that people actually celebrated the event. The cause for Greek enthusiasm, of course, was Spiro T. Agnew, whose father, Theophrastos Anagnostopoulos, was born in Gargalianoi in southern Greece. Of the town's present 7,000 inhabitants about 300 are named Anagnostopoulos.

While Nixon's comparatively hard anti-Communist line is applauded in parts of Asia, notably Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan and South Viet Nam, it arouses anxiety among allies elsewhere. At the same time, some capitals fear that

Nixon might lead the nation back into isolationist foreign policies and protectionist trade policies. In Asia, Latin America and Africa, many governments are concerned that the new Administration—or Congress—might cut back even further on foreign aid, despite Nixon's growing internationalist outlook.

Two Telegrams

Some Western Europeans were also disturbed by Nixon's reputation as a truculent cold warrior. At least officially, however, and for different reasons, leaders of France and West Germany were pleased with the choice of the U.S. electorate. "We had two congratulatory telegrams ready to go," grinned an aide to Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger, "but one was a notch warmer than the other." Under Nixon, Bonn anticipates a tougher stance regarding the Soviet Union, a shift from Washington-Moscow bilateralism back to the NATO alliance and a renewed interest in Europe as the crucial area of East-West conflict.

De Gaulle was pleased with Nixon's election, believing it may ease Franco-American relations and signal a renewed U.S. interest in Europe. Besides, France's President has long been partial to Nixon over almost all U.S. leaders. In part, he has been flattered by Nixon's frequent courtesy calls in the last eight years.

No Fire

Many Europeans, of course, find Nixon somewhat un-sympatico. "You would never see a Nixon in Italy," Italian Author Luigi Barzini told a New York Times reporter: "He's a Y.M.C.A., Boy Scout, *Reader's Digest* American." Black Africans tend to be antagonized by what they see as Nixon's indifference to black Americans. Democratic liberals in Latin America greeted his election bleakly. *Tío Landrú*, an Argentine satirical magazine, printed a mock Nixon platform: "I will support: Agrarian reform in the Antarctic; equality for all Negroes in Africa; export of Green Berets at moderate prices; and democratic *coups d'état*."

The daily Indian Express offered a more balanced appraisal. "Nixon has been described as 'the perfect pragmatic politician.' He may not set the Potomac on fire, but neither is he likely to ignite the world." In most of the world, similarly, judgments tended to be guarded and tentative. Nixon has not exactly ignited the world with enthusiasm, but he has not frozen it with fear either.

J. Walter Thompson Co., the advertising agency whose mission was once described as the discovery of "what it is that makes this product the white pea in the pod." The first members of Nixon's White House team:

Bryce N. Harlow, 52, is the old man of the operation. He will be the assistant with primary responsibility for congressional relations—the President's chief lobbyist. But he is also expected to be a general adviser in a number of fields, including national security. An Oklahoman, Harlow served as General George Marshall's Capitol Hill liaison man during World War II, later headed the House Armed Services Committee staff and became a White House assistant under Dwight Eisenhower. During the Kennedy-Johnson years he was Procter & Gamble's chief Washington representative.

Harry Robbins Haldeman, 42, will generally oversee all staff operations. Bob Haldeman has been working in Nixon campaigns since 1956, when he began as an advance man. This year he left his job as head of J. Walter Thompson's Los Angeles office to become Nixon's chief of staff.

John D. Ehrlichman, 43, a Seattle attorney, will be a presidential counsel handling special assignments. His present job is recruiting talent for the sub-Cabinet level. He worked in Nixon's 1960 and 1962 campaigns, this year had the title of tour director, handling logistics for the traveling operation.

Raymond K. Price Jr., 38, and **Patrick J. Buchanan Jr.**, 30, will be special assistants. During the campaign both served as speechwriters and idea men. They are expected to do much the same work in the White House. Price was once a LIFE reporter, later joined the old New York Herald Tribune and rose to become its chief editorial writer. Buchanan was an editorial writer for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Ronald Ziegler, 29, as a special assistant concentrating on press relations will not be a press secretary in the tra-

dition of James Hagerty or Bill Moyers. His role will be largely restricted to giving factual briefings—as he did during the campaign—rather than offering interpretation on a policy level. Before becoming an advertising account executive under Haldeman, Ziegler served in Nixon's 1962 campaign.

Dwight Chapin, 28, will be the special assistant responsible for Nixon's daily schedule. A veteran of both Nixon's California gubernatorial race and Haldeman's branch office of J. Walter Thompson, Chapin will serve more as a "doorman," as one of the President's aides put it, than as a high-powered chief of staff or appointments secretary in the tradition of Sherman Adams and Kenneth O'Donnell.

Several more White House aides remain to be chosen, and they, too, are expected to come from Nixon's campaign staff. Of one selection there was never any doubt. Rose Mary Woods, his personal secretary for 17 years, will continue in that job.

THE ELECTION

Poor Prospects for Reform

Richard Nixon's thin margin of popular votes widened only slightly as late returns and absentee ballots were totaled up last week. He might console himself that his 324,966 plurality amounted to nearly three times the 118,574-vote figure by which John Kennedy defeated him eight years ago. Yet with 31,085,267 popular votes to Humphrey's 30,760,301, Nixon still claimed merely 43.5% of the electorate's approval—the lowest percentage since Woodrow Wilson, battling both Republican William Howard Taft and Bull Mooser Teddy Roosevelt, won with 41.9% of the vote in 1912. Wallace won 9,674,802 popular votes, or 13.5%.

The old math of the Electoral College, of course, showed Nixon enjoying a more comfortable victory. He collected 32 states for 302 electoral votes, while Humphrey had 13 states and the

District of Columbia for 191. George Wallace's five Southern states gave him 45 electoral votes.

The U.S. thus escaped for another four years the constitutional crisis that for generations has been inherent in the Electoral College system. Had none of the candidates gained the requisite 270-vote Electoral College majority, the nation would have drifted in dangerous uncertainty for weeks or even months. The possible scenario has become amply familiar. Wallace might have tried to barter his electors for concessions from one of the major candidates between Nov. 5 and Dec. 16, when the electors will cast their ballots. If he failed, the selection of the next President might have been thrown to the House of Representatives, where another deadlock might well have resulted. Democrats in the new House will outnumber Republicans, 243 to 192 (the old line-up: 247 Democrats, 188 Republicans) but each state delegation would have had only one vote, dictated by the wishes of the majority of the delegation. And neither party gained clear control over the 26 delegations that would have been necessary for the House to choose a winner. Democrats will command—but only in name—25 delegations, and the G.O.P. 20; five are evenly divided, hence would have lost their vote. Thus it might have been left to the Senate to select either Spiro Agnew or Edmund Muskie as Acting President.

A Harris poll last week showed that 79% of the nation favors electoral reform. Indiana Democrat Birch Bayh has scheduled Senate subcommittee hearings for January on a constitutional amendment providing for direct popular election of the President and Vice President. New York's Emanuel Celler will hold similar hearings in the House. "We have flirted," said Bayh, "with the most dangerous constitutional crisis faced by the United States in a long time."

It is extraordinary and possibly outrageous that the President and Vice President are the only two elected of-



HARLOW



HALDEMAN



EHRlichman



ZIEGLER



CHAPIN

Peas for the White House pod.