

THE INAUGURATION/COVER STORIES

Nixon II: A Chance for New Beginnings

AS Richard Nixon began his cherished "four more years," the stands before the Capitol were filled with the usual spectators—dignitaries, members of the frustrated U.S. Congress and Nixon's own somewhat besieged bureaucracy. But another varied cast of characters could readily be visualized as symbolic spectators: world leaders; the chief participants in the Viet Nam negotiations; the American P.O.W.s and the American antiwar movement—which, in perhaps its final gesture, was staging demonstrations near by. Though Nixon only briefly spoke of Viet Nam, the consciousness of the war and the prospects of a precarious cease-fire hovered over the proceedings.

Nixon's Inaugural Address indicated that his quest for "a peace that will endure for generations" remained his primary goal and world affairs still concerned him most. In a restrained, muted speech, he spoke of America's "bold initiatives" in 1972, and warned against "a time of retreat and isolation." He also restated the Nixon doctrine enunciated on Guam in 1969: "The time has passed when America will make every other nation's conflicts our own, or presume to tell the people of other nations how to manage their own affairs."

Seeking to link foreign and domestic policies, Nixon declared that both abroad and at home the U.S. must turn away from paternalism, from an attitude that "Washington knows best." He developed his familiar themes—less federal spending, more self-reliance. Said he: "Let us remember that America was built not by government but by people—not by welfare, but by work—not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility." As if yearning for the world of his California boyhood, when self-reliance brought just rewards and fewer people were locked into an interdependence that required the helping hand of government, Nixon turned around John Kennedy's most famous pitch for patriotism: "Let each of us ask, not just what will government do

for me, but what I can do for myself."

As Nixon defended this philosophy, it does not mean that he wants government to ignore its duties. "The shift from old policies to new will not be a retreat from our responsibilities, but a better way to progress," he promised. But, as interpreted by many Congressmen, worried mayors and various advocates of federal social programs, Nixon was setting the stage for an onslaught against the liberal domestic policies of past Democratic Presidents. His State of the Union message this week, and his budget presentation next week, will pinpoint the programs to be cut. "The President's budget message," predicted one of his aides, "will be akin to the firing at Fort Sumter." At a time when federal funds are running short, such cutbacks neatly fit his essentially conservative social attitude. Nixon watchers are sure that he has moved far away from his first-term notion, inspired by the tutelage of Pat Moynihan, that "Tory men and liberal policies are what have changed the world."

Bankrupt. Nixon has dispatched managerial experts throughout his Administration to analyze programs, eliminate those that do not work, and seek ways to cut out waste. Instead of specific grants, Nixon intends to disburse federal funds to local governments, first through unrestricted general revenue sharing and then, if Congress approves, through special revenue sharing for broadly categorized aims. Under attack will be federal programs in public housing, rural assistance, education, health, and public employment.

Even liberals have to admit that too much money has been spent for too long on ineffectual schemes, that many of the old programs are bankrupt. In large part these programs were created because state and local governments had failed to meet genuine needs; there is no guarantee that they will do so if the Federal Government now withdraws. Despite the alarms of Nixon's opponents, and some of his own rhetoric, no one can to-

tally reverse the trends of several generations; many of the programs are irrevocably locked in the modern American system. Still there is no doubt that Nixon means to cut—and cut deeply. Just how deeply will define the politics of the coming year and perhaps of the entire second term. Says one presidential adviser: "Our adversaries will argue that the President is against education or that he doesn't care about little children starving to death. We will be accused of greed and being mean-spirited. If we can articulate our position better, we might succeed."

In recent months it has been Nixon's tactics more than his aims that have made much of Congress and the bureaucracy apprehensive: his decision making in seclusion, his failure to consult Congress or inform the public. Noting that some of the Administration's friendliest columnists, such as James J. Kilpatrick and William S. White, have turned critical, one presidential aide conceded: "Maybe we have made some mistakes since the election. We should be playing the role of the magnanimous victor. We should be more open."

