

NOV 9 1972
NYTimes
Nixon Studies 2d-Term
Change in Executive
Branch and Aides;
His Popular Vote
Total is 60.8%

BOLD STEPS HINTED

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President Meets Top
Advisers and Then
Flies to Florida

NYTimes

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Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 —

President Nixon announced today that his first order of business, after his overwhelming re-election victory at the polls yesterday, would be a "significant" realignment of his staff and the executive departments.

The announcement came after the President conferred with his senior staff aides, Cabinet members and agency heads.

He then flew to his home at Key Biscayne, Fla., where the changes are expected to be discussed. He was accompanied by Henry A. Kissinger, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, three of his principal advisers, and Charles G. Rebozo, a close friend.

Resignations Are Due

On the flight leaving Andrews Air Force Base, the President was accompanied by Mrs. Nixon and their two sons-in-law and daughters, Mr. and Mrs. David Eisenhower and Mr. and Mrs. Edward F. Cox.

Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, would not say what specific changes the President had in mind, either in the structure of the Government or in the men who operate it.

But he left a broad hint that Mr. Nixon might try to achieve by executive action the "shake-up" he asked for in legislation submitted two years ago but left untouched by a hostile Congress.

He said that the President expected all members of his staff and Cabinet to submit resignations, as is customary, to give him a free hand. The press secretary also said that Mr. Nixon would devote his full energies to organizational matters while he was in Key Biscayne, Fla., where he flew this afternoon and where he plans to spend the next few days.

Stress on Foreign Policy

But the meeting today was merely the beginning of a long-delayed process of planning for the next term. Preoccupied for months with Congressional lobbying, Vietnam and politics, neither the President nor his people have done much more than chart a general agenda for action next year, let alone for the next four years.

Moreover, even his closest associates seemed hard-put to give newsmen a clear definition of how Mr. Nixon read the election results and interpreted his mandate. As usual, much remains locked in the President's mind. But some of the guidelines that will shape the character of the President's sec-

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ond term have emerged.

On the basis of Mr. Nixon's public utterances in the campaign, as well as private interviews with his aides, the following general judgments seem possible:

Mr. Nixon is likely to continue his personal emphasis on foreign policy and to seek his greatest satisfactions in that field. Even if a rough sort of peace emerges in Vietnam, he sees a long list of unfinished diplomatic business to challenge his energies and talents.

On the domestic front, the President is likely to revive and reshape a variety of leftover legislation. There will also be some new initiatives. But the outlook is for less Federal intervention in the affairs of the nation, not more.

There will, as Mr. Ziegler broadly hinted, be changes in Mr. Nixon's Cabinet and staff. But, while some men who are either tired of government service or who do not command the full affection of the President's inner circle will undoubtedly return to private life, their replacements are not likely to disturb the basic ideological cast of the Administration.

Reading the Returns

Mr. Nixon's domestic strategies will depend much on how he reads voter sentiment, on his own instincts and on the imprint he hopes to leave on history. These are not necessarily uncomplementary forces.

It would be possible, for example, to read the voting returns as ample justification for a stand-pat Government, inasmuch as Mr. Nixon's own campaign pleas to the voters were mainly negative: no tax increases, no federal spending binge, no forced busing of schoolchildren, no amnesty, no dismantling of the defense establishment.

But Mr. Nixon also prides himself on being an "activist," and the prospects are for at least some action in the following areas:

WELFARE: Despite ple—S-E-TI made four year ago, Mr. Nixon has yet to achieve basic reform of the welfare system. He said at a recent news conference that he still believes in the principle of income maintenance for the poor; in the same breath, however, he also said that any new plan should include stricter work requirements. Since the departure two years ago of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, there are not many men of commanding influence left around the President to push for a "liberal" income maintenance program.

REVENUE SHARING: Mr. Nixon promised in the campaign to return more and more power to states and cities, and his basic instincts lead him to the same conclusion. Thus, he is likely to revive the proposal for special revenue sharing, under which a great many individual Federal programs would be combined into block grants to localities.

HEALTH: This is a top-priority item. Mr. Nixon is almost certain to resubmit, perhaps with some adjustments, his program of nationwide health insurance that would build largely upon the present private insurance industry and would be largely financed by employers.

