

# 'Big 5' at White House: Powers on Nixon Staff

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It was only four years ago that President Nixon named a Cabinet which he described in superlative terms, with each member capable of "superior or even great leadership" and each member "an independent thinker" free to express his own mind. Mr. Nixon said that he did not want a Cabinet of "yes-men."

Now, with only two of the original Cabinet members going into the second term, the President's emphasis is different. It is essential, he said earlier this month, to devise "more effective means" for making sure that "policy guidance from the President" is conveyed to all parts of the administration and "is followed."

In the second term, a tough, self-confident President intends to dominate the government. The time has come, he said, to end the situation where "more officials [are] reporting directly to the President than any one man can work with regularly on a personal basis."

"This tangle must be resolved" so that advice to the President will be direct and clear-cut and guidance from the President just as clear and direct, he said.

Americans "are fed up with wasteful, musclebound government in Washington and anxious for change that works," the President said.

He promised to "revitalize and streamline" a government that has become "increasingly wasteful, inefficient and expensive, more and more meddlesome in the affairs of individuals and lower levels of government, and too often unresponsive both to the people whom it exists to serve and to the Presidents whom the people elect to administer it."

In his interview last month with Associated Press writer Saul Pett, Mr. Nixon said he wanted to "recharge" the people who are staying in the government and give them "a new sense of challenge."

Although he said he would and could delegate power and trust subordinates to handle many matters, he claimed for himself the privileges of "quarterback and coach."

"But I make all the important decisions, domestic or foreign," the President told Pett.

"There are those who say there are no restraints on a President if he doesn't have to run again," Mr. Nixon continued. "That is really a fatuous and superficial analysis of the presidency . . ."

"Individuals who serve here do not serve to get re-elected but to do great things. And they could be even greater when you don't have to worry about reelection."

"Now, what we want to do, we want everybody to think the challenge is just as great. The leader has to whip them up. The team goes just as fast as the leader, as the quarterback and coach, and I am both."

How does the President intend to reverse the bureaucratic course and to effect far-reaching changes? Bureaucracies aren't very easy to reform, as his predecessors knew and as he learned in his first term.

Mr. Nixon seems to be saying that decentralization and revenue sharing may be noble concepts for the federal-state relationship but not where a presidential Cabinet is concerned. He is taking the reins of power and holding them closely in the White House. There is no more talk about "independent thinkers" in the Cabinet.

The President has spelled out his plan very clearly. It remains to be seen how well it will work.

"From a managerial standpoint," he said 15 days before his second inaugural, "the nucleus of this staff will be five assistants to the President."

He emphasized that "they will work immediately under me, and at my direction,

to integrate and unify policies and operations throughout the executive branch of the government, and to oversee all of the activities for which the President is responsible."

Seldom has a charge to five men been more explicit and all-embracing.

These five assistants, with their areas of responsibility and authority, are: H. R. Haldeman, administration of the White House office; John D. Ehrlichman, domestic affairs; Henry A. Kissinger, foreign affairs; Roy L. Ash, executive management; and George P. Shultz, economic affairs.

Those are the "big five" who count in the second Nixon administration. Shultz will also be Secretary of the Treasury and Ash will also be director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Two of those five—Haldeman and Ehrlichman—have been with the President for nearly two decades, and are his most trusted advisers. Kissinger, Shultz and Ash have been closely associated with him for the past four years, Ash as an outside adviser on management problems.

Shultz, incidentally, is one of the two members of the original Nixon Cabinet. He began as Secretary of Labor, became director of the Office of Management and Budget, and last year moved to Treasury. The only Cabinet officer who continues to hold his same post after four years is Secretary of State William P. Rogers, another long-time friend and associate of the President.

In addition to this five-man "nucleus," three Cabinet officers will take on additional responsibilities.

They are Earl L. Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, who will also be counselor to the President for natural resources; Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who will be counselor for human resources, and James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who will be counselor for community development.

