

Job Changes Seen as Bold Moves¹

By MAX FRANKEL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 10—The first big shake-out of the Nixon team, which is noteworthy enough from the managerial standpoint, has stirred an unusual amount of political interest here.

In a swift series of moves over the last 10 days, the President has drawn the two most conspicuous Cabinet liberals to

News Analysis — his favorite the White House administrator, George P. Shultz,

to what looks like the job of assistant President, and his best friend, Robert H. Finch, to the free-wheeling post of counselor. Moreover, two pragmatic political moderates have been elevated to the Cabinet—Elliot L. Richardson as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and James Hodgson as Secretary of Labor.

And in actions of clearly lesser significance but nonetheless symbolic importance, Clark R. Mollenhoff, the bane of Administration liberals, has been shuffled out of the job of White House Sleuth, while James E. Allen Jr., a liberal who insisted on a public break with the White House on Cambodia, has been dismissed as Commissioner of Education.

All this is represented by informed officials as the coming together of many different concerns and motivations, but a few generalizations quickly gained currency around the Capital:

¶The elevation of Mr. Shultz to the new post of Director of Management and Budget confirms Mr. Nixon's desire to concentrate not only policy-making, but also supervision of all administration, in the White House. The President conceived of the job several months ago, but in reaching for Mr. Shultz he is giving it enormous authority over the Federal departments and in his cluster of private economic advisers. He is also yielding great influence to a man who has consistently taken the liberal side in Administration arguments on such different issues as the desegregation of schools, the design of a family assistance program and the study of oil import policies.

New Nixon Advisers Bring Strength to Liberal Causes

¶By bringing Mr. Shultz and Mr. Finch to the White House, where they are bound to have regular access to him and to major policy debates, the President is at least redressing, if not reversing, the balance of political argument in his circle. Since their victory on the new welfare plan a year ago, the liberals had steadily lost ground to the conservative style and political strategies of Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Vice President Agnew.

¶By dismissing Dr. Allen, the President made it clear that he would not tolerate rebellion and criticism from a subordinate on matters outside his reach. Yet the new arrangements under Mr. Shultz should go far toward meeting the com-

plaints of other high officials that overburdened White House aides were screening them out of the policy apparatus.

Mr. Shultz's new job has been given only the vaguest definition, though with the broadest possible mandate: to evaluate and coordinate Federal programs, to streamline executive organization, to develop new information and management systems for the President, to recruit and deploy senior executive talent and, in the process, to prepare a monitor the Federal budget and make it reflect the policy priorities of the President.

Use of Camp David

To define the order that he become Mr. Nixon's "expediter and catalyst," Mr. Shultz has been given the use of Camp David, the President's Maryland retreat, for meetings next weekend. As Mr. Shultz remarked today, "I would feel badly if I had snappy answers to questions about the job, those who can't stand ambiguity can't be creative here."

But "hot groups are usually small," he added, suggesting that he aspires to a small team of high-caliber men instead of a vast new layer of administration.

Like all his recent predecessors, Mr. Nixon quickly discovered that making governmental decisions is not the same as having them carried out. He

and his aides have complained of obstruction by the Federal bureaucracy and of their inability, even with precise Presidential directives, to mount, alter or invigorate Federal programs.

Political Effect

But Washington does not live by organization charts alone. Mr. Shultz and Mr. Richardson have been moved because of their administrative skill. Mr. Finch and the other new counselor, Budget Director Robert P. Mayo, have been moved because of some administrative infirmities. But it is the political coloration of the men newly drawn into the President's orbit that may have the greatest effect on the tenor of the Nixon Administration.

It had been obvious here that the political shock caused by the movement of United States troops into Cambodia, the shootings at Kent State and Jackson State, and the stock market tumble, had produced much soul-searching in the White House.

Mr. Nixon plainly worried about the charges that he had sealed himself off from important segments of the community; he listened much more carefully than before to complaints about the so-called Southern strategy and about Vice President Agnew's rhetoric, and he was faced with new demands by moderate and liberal aides that he enlarge his circle of operations.

The primary victory of former Gov. George C. Wallace in Alabama added another dimension to the argument as the liberals urged Mr. Nixon to give up trying to undercut a Wallace Presidential candidacy in 1972 by drifting ever further to the right.

The reorganizations of the past fortnight do not resolve these arguments, but they are signals—in a community that lives by signal and symbol—that neither the ideological direction nor the work habits of this Administration are yet fixed.

New men in the White House and in the crucial Department of Health, Education and Welfare means a new avenue of approach for many others. It means new competitions for those who had seemed pre-eminent and unchallengeable only a few weeks ago. And so far, Mr. Nixon has not even tried to neutralize the signals with his former habits of matching every elevation of a liberal with the elevation of a conservative.

If the President still wishes to appeal to liberal constituencies around the country and in Congress, if he wishes to erect machinery that could truly alter the priorities of spending from the military abroad to welfare needs at home, if he aspires to reassure both labor and the financial community about his budget policies and economic strategies, and if he still hopes to make good on his promises to deliver education and health services in imaginative new ways, he could have been expected to make some of the job changes he has now made.

It will take much more, of course, to make all this known to the country at large, but in the sign language of Washington Mr. Nixon has moved boldly.