TAXES: The outlook now is for selective reform but hardly the sweeping changes called for by the Democrats. Mr. Nixon has also promised no new tax increases. Given the budget deficit of \$25-billion to \$35-billion in the current fiscal year, this probably means a sharp holddown in spending, a reluctant to embark on massive new programs, and an attempt to eliminate old ones. One likely target is the Office of Economic Opportunity.

There are, however, at least two major question-marks.

One is the issue of equal educational opportunity. Mr. Nixon is likely to try for stiffer anti-using legislation again this year. Not to do so would represent a violation of one of his most basic campaign pledges. But the question here is what further he proposes to do to help predominantly black schools in "impacted" neighborhoods.

Overhaul in Prospect

The second question mark involves federally subsidized housing programs. George Romney, Secretary of the Housing and Urban Development, thinks they ought to be eliminated and replaced with some more direct means of subsidy, such as payments to the poor to obtain housing. The same housing programs, which stem from the New Deal, Fair Deal and Great Society, do not have many friends, even among liberals on Capitol Hill, either.

Thus the time would seem to be ripe for a major overhaul of housing programs, a gesture that would also redeem Mr. Nixon's pledge to make the government more effective. But so far the White House has been silent on the matter.

In the field of diplomacy, where Mr. Nixon has scored his greatest first-term successes, the President still sees many opportunities and hopes to exploit them. Even Mr. Ehrlichman, the domestic affairs advisor, believes that his chief has reached the "threshold" of major new diplomatic gains and should not, therefore,

rest on the accomplishments of his first four years.

Mr. Nixon will undoubtedly attempt, for example, to consolidate his gains with the Communist bloc, encouraging more exchanges with China and more trade and arms control with the Soviet Union.

He will surely seek to develop freer trade and more flexible monetary rules, a major point of contention between the Administration and its allies in Europe and Japan. And he can be expected to push hard for a political settlement in the Middle East, which, if achieved, would be just the sort of major diplomatic triumph Mr. Nixon relishes.

There have also been persistent rumors here that the President would cap his electoral triumph with some overseas travel, possibly a trip to European capitals. But Mr. Ziegler said today that, at least "at this time," there were no plans for such travel before the first of the year.

Defections from Mr. Nixon's cabinet and staff, whether voluntary or forced, are likely to be considerable. Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird has expressed a desire to take up other pursuits; Mr. Romney, meanwhile, has grown increasingly unhappy with what he says is the White House's lack of interest in housing and urban development.

Hodgson May Leave

Other possible departures may be Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, who has drawn the ire of George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; and Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst, who is not universally popular with the White House staff.

Today L. Patrick Gray 3d, Acting Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, submitted a letter of resignation to Mr. Kleindienst, "to be effective at the pleasure of the Attorney General."

The action by Mr. Gray is considered a pro forma one. He previously indicated that he intended to take the step to give the President a completely free hand in naming the permanent director, but he is considered a strong candidate for the position.

Most of the senior members in Mr. Nixon's immediate entourage—Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman, to name two—are expected to stay at the center of power. The plans of Mr. Kissinger, the President's national security adviser, are not clear. But lesser though not unimportant aides—such as Harry S. Dent, a political adviser; William Safire, a speechwriter, and Leonard Garment, an adviser on civil rights—may leave in time.

All three have the President's full support but, like many others on the White House staff, they may decide that they have done the job for which they were recruited and that the time to depart has come.

Seats on High Court

Of perhaps greater interest both to his critics and his allies, however, may be the changes Mr. Nixon makes in the Supreme Court, two of whose members—Justice William O. Douglas and Thurgood Marshall — are in uncertain health. Only one new appointment would give the Court a "Nixon majority," and Mr. Nixon has said he will select the kind of judicial conservative he appointed in the past.

The President's success in achieving whatever objectives he sets for himself, particularly in the domestic arena, will depend much on the swiftness with which he moves. Even his associates admit that he dawdled much too long in offering new programs in his first term.

Success will also depend on how Congress itself reads the election returns. The Democrats seem to be as firmly in command there as they were in the first term. Mr. Nixon's hope is that they will be as impressed as he is by the size of his personal triumph, and will thus be prepared to act more favorably and flexibly on the things he asks them to do.