

## Nixon Elevates Liberals, Moderates in Shakeup

WASHINGTON—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 now drawn the two most conspicuous cabinet liberals to his side in the White House—his favorite administrator, George P. Shultz, to what looks like the job of assistant President, and his close 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 P. 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.

### The Coming Together

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 Capitol:

—The elevation of Shultz to the new post of director of management and budget confirms 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 Shultz he is giving it enormous authority both 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.

—By bringing Shultz and 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 Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

—By dismissing 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 Shultz should go far toward meeting the complaints of other high officials that overburdened White House aides were screening them out of the policy apparatus.

### The Vaguest Definition

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 and monitor the federal budget and make it reflect the policy priorities of the President.

Shultz has been given the use of Camp David, the President's nearby retreat, for meetings next weekend. As Shultz remarked, "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 remarked, 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, Nixon quickly discovered that making decisions in government 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.

### Administrative Skill

But Washington does not live by organization charts alone. Shultz and Richardson have been moved because of their administrative skill. 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 around the Capitol that the political shock caused by the invasion of Cambodia, the shootings at Kent State and Jackson State and the stock market tumble had produced much soul-searching around the White House.

Nixon was clearly worried about the charges that he had sealed himself off from various segments of the community. He listened more carefully than before to complain about the so-called "Southern" political strategy and about 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 George C. Wallace in Alabama added yet another dimension to the argument as the liberals urged Nixon to give up trying to undercut a Wallace presidential candidacy in 1972 by drifting ever farther to the right.

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