Viet Nam will continue to affect the U.S., as the fate of Nixon's "peace with honor" rests on the shaky base of the Saigon government's survival. The echoes of the Christmas bombing will linger, and partly account for the odd lack of triumph in Washington as the cease-fire approached; the terms of the settlement will be bitterly debated for years to come. Yet the obsessive preoccupation with Viet Nam is bound to recede, and thus a relieved President may turn more conciliatory as he leads the U.S. into the complex postwar world. Said Nixon in his address: "Let us again learn to debate our differences with civility and decency, and let each of us reach out for that precious quality government cannot provide—a new level of respect for the rights of one another." Indeed, government cannot provide that. But a President could—by setting a tone and an example.

THE NIXONS AND AGNEWS ON THE INAUGURAL STAND AFTER THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY



The Final Push for Peace

THE divisions in Viet Nam still cut so deeply after a generation of warfare that no one could say with certainty that the fighting would soon cease. Yet last week's flurry of diplomatic maneuvering, from Key Biscayne to Saigon to Paris, gave every indication that for the U.S. peace finally was, indeed, "at hand." Declared a high U.S. official: "We are very close to a final agreement. I think there is no turning back now."

That was about as definitive a statement as Washington would allow in a week of rumors. TIME correspondents nevertheless were able to reconstruct much of the final push toward peace and to glean the general outlines of the

LE MINH



THIEU AT DAUGHTER'S WEDDING

impending settlement. Despite the relative rush with which the pieces began falling together, a successful outcome had been seriously in doubt at many points along the way.

When President Nixon announced on Dec. 30 that he was suspending air raids on Hanoi, and that the North Vietnamese had agreed to return to "serious" talks in Paris with Henry Kissinger, Washington was pleased, of course, but not at all sure that there would be speedy progress. At Kissinger's first session with Hanoi's Le Duc Tho on Jan. 8, the atmosphere was bitter and frosty. Kissinger therefore tackled some of the less contentious issues first, including a mutual release of military prisoners and the technicalities of arranging a cease-fire. These were largely resolved in two days of tough give-and-take.

Tho balked, however, on a key issue: the precise status of the six-mile-wide Demilitarized Zone. Hanoi, which has consistently refused to view Viet Nam as two nations, wanted free mil-

itary movement through this "temporary" buffer zone. South Viet Nam's President Nguyen Van Thieu, on the other hand, claims that the DMZ is a permanent political border for his sovereign nation. It was largely at Thieu's insistence that the U.S. had reopened discussion on this subject, which had purposely been left vague in the nine-point agreement announced by Kissinger in October. Now, on orders from Nixon, Kissinger told Tho that the U.S. simply would not stand for protracted haggling on this point. The implication was that Nixon might turn the B-52s loose on Hanoi again.

Whether this threat was decisive is not certain, but suddenly, on Jan. 11, Tho indicated a willingness to make some concessions on the DMZ issue. Perhaps the continued pressure from Peking and Moscow to achieve a settlement was as influential as any potential

Thieu, then settled back to watch the Super Bowl game.

Without even waiting to hear Thieu's reaction, Nixon on Monday morning ordered a suspension of all U.S. "bombing, shelling and any further mining of North Viet Nam." A unilateral action unlinked to any Communist response, this was the signal to Hanoi that Nixon was satisfied with the Paris pact. It was also a sure sign to Thieu that the U.S. would make peace with or without his cooperation.

In Saigon, Thieu got the message. Although privately angered at the provisions—especially their failure to require that all North Vietnamese troops return to the North after a cease-fire—he indicated that he would bow, however reluctantly, to the U.S. pressure. He obviously feared, and with good reason, that the U.S. would cut off all aid to his government if he refused to agree. Even such staunch Thieu backers as U.S. Senators Barry Goldwater and John Stennis last week publicly urged



LE DUC THO (FOURTH FROM LEFT) CONFRONTS
For the U.S., no turning back.

U.S. military moves. At any rate, that breakthrough got things moving. Both sides soon agreed in general on the size and powers of a four-nation International Control Commission to supervise the cease-fire, the authority of an interim National Council of Reconciliation to arrange for new elections in South Viet Nam, and the disposition of North Vietnamese troops in the South.

On Jan. 13 Kissinger flew back to the U.S. to present a draft of the proposed settlement to Nixon. Technical teams from both sides remained in Paris to work on the "protocols," the detailed arrangements for carrying out the general principles. Before leaving Paris, Kissinger told Tho that if Nixon approved of the draft there would be a clear military signal from the U.S.

Kissinger stopped off in Washington to pick up his former aide, General Alexander M. Haig Jr., now the Army's Vice Chief of Staff, before flying to Florida. At Key Biscayne, Nixon stayed up well past midnight to go over the draft, then discussed it for another four hours with Kissinger and Haig on Sunday morning. Convinced that the deal would give the Saigon government "a reasonable chance" to survive, Nixon dispatched Haig to talk it over with

the Saigon government not to stand in the way of a settlement.

Thieu nevertheless continued his rearguard action, giving his followers the impression that he was fighting for every possible Communist concession but was being coerced by the U.S. Instead of "objecting" to the principles of the draft, as he had done so strenuously in October, he now sought "clarification" of the protocols. For that purpose, Thieu sent his own technical team to Paris to work on the uncompleted details—and these details still contain the possibility of delay and disruption.

Yet as Haig moved on to the capitals of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand to explain the terms to officials of those governments, the peace momentum continued to build, and any resistance from Saigon looked futile. Then came the simultaneous Washington-Hanoi announcement on Thursday that Kissinger and Tho would meet again this week in Paris "for the purpose of completing the text of an agreement." That seemed to set up a final scenario, which, subject to unpredictable changes, would have the agreement initialed before the end of the week. Ministers of the four

concerned regimes—the U.S., North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (Viet Cong)—would formally sign the papers next week. A cease-fire would go into effect 24 hours later—just in time for *Tet*, the Vietnamese New Year, which begins on Feb. 3.

What happens after that will be determined by how each side follows the provisions of the truce agreement. On many points the emerging agreement does not differ much from the aborted Washington-Hanoi arrangements of October. The U.S. will withdraw all of its troops from South Viet Nam within 60 days after the cease-fire, and Hanoi will release all American prisoners of war within the same period. Within 30 days, an international conference will be held with representatives of the U.S., China, Russia, North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam, the P.R.G., Britain and France, in order to ratify the settlement more broadly. A four-nation International Control Commission (presum-

WITHDRAWALS. Thieu also lost on his demand that all North Vietnamese troops withdraw from the South. Instead, the cease-fire permits all forces to retain control of areas they hold at the time the truce begins. As in October, there is a tacit understanding that some of the North Vietnamese troops (estimated at about 145,000) will withdraw, but the agreement apparently will call only vaguely (and with little practical meaning) for some demobilization of forces on both sides. No new troops will be allowed to enter South Viet Nam, but military equipment can be replaced on a "piece-for-piece" basis.

PRISONERS. In December Hanoi tried to connect the release of American P.O.W.s with a simultaneous release by the Saigon government of all the political prisoners it holds (estimated by U.S. officials in Saigon at 100,000). It has yielded on that, leaving the question of civilian prisoners to later negotiations with Saigon. The South Vietnamese, however, will free some 9,000 North

freer movements of his own police and aircraft for the protection of areas he controls. A last-minute decision for the U.S. is just which of these and other Thieu reservations, if any, to take seriously enough to present again in Paris.

The imminent peace agreement apparently will be a somewhat tighter and more detailed pact than the one originally brought home by Kissinger in October. It is thus more to the liking of President Nixon, a lawyer who mistrusts ambiguities. Yet diplomats often prefer vagueness when situations are so complex that they cannot be reduced to neat and enforceable formulations on paper. Whether the slight improvement over the October deal is worth the December air raids remains doubtful.

Thieu has probably been somewhat



KISSINGER ACROSS THE CONFERENCE TABLE
For the Vietnamese, a bitter beginning.

ably Canada, Hungary, Poland and Indonesia) will provide the personnel to observe and report on truce violations. A four-party military commission (the U.S., South Viet Nam, North Viet Nam and the P.R.G.) will also help supervise the cease-fire. The National Council of Reconciliation (composed of the Saigon government, the P.R.G. and neutralist representatives) will arrange for new elections to be held in South Viet Nam within six months.

