

# The Third Administration

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By Ron Speed

MINNEAPOLIS—The damage of the Watergate affair is done. Under the circumstances the best the President could do was assign the responsibility for uncovering the truth to Elliot Richardson. A loyal and committed Nixon partisan, the new Attorney General is a man of unquestioned integrity, intelligence and ability. He is the right man for the job.

But the larger question is whether the President can regain enough of a nation's confidence to be effective during the remainder of his term. In light of the acts of the 1972 campaign, Mr. Nixon's overwhelming electoral mandate of six months ago is lost. His speech of April 30 was a promise to re-earn that mandate by his future actions as President.

The belated disclosure of his four Christmas Eve resolutions was an attempt to set a new tone with a new Inaugural Address which instead of stressing the traditional themes of *laissez-faire* commit the President to four positive goals. In the wake of the Haldeman and Ehrlichman resignations, the third Nixon Administration will be measured by its commitment to achieving these objectives.

These were the goals, as presented in his April 30 address:

"Equality of opportunity, full opportunity for all Americans." This means a rededication to civil rights not merely in the enforcement of laws but in the rhetoric and symbols of politics. It means hiring women, minorities and aging workers. It means open housing and insurance against crushing hospital bills. It means an open educational system and a relief from an unfair share of the tax burden for the lower-middle-class worker.

"Jobs for all who can work and generous help for those who cannot." The redesign of welfare, rent subsidy, food stamps and Social Security programs remain—as the President proclaimed—a major need of Government. The failure of his welfare program in the first term was not the fault of Congress, but the Administration itself. The White House was at first unable to draft a bill which contained work incentives. When such a bill began to surface, Mr. Nixon's new economic policy of August 1971 made it inevitable that this program would be abandoned in the name of budgetary stringency.

"A climate of decency and civility." We take this to mean that there will be regular press conferences, a working Cabinet, close dealing with Congress, a fulfillment of pledges of an open Presidency with regard to young people, an infusion of intellectual content as well as political skill into the White House staff, and a more forgiving attitude toward the dissenters on Vietnam.

"A land in which each person can bear to dream his dreams, not in fear, but in hope." This means law enforcement but it also means giving every American a stake in the preservation of the law. Property and participation are the ways to assure this. Mr. Nixon has committed himself verbally on several occasions to expanded ownership. It is time to make good on this commitment by examining proposals for profit-sharing, employe stock ownership, cooperative enterprise, land reform, community ownership, and new legal forms to promote them.

Not only must the third Nixon Administration build a stronger progressive foundation for public policy, but it must be done in an air of openness, cooperation and trust. If public confidence is to be restored, the Administration will have to do what it says. John Mitchell's precept "watch what we do, not what we say," too often has been incorporated in Mr. Ziegler's lies to the press: This "new majority" mentality—withholding information and manipulating issues and people for the sake of political expediency—has now been thoroughly discredited. As the White House players change, what must be certain is

that the White House mentality be changed as well.

As for Watergate, it should lead to a full reform of the political process: the stringent new code on campaign spending, corrupt practices, financing and voting frauds and the strict enforcement of these by the Department of Justice.

Of the President himself, whom the Ripon Society endorsed in 1968 and 1972, we expect a new tone. If he is to convince the country to look forward to his leadership instead of backwards to criminal behavior in the White House, he will have to find tangible ways to demonstrate that the third Nixon Administration will be a regime of integrity, progress, liberty, civility, order, justice, amnesty and compassion.

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