Sitting on one or more of these committees will be Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan, Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, and Secretary of Transportation Claude S. Brinegar.

On the domestic side, that leaves only Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst, and he will report directly to the President, the White House announced.

Brennan, Dent, Morton and Brinegar, who appear to be mainly on the outside looking in, or at least on a third layer from the President, "will have the same kind of relationship with the President as other Cabinet officers have had in the past," Ehrlichman said at a White House news conference.

They will "still have continuing responsibilities for the operation of their departments," Ehrlichman said. "The difference is that in their participation on policy questions, they will be participating in councils chaired by these counselors." The committees will be organized along functional lines, Ehrlichman said.

Secretary Morton felt that this "would improve his direct input into the material that went to the President, rather than in any way to diminish it, and I think that is true," Ehrlichman maintained.

In addition, Ehrlichman said that the President expects, with the cut in the size of the White House staff, "there will be increasing occasion for his contact with the Cabinet rather than decreasing occasion."

The first break in the Nixon Cabinet came over this very issue when Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel complained that he did not have adequate access to the President. The President fired Hickel in November, 1970, and other changes rapidly followed. Congressional Quarterly

There is a hope in the State Department that its power will increase with the new emphasis on Europe, on trade, on the Middle East, and on strengthening ties with other nations by quiet diplomacy.

The appointment of William J. Casey to be under secretary of state for economic affairs will restore some of the influence of the department in economic and commercial policy, some officials believe.

In addition to reorganizing the Cabinet and tighten-



**ROY L. ASH**  
... budget boss



**JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN**  
... domestic chief



**GEORGE SHULTZ**  
... economics authority

said that "the Nixon Cabinet has posted the greatest four-year turnover rate in the history of the Republic."

On several occasions, the President indicated that he would hold more frequent Cabinet meetings (the most recent was Nov. 8), but they have never been on a regular basis.

In the foreign and defense fields, Secretary Rogers and Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson make up the remaining members of the 11-man Cabinet. They have their departments to administer, and their approach to the President will continue as in the past, officials said, which means chiefly through Kissinger's office.

The President has conferred with his Secretaries of State and Defense frequently by telephone, less frequently in person, aides testify. Some officials believe that if the Vietnam war is ever ended, Kissinger will play a less spectacular role and that Rogers' role will be strengthened as more traditional diplomacy is practiced.



**EARL L. BUTZ**  
... natural resources



**CASPAR WEINBERGER**  
... human resources



**JAMES T. LYNN**  
... community development

ing White House supervision of the departments, the President has placed a number of key Nixon men in strategic sub-cabinet positions.

These include White House aides Edward L. Morgan to be assistant secretary of the treasury, John C. Whitaker to be under secretary of the interior, Egil Krogh Jr. to be under secretary of transportation.

James Keogh, a former

presidential speechwriter, is returning to be director of the United States Information Agency.

Other White House aides also are moving up, including Alexander P. Butterfield as administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, Ronald H. Walker as director of the National Park Service, John A. Scali as ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan as ambassador to India,

Donald Rumsfeld to be ambassador to NATO.

Ash and his deputy, Fred-eric V. Malek, have responsibility to see that the President's goals are defined and carried out throughout the bureaucracy. Their charge is to leave the mechanics of budget preparations to subordinates and to concentrate on overseeing the departments and agencies to make certain that they abide by the President's orders in



Haldeman, staff chief, and Kissinger, foreign affairs.

the most economical and effective possible way.

The President has told both Ash and Malek that they are responsible for seeing that government is responsive to his policy directions and that it makes the maximum possible use of the funds available. Each department will have an agent reporting to Ash and Malek on how well the President's orders are being put into effect.

After four years, the Nixon men are clearly and emphatically in charge, everywhere in the executive agencies. They can no longer blame "wasteful, musclebound government" on old-line bureaucrats. The President and his loyal supporters have complete power — everywhere but in Congress — and they intend to operate independently of Congress to the maximum degree possible.