Other provisions that were questioned anew following the October agreement, TIME has learned, apparently were resolved as follows:

THE DMZ. The zone apparently will be considered a temporary line of demarcation, and a border only between military forces (as provided in the Geneva Agreement of 1954). There will be some limitations of movement of troops and military supplies through this area. Thieu lost his argument that the DMZ be considered a political boundary. As in the October agreement, the political future of Viet Nam is left to future negotiations among the Vietnamese; the pact separates the military from the political issues.

Vietnamese and 28,000 Viet Cong military prisoners, while Hanoi must similarly release any South Vietnamese troops it has captured.

THE I.C.C. The U.S. apparently has won its argument that the Control Commission must be large enough to act as a truly effective body in supervising the truce. While Hanoi had claimed that a force of about 250 men would be sufficient, the U.S. demanded some 5,000. A compromise puts the figure at roughly 3,000, or 750 from each of the four member nations.

THE COUNCIL. The Communists sought to make the projected National Council of Reconciliation in effect a coalition government to rule the South until new elections are held. Thieu and the U.S. opposed that, insisting that it be only a body to create and supervise elections. The treaty leaves the precise role of the Council vague.

As the details to flesh out those principles are worked out in Paris this week, there is plenty of opportunity for more trouble, including those protocol "clarifications" sought by Thieu. He wants the initial four-party truce teams, for example, to be stationed near Viet Cong strongholds, while Hanoi seeks far fewer observation sites. Thieu also wants



KISSINGER AT WHITE HOUSE

strengthened, at a further loss of American and Vietnamese lives and of the U.S.'s international reputation. Even last week, after Nixon had called off the bombing of the North, the U.S. on one day alone launched 30 B-52 assaults and 335 tactical air strikes against Communist forces in South Viet Nam—one of the most intensive poundings of the war.

Such attacks will soon stop, as the U.S. withdraws and the remaining combatants profess a willingness to forgo military force as a means to their still incompatible ends. There surely will be more killing before the cease-fire as Communist troops plan a last-minute drive to seize more territory and Saigon commanders launch spoiler operations to prevent it. Even after the cease-fire, two armed camps will remain locked in a struggle for political supremacy. "For you Americans it is the end," said a South Vietnamese neutralist in Paris last week, "but for us it is just another bitter beginning."

Scenes: Something for Everybody

A LOT of people look upon second inaugurations much as they do upon second weddings: they are really not worth the trouble. In spite of such sentiment, or perhaps because of it, the 1973 Inaugural Committee staged a three-day, \$4,000,000 extravaganza to mark what the President's admirer, Bob Hope, referred to as "the time when Richard I becomes Richard II."

It was a somber noon at the great plaza of the Capitol—the sky heavy with dull gray clouds, the flags at half-mast in honor of the late President Truman—when Richard Nixon appeared in front of the building to repeat his oath, using the same two family Bibles as last time and in fact wearing the same clothes and the same expression. Then came the dull thud of cannon firing 21 salutes, the strains of the Marine Band playing *Hail to the Chief* and, far away

and faintly, the sea sounds of chanted protest.

The second Nixon Inaugural was the most ambitious in Washington's history of events, official and social. Inaugural planners worried a bit about an embarrassing letdown, so they worked on a hard sell in the hawking of commemorative medallions, parade tickets, concert seats and ball boxes. The effort paid off; the undertaking is expected to wind up comfortably in the black, leaving a tidy surplus to be turned over to charities selected by the Nixons.

On hand to mix it up with other lucky recipients of genuine invitations (some 200,000 souvenir invitations "suitable for framing" but otherwise useless had been mailed out) were 200 relatives of the Nixons, many of whom had never before met their famous kin. To handle their needs, a special task

force was set up at the Watergate, with Navy enlisted men manning the telephones and Army officers planning the logistics. Six red-white-and-blue buses marked FIRST FAMILY transported the assembled relations around town.

The President had set as the theme of the Inauguration festivities "the Spirit of '76," pointing to the bicentennial that will wind up his second term. The theme, however, proved to be a bit vague to be translated into specifics. The best the organizers could do was to provide dresses of the Revolutionary period for the hostesses at candlelight dinners at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Then somebody came up with the idea of a marching band with a symbolic number of players—1,976. So every high school in suburban Virginia's Fairfax County produced young musicians to form a band that stretched for two blocks.

Bargain. The President himself pursued a course of wisdom by staying out of sight until Friday night. Then he joined Pat and the rest of the family for a round of concert hopping, ending at the Kennedy Center, where the Philadelphia Orchestra played the *1812 Overture*, sans cannon.

Following tradition, the big show opened Thursday afternoon at the Smithsonian Museum with a reception honoring Vice President and Mrs. Spiro T. Agnew. Invited guests (at \$10 a head, this was one of the best bargains of the Inauguration) were met at the door by security guards, who peeked into the handbags and briefcases of the Republican faithful. The guests then squeezed themselves into a line on the off chance that they might get to shake a vice-presidential hand.

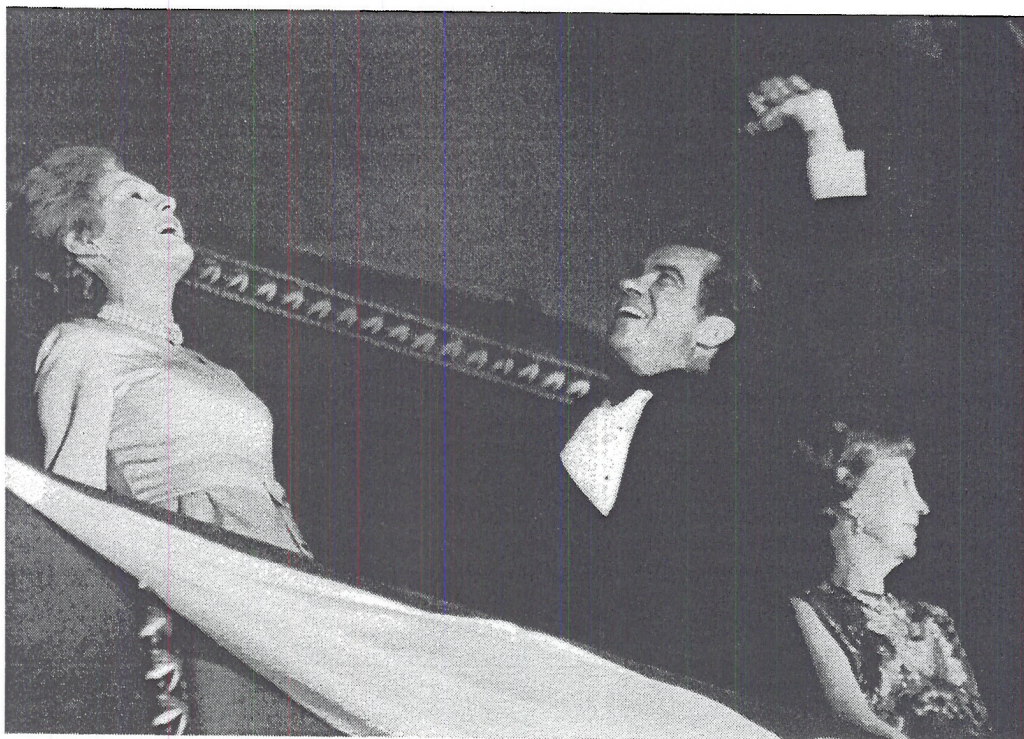
Later Thursday evening, while the President was still en route from Key Biscayne back to Washington, the first glamour event of the week, a "Salute to the States," opened at the Kennedy Center. It was aimed at the nation's Governors—40 of whom showed up. To accommodate the almost 5,000 other guests—including Pat Nixon, daughter Julie, and Mamie Eisenhower—a 2½-hr. show ran simultaneously in two separate halls. Eminent emcees Frank Sinatra and Bob Hope scrambled on and off stages in an admirable attempt to provide equal time to all. Breaking out of his retirement once more, Sinatra

TRICIA DANCING PAST PARENTS

NIXON AND GUEST AT INAUGURAL BALL



IN THE PRESIDENTIAL BOX IN KENNEDY CENTER WITH MAMIE EISENHOWER



Clockwise from top left: Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Pat Nixon acknowledging cheers before *Salute to the States* concert at Kennedy Center; President Nixon at work on his Inaugural Address; guests crowd around punchbowl at Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology reception in honor of Vice President Agnew. Center: the official Inaugural medal.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: PETER BORSARI—CAMERA 5; DIRCK HALSTEAD; KEN REGAN—CAMERA 5.





THE NATION

came up singing *Fly Me to the Moon*, while Hope kept up patter about the security precautions. Sample: "I've never been frisked so many times. Not that I mind—it's cheaper than a massage parlor." Such was the spectacle of security men literally tripping over one another that the audience roared when Hope joked: "I passed a tree and it cleared its throat."

The one thing that induces people to mortgage their houses in order to attend an Inaugural is the possibility of arriving home with word that they met the President. Barring that, someone famous and powerful, with a household name, will do. For many of the Inaugural guests, however, the difficulties were considerable. Oversubscribed events resulted in mob scenes around carefully protected superstars like Henry Kissinger, with Date Nancy Maginnes. Autographing for an eager crowd at the J.F.K. Center Thursday night, Kissinger seemed caught up in the melee but looked around and asked owlishly, "Where is everybody?"

Protests. There are always a few people who never miss inaugurals and coronations. Among the more solvent of them this time around were the Henry Fords and W. Clement Stone. The Fords threw a private bash at the F Street Club, where Martha Mitchell and Husband John, lately of New York, got a chance to see their old Washington friends. Outside the club, in a scene reminiscent of a college football movie, George Washington University students cheered the guests on in the friendliest of ways. They were duly rewarded with a five-minute impromptu performance by Bob Hope, on his way into the party. In semi-unison, the students called to Mr. Ford: "Don't come out—throw dollars out the window." Stone, who has boasted of being the fattest cat among Nixon contributors, hosted a banquet for Congressional Medal of Honor winners on Saturday evening.

Generally ignored in the inexorable grind of official partying were the scattered and quiet protests against the war and presumably against the President. Friday night, while the strains of three concerts filled the air at the Kennedy

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDNEY

Outracing the Past

OFTEN when things seem very bad, and occasionally even when they seem very good, Richard Nixon just cuts himself adrift from the past. He lives in a future conjured in those lonely sessions with his silver Parker pen and yellow legal pads. He was out there again last week when he spoke on the Inaugural stand in his club coat and striped trousers. He had surveyed the landscape beyond the day and marked the way stations: the start of his generation of peace, a prospering nation, a less extravagant government and a new spirit of individuality and competition.

This long view, as the Nixon followers would describe it, is one reason why he was there taking the oath of the highest office for the second time. He churns toward his goals, and just when it appears that he has run over and offended too many people for him to go much further (Watergate, inflation, bombing), he pulls himself up at one of his chosen spots and produces a Peking summit, or a billion-dollar grain deal with Russia, or maybe a cease-fire in Viet Nam. Past bitterness and doubt are largely forgotten as the world rolls on.

Nixon may be the first President to instinctively use Alvin Toffler's "roaring current of change." Events tumble over themselves in the reckless race of this society toward "future shock." Yesterday and its outrages are often obliterated by today and its triumphs.

Nixon has been ruminating to his visitors more than ever about the need to disregard the fluctuations of affection from the media, Congress and even the voters. He has talked about his own days of harassment as a young Congressman when he traveled from emotional peak to valley with the morning headlines, of the deep depression brought on by Herblock's biting cartoons during his vice-presidential terms. "Don't let that happen to you," he told his people.

Nixon lately has chided Henry Kissinger to forget the sentiments of the columnists and get on with a cease-fire. Not so long ago a White House staff member, who could not understand Nixon's indifference to the good and bad commentary filling the air, asked for an explanation from H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman, the man who understands the President best. In Haldeman's words came some classic Nixoniana: "We do not propose to take pleasure when those people are nice to us, because we do not expect to take pain when they are nasty." Nixon, muses his former counselor Pat Moynihan, has made himself "immune to hate."

In the moments of extreme jubilation, Nixon will tell his celebrants not to overdo it because there will be bumps ahead. Coming home from one of his successful overseas meetings, he heard his staff exulting over the raves. "A President overseas always is a success at first. We'll know better in six months." When people get too despondent around him, Nixon turns it the other way, seeing a high plateau ahead. "None of this will matter," he told one man during the Christmas bombing outcry, "if we succeed and bring peace."

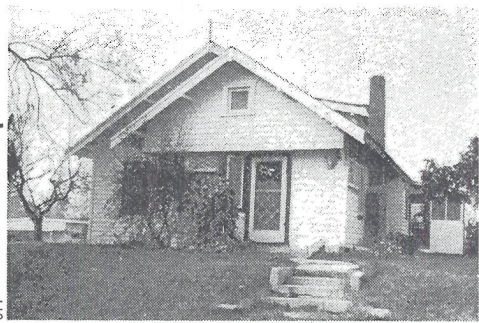
In a White House bull session somebody asked what Nixon would have done with George McGovern's problem of Tom Eagleton. "Aha," proclaimed a Nixon aide, "McGovern went for instant gratification, declaring his '1,000%' support for Eagleton. Nixon would have said, 'I'll think about it and then I'll let you know.' And he would have gone off to consider the long-range implications."

Nixon's fanatical sense of solitude stems in part from his determination to be ahead of everyone. He sloughs off details. "I'm a total captive of my three in baskets," says an about-to-be Cabinet officer. "The President has one, and he doesn't pay any attention to it." In his struggles with the economy, Nixon kept telling his advisers not to fiddle a policy to death with small changes every week. If he had to change, he said, he would go beyond everybody to make sure of success. That is how price and wage controls went on and how they came off.

There are those who still think that the orphaned moments of Nixon's past will catch up with him. They see the meaningful men of history rising from identifiable sources and building their purposes and characters on fixed principles that, even when bent along the way, tend to endure. The view of some of the landscape behind Nixon is bewildering, cluttered with unexplained contradictions and uprooted theology. But so far, good or bad, Nixon has overcome all the doubts.

Lyndon Johnson is a man who, in his own way, relishes the past and often dwells there. The Nixon partisans argue that it helped trap him. It is a curious footnote to history that long before he ran into trouble, Johnson had turned central Texas into a living monument to his heritage and his journey to the summit (the L.B.J. birthplace, the L.B.J. boyhood home, the L.B.J. state park, the L.B.J. ranch and more).

About the only surviving landmark from Nixon's past is the tiny clapboard house where he was born in Yorba Linda, Calif., still the worn residence of a school maintenance man. For now, that house is about as distant as it can be. Watching Nixon with a new four-year charter in his hand and his voice ringing out over the Capitol Plaza, one had to wonder if the President would not always outrace the past.



NIXON'S BIRTHPLACE

Clockwise from top left: John Connally and wife arriving at Kennedy Center for Salute to the States concert; Governor George Wallace receiving greetings at concert; President's youngest brother Edward on arrival at Friendship Airport; Senator Hubert Humphrey bussing TV Hostess Barbara Walters at Kennedy Center; Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger with his parents signing autograph at concert. Center: Busts of Nixon and Agnew on Inaugural medal.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: BORSARI; EDDIE ADAMS; HALSTEAD; REGAN; BORSARI.



LEONARD BERNSTEIN CONDUCTS A "CONCERT OF PEACE" AS EUGENE MCCARTHY AND THE EDWARD KENNEDYS LISTEN

MICHAEL ABRAMSON

Center, Leonard Bernstein conducted a counter-Inaugural concert at Washington Cathedral. Three thousand people applauded the performance of Haydn's *Mass in Time of War* by the pickup orchestra inside the cathedral, while another 12,000 listened outside. Dean Francis Sayre Jr. and former Senator Eugene McCarthy spoke briefly to an audience that included Senator and Mrs. Edward Kennedy and Mrs. Sargent Shriver. On Saturday an unexpectedly large turnout of antiwar demonstrators, estimated at 75,000 by D.C. police, gathered quietly at the Lincoln Memorial to form their "March Against Death and for Peace." Arriving at the Washington Monument, the crowd heard Representative Bella Abzug scold Nixon's Inaugural executive director, Jeb Magruder: "He wanted us to call off our demonstration because he feared the counter-Inaugural would affect the sale of his plaques." She praised 150 of her fellow legislators for boycotting the ceremonies. Bearing out-of-date signs reading STOP THE BOMBING, the demonstration seemed passive, as though it commemorated the many marches that had gone before.

The purpose of the five balls on Inaugural night, as stated in the official

press information kit, was "to celebrate the Inauguration of President Nixon in a festive, traditional manner." To that end, 25 musical groups performed at five sites—the Serendipity Singers at the Museum of National History, Lionel Hampton at the Kennedy Center and Guy Lombardo at the Pension Building. As promised, the President and Mrs. Nixon stopped in at each of these, as well as the special Youth Ball for the 18-to-30 set at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

Later they moved to another ball at the Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology, where Mr. Nixon's spirits seemed higher than usual. He gaily entertained the crowd with talk of his love of music. Waving his hands in imitation of a practiced conductor, he noted that he played Bach and Rachmaninoff late at night in the White House when trying to make "unimportant decisions." Relaxed and jovial, he asked the band to play something slow, and invited the assembled to "cut in on us." As he and Mrs. Nixon made their way toward a staircase, the President flashed a big smile and asked: "Could somebody tell me where the dance floor is, please?"

Pat Nixon, who had been almost as

sensible as her husband in appearing at many of the special events in clothes that she already had, glittered in a long-sleeved turquoise ballgown designed by Adele Simpson. Recovering from the flu, Tricia Nixon Cox, escorted by Husband Ed, wore a rose-red satin gown. Julie Nixon Eisenhower, whose husband sat out the week's events on duty in the Mediterranean, wore a long white satin dress and woollen fox-trimmed cape to match as she made her round of the evening galas.

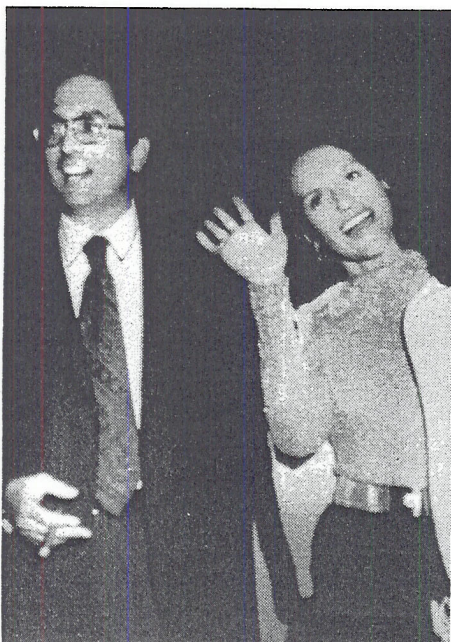
The last echoes of the installation rite were heard Sunday at one event that was, however elitely attended, at least free. An ecumenical worship service at the White House, starring Billy Graham and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, ended the Inaugural pomp on a note that Mr. Nixon seems to find most comfortable.

Despite the variety offered at this year's Inauguration, a number of prominent Republicans followed their instincts and stayed home. Wiley T. Buchanan, protocol chief under Eisenhower and a man who knows how to make the best of formal occasions, announced that he was going to "sit this one out." Like most Americans, he watched the show on television.

CLEMENT STONE



HUD NOMINEE JAMES LYNN & WIFE



HENRY FORD & BOB HOPE



MAMIE & BILLY GRAHAM



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAMERAS