What will the next national administration be like? The articles that follow, on Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter, examine in broad outline the political origins, public records, attitudes, and stated positions and commitments of the two candidates, especially as they bear on issues related to science and technology.

Gerald R. Ford

On 11 May 1976, President Gerald R. Ford signed legislation creating the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP), thereby restoring science to the White House from whence it had been banished in the early 1970's as a nettling appendage to the Oval Office. Ford, obviously, does not look at science that way. From the time he took office in August 1974, he let it be known, through his own words and the initiatives of Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, that he would welcome the return of a science adviser to the President. In signing the OSTP bill*, which not only reestablishes a White House science office but also goes so far as to make the science adviser a full member of the policy-making Domestic Council, Ford made good on his word. Furthermore, by basing the existence of the science office in law (previous science offices were created, and abolished, by Executive order), Ford has ensured science a measure of permanence it has never before enjoyed at the upper reaches of government.

The President has set a new tone for relations between the White House and the scientific community, but one must not leap to the conclusion that because Ford supports the OSTP he has a comprehensive national science policy. Patently, that is not the case. Nor is there any evidence at the moment that the President is primarily concerned about it; he seems to be tackling science-related issues as they come, one by one. But there is reason to believe that, were he to be elected to a term of his own, Ford would be responsive to his science adviser, and it is at least possible to speculate that something resembling a coherent national science policy might be developed. The first part of the OSTP bill does outline "the principles of a national science and technology policy."

Ford became president at a time when it was hard to think of much that was going right in our national life. The economy was a mess. Unemployment and inflation were high. Confidence in the government's ability to do anything about it was (and still is) low. From the scientific community's perspective, times were bad indeed. There was a persistent feeling that the budget-cutters at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) were intent on doing in basic research, unless, of course, it bore the clear promise of early and profitable applicability. (In fact, because of congressional rescue operations, things never turned out to be quite as bad for basic science and R & D as was feared, though it is true that the rate of growth of science budgets dropped and inflation also took its toll.) And scientists deeply resented being told by former President Richard Nixon that he really did not care to hear from them, even though a number of the country's most serious problems could not be dealt with without scientific advice.

*The National Science and Technology Policy, Organization, and Priorities Act of 1976 establishes the OSTP, a presidentially appointed committee to undertake a 2-year study of federal support of science and technology, and the Federal Coordinating Council for Science, Engineering, and Technology, an interagency body.

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Jimmy Carter

So much has been said and written about the presidential candidates this year, it can be hard to cut through all the clichés and boiler plate and perceive them clearly. In the case of Jimmy Carter the problem is compounded because, while Carter has held no public office outside of Georgia by which his qualities can be readily measured, his sudden rise to prominence in the Democratic primaries and his ultimate capture of the party nomination had made him an instant prodigy even before the fall campaign. He was the born-again Baptist, peanut farmer, and "populist" politician who successfully won out over all comers by promising to straighten out the mess in Washington through Christian love and zero-based budgeting.

If Carter is still fuzzily perceived by many voters, it is partly the candidate's own fault. His campaign exchanges with Gerald Ford have included no little self-serving and obfuscating political rhetoric. Nevertheless, by sorting through and trying to digest the immense amount of information that is available about Carter, one can get some idea, and maybe a pretty good one, of what a Carter presidency might be like. It would be different from all that have preceded it, and certainly very different from a continued Ford presidency.

Exercising the politician's license for self-puffery, Carter has stretched the credentials he gained as a naval officer under Admiral Rickover by often referring to himself as a "nuclear physicist" (*Science*, 6 August). But, if elected, he would in fact be the first professionally trained engineer to become president since Herbert Hoover. "It's nice to have a man running for President who has had 2 years of calculus," observes Lewis Branscomb, who heads Carter's science policy task force (*Science*, 3 September). Branscomb and other scientists and academicians who have been serving as advisers to Carter clearly regard him as exceptionally bright and able.

As Georgia's governor, Carter had a science adviser and a science and technology advisory council. Studies were prepared on questions such as how state agencies could profit from the technical expertise available at Georgia universities, and how NASA's earth resources satellites could be used in the state's geologic mapping, water pollution abatement, and agricultural disease control programs. Carter got the report on how to establish useful links between the agencies and academe too late in his administration to put it to a practical test. But the satellite study did lead to practical applications—multispectral photography was even used to survey the advance of a peach tree blight.

And, as an agriculturalist and senior partner in a family enterprise that grosses $2.5 million a year primarily from the growing, shelling, and storage of seed peanuts, Carter has—despite all the distractions of serving as governor and running for President—kept well up on the increasingly sophisticated methods that peanut growers and shellers now use. One day

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Gerald R. Ford

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A man who had served in the House of Representatives for some 25 years without coveting the presidency, Ford came to the White House more as a healer and caretaker than a bold new leader. He did not begin his tenure by routing out Nixon staffers, as many of his supporters hoped he would; nor did he set about to make significant changes in policy, except where openness and mood were concerned. Ford is a true conservative Republican who, as his record and campaign rhetoric show, believes in fiscal restraint, social and technological progress through private industry, and the idea that government should help those who help themselves. Even though he has no overall, formal science policy, Ford has been consistent in his approach to the science-related problems of energy, nuclear proliferation, environmental protection, and health care delivery so that one can get an idea of where he stands.

Energy: Gas, Oil, Coal

One of the most pressing, and difficult, problems facing the United States today is the fact that we may be running out of energy, certainly cheap energy. Although the scientists to whom Nixon and his predecessors refused to listen knew we were headed for trouble, it took the Arab oil embargo and the long gas lines of the winter of 1973 to get the government and the public to realize that the issue is one of vital importance to our domestic, military, and economic life. It is often said by environmentalists, academics, and Democrats (who are frequently one and the same person) that Ford has no energy policy. That is not exactly true. What he has is an energy policy they do not like.

The Nixon Administration coined the slogan "energy independence" to describe its attitude toward the energy crisis, and Ford picked it up. Certainly, it is an appealing notion. The way to avoid long gas lines and an intolerable vulnerability to the whims of the rulers of the Middle East is to produce enough energy by ourselves.

One step along the road to energy independence, Ford said and others agreed, was conservation. Thus, the Administration proposed and Congress

Scientific Journal Publishers Are Perplexed

The Postal Service, taking a new look at a long-standing regulation, has come up with a pronouncement that could throw the whole system of scientific publication on its ear by radically raising mailing costs for many scientific journals.

In what may be the first of a rash of similar actions, it has notified two journals that the publication of manuscripts subjected to page charges (money paid by authors to defray publication costs) comes under the definition of "advertising" in federal law.

The potential damage the ruling could inflict would be to principles as well as pocketbooks. It would cause publishers to label as "advertisements" any articles for which page charges had been paid. Such classification would subject this editorial matter to the higher postal rates applied to advertising (increased costs would vary depending on the proportion of "advertising" in a given issue, but it could as much as triple them). It would also knock many journals out of the second class mail category (which has exceedingly low rates designed to facilitate the flow of edifying materials) because a publication must contain less than 75 percent advertising to qualify for the lower rates.

No one, apparently including the Postal Service, has any idea how far it intends to press its new initiative. The reaction of journal publishers is one of cautious alarm mixed with a high degree of incredulity. "Ridiculous," "appalling," and "obnoxious" are some of the terms commonly applied to the situation. Everyone is worrying about the problem, but societies are trying not to make too much noise for fear the Postal Service, cobra-like, will strike next at whatever it sees rustling in the grass. A widespread crackdown could be disastrous for science publishing, driving many smaller journals out of business and causing others to raise subscription rates to astronomical levels.

What has happened so far is that two journals, *Plant Physiology* and *Astrophysical Journal*, have received letters from their local post offices. The letters explain that since authors are assessed costs for publication of their manuscripts, the manuscripts are "advertisements" according to the *Postal Service Manual* because this term includes "any editorial or other reading matter for the publication of which money or other valuable consideration is paid, accepted or promised."

The letter goes on to say that "such articles must be marked 'advertisement' and charged the advertising mailing rate." The respondents were given 10 days to say what they were going to do "to avoid future errors of this type."

According to Darwin Sharp, director of the Postal Service's office of mail classification, orders have gone out to post offices to send similar notices to a number of publications, including the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*.*

Nothing drastic is about to happen, though, because there are various lengthy hearing procedures the parties would have to go through before the Postal Service could revoke a journal's second class mailing privileges.

Scientific societies have not yet decided what strategy to pursue if the Postal Service cannot be persuaded to back down on its new enforcement policy. One thing is certain: under no circumstances will publishers agree to labeling their scientific articles as "advertisements"—a concession one association member said would "really be an Alice in Wonderland type of thing."

The American Institute of Physics (AIP), publisher of *Astrophysical Journal*, has taken the precaution of removing the statement about page rates from the beginning of the journal (it is not stopping the practice, which applies to virtually all the papers published). It is waiting for advice from its lawyers on what to do next. Houston Baker of the Society for Plant Physiology has been meeting with post office officials to get a clarification of their stand, but he says the plant journal would be minimally affected by the

*Others in line for letters, according to Sharp, are the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, *Journal of Medicinal Chemistry*, *Journal of Organic Chemistry*, *Journal of Inorganic Chemistry*, *American Journal of Physiology*, *Journal of Applied Physiology*, *Journal of Neurophysiology*, *Journal of Foraminiferal Research*, *Geophysical Research Letters*, *Reviews of Geophysics and Space Physics*, and *Water Resources Research*.

passed legislation aimed at fuel economy standards for automobiles and standards for insulation of new buildings. These were logical, and politically easy, moves that critics, who would like to see energy conservation achieved through federal regulation, say do not go far enough. Ford, however, thinks it more appropriate to move more indirectly, through economic measures that would simultaneously foster energy conservation and stimulate research in private industry by making energy more expensive. That is to say, he wants to decontrol the price of oil and natural gas. Congress reluctantly went along with a proposal to decontrol oil prices—the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 contains a provision for the gradual decontrol of domestic oil prices after 40 months—but opposition to decontrol of natural gas prices remains strong. The President addressed these issues recently in his nationally televised press conference. Calling once again for decontrol of natural gas prices, he said that the utilities simply are not going to provide the supplies the country will need unless they and their investors can make a big profit on the deal. Congress is not anxious to go along with a scheme that will cost constituents more and, thus far, irrespective of the merits of Ford's proposal, it has not been politically salable.

While favoring the conservation of gas and oil, Ford proposes to meet short- and mid-term needs for more energy by stepping up the mining of coal, which he calls "the most abundant energy resource available." In this regard, Ford has proposed policies to permit mining of coal on federally owned lands in the West, as well as greater exploitation of eastern coal supplies.

In addressing the possibility of expanding energy resources through increasing coal production, one comes smack up against conflicting pressures for the preservation of the environment. Indeed, energy, the environment, and the economy are thoroughly intertwined matters, and it is impossible to take action in one area that does not somehow affect the others. One has to make a choice, and the President has clearly gone with energy and the economy at the expense of some of the more stringent proposals to safeguard the environment. For example, whereas Ford's proposals for using west-

and Alarmed About Threatened Postage Hike

new initiative because 95 percent of its material comes from members, who are not assessed page charges anyway. He says the remaining material could be issued as high-priced reprints, or the authors could join the society (membership is only $10).

Other societies are looking around for advice. Fred Spilhaus of the American Geophysical Union says he is trying to coordinate a strategy for the Council of Engineering and Scientific Society Executives in the event that it is decided that the only way to remedy the situation is through congressional revision of the legislation.

The threatened Postal Service crackdown strikes at a practice—defraying publication costs by (usually voluntary) page charges—that has been in use since the 1920's and that has repeatedly been affirmed as legitimate by federal science agencies. Page charges are levied in more than half of the thousands of journals published in this country and supply a significant portion of their operating revenues. The AIP, which, along with the American Chemical Society, collects more than half of the estimated $6.5 million brought in annually from page charges, relies on these charges to pay 80 percent of the costs of its publications.

If worse comes to worst, the only option these journals would have would be to get reclassified into third class, the one usually reserved for advertising. This would roughly triple their mailing costs. Many small journals with no big society to help pick up the financial burden would go under. The others would have to raise subscription and page costs, thereby reducing circulation. Libraries, which are charged much higher rates anyway, would have to stop subscriptions to all but the most popular journals. Journals that weigh more than a pound would have to go to fourth class, the parcel post rate. One of these is *Astrophysical Journal*, which is very weighty. Jean Sachs of the University of Chicago Press, which publishes it, says this move would increase mailing costs from $12,000 to $72,000 a year. An issue of a journal that is now sent from the East Coast to California for 6.6 cents would cost $1.48 to send fourth class. An alternative would be to divide up the issues so each weighed less than a pound, which would mean more mailings, and nightmares for librarians, among others.

A mystery to all is why the Postal Service chose to act when it did. The federal law has been on the books since 1912. Did someone just discover page charges after all these years? The opinion of most scientific society officials is that the organization was motivated by simple greed for more revenue.

Sharp of the Postal Service explains that the postmaster general "wrote to us bringing the page charge matter to our attention" in December 1975. He agrees that the page charges were no secret before then, "but we evidently did not reflect on them." Subsequently, he says, several postal inspectors raised the question. More attention was brought to the issue early this year when the Xerox Corporation sponsored an article by Harrison Salisbury that was published in *Esquire* magazine. Xerox, an advertiser in *Esquire*, paid Salisbury for the article, which the magazine got for free. (*Esquire* promised to eschew such arrangements in the future after author E. B. White criticized the fact that Xerox appeared to be buying space for Salisbury.) The Postal Service decided that the Salisbury piece was an "advertisement" and ordered the magazine to pay higher postage rates for that issue.

Postal officials have explained they now have no choice but to enforce the law, even though this clearly goes against its original intent, which was the laudable one of ensuring that advertising was not misconstrued by readers as editorial matter. The recent developments do not at this point amount to a crisis for science publishing. If appeals to reason fail, publishers believe the best recourse will be to get Congress to change the law. Meanwhile, in view of the fact that page charges are almost always paid by money from government research grants, the government finds itself in the not unfamiliar position of grabbing with one hand what it is doling out with the other.

—CONSTANCE HOLDEN

President Awards Science Medals

In a formal ceremony in the East Room of the White House, President Gerald R. Ford presented the National Medal of Science to 15 scientists whose basic work in biology, physics, engineering and mathematics have added greatly to our "national life." The ceremony, held on 18 October, came on the same day that the last of the Nobel prizes for 1976 were announced and Ford took the occasion to say how "proud" he was that this year, for the first time, all of the Nobel awards have gone to Americans. He declared that scientists need to be "encouraged and protected" by society, adding that there is a need to "bolster R & D to achieve national goals."

The 15 medalists are: **John W. Backus,** IBM San Jose Research Laboratory; **Manson Benedict,** Massachusetts Institute of Technology (emeritus); **Hans A. Bethe,** Cornell University (emeritus); **Shiing-Shen Chern,** University of California at Berkeley; **George B. Dantzig,** Stanford University; **Hallowell Davis,** Washington University, St. Louis (emeritus); **Paul Gyorgy,** University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine (awarded posthumously); **Sterling Brown Hendricks,** U.S. Department of Agriculture (formerly); **Joseph O. Hirschfelder,** University of Wisconsin; **William H. Pickering,** California Institute of Technology; **Lewis H. Sarett,** Merck and Company, Inc.; **Frederick E. Terman,** Stanford University (emeritus); **Orville Alvin Vogel,** U.S. Department of Agriculture; **E. Bright Wilson, Jr.,** Harvard University; **Chien-Shiung Wu,** Columbia University.

The National Medal of Science, the nation's highest award in science and engineering, was established by Congress in 1959 and first presented in 1962. This is the twelfth time the awards have been made.—B.J.C.

ern coal include provisions for limited exploitation and land reclamation (not nearly as hard-nosed as environmentalists would like), it was his view that the importance of coal to providing energy and, thereby, jobs, had to take precedence over the Clean Air Act, which would prohibit any activity that would lead to a deterioration of air quality. Much to the disappointment of environmentalists, the Clean Air Act was filibustered to death during the closing hours of the 94th Congress by the senators from Utah, one a Republican, the other a Democrat (*Science*, 22 October).

Energy Independence: Industry Subsidy

True to his Republican philosophy, the President would like to get the federal government out of direct involvement in the energy business as much as possible and concentrate instead on fostering research in the private sector through federal subsidies and favorable tax provisions. To this end, at the urging of Vice President Rockefeller and to the dismay of some of his own energy advisers, the President proposed creation of a $100 billion "Energy Independence Authority." Congress has not taken to the idea.

Among Ford's specific proposals was a bill to provide $4 billion in subsidies for development of synthetic fuels such as liquefied coal or oil extracted from shale. Congress defeated the bill, as it did the Nuclear Fuel Assurance Act, which called for guarantees of up to $8 billion in subsidies for a private uranium enrichment plant.

Ford's energy program emphasizes the eventual widespread use of nuclear power, and he appears to favor promotion of the fast breeder reactor in particular. He could hardly have opted for a more controversial policy. Critics of this policy have brought several objections to the President's attention, but he remains steadfast in his belief that nuclear power is safe and can be produced both effectively and economically on a broad scale. The President's nuclear policy has domestic and international aspects.

Nuclear Proliferation, Arms Control

The breeder reactor converts uranium to plutonium, a potent source of energy that is also one of the most toxic elements known to mankind, not to mention an ideal ingredient of nuclear bombs. Thus, when plutonium is around, one must be concerned about terrorists as well as accidents. It is Ford's position that both can be contained.

On the international scene, Ford has taken the position that one of the best ways to limit nuclear proliferation that would lead to arms buildups is for the United States to take the lead in selling nuclear reactors for peaceful use to those countries willing to abide by certain safeguards. "I believe that we must maintain our role as a major supplier of nuclear fuel and equipment for peaceful purposes—so that we can influence others to accept controls to minimize the threat of proliferation," Ford says. At the same time, the Ford Administration does indicate that it is aware of the dangers inherent in recycling on safeguards agreements. Officials have met privately with other nations that are major suppliers of nuclear technology in an effort to get agreement about imposing restraints, and the government is said to be acting behind the scenes to block, or try to block, nuclear sales to some countries.

The action on the proliferation issue represents a significant change in longstanding policy by the Administration. For the past quarter century, U.S. policy has been based on the assumption that nuclear fuel facilities, including reprocessing plants which extract plutonium from spent fuel, would be exported along with power reactors. When the United States rethought its official position and sought to persuade other nuclear exporting nations, notably France and West Germany, to refrain from including nuclear facilities as part of nuclear export deals, it was accused of trying to protect a near-monopoly position. Recent statements by the French indicating a willingness to cooperate in imposing tighter controls on nuclear exports suggest that the Administration has had some success with its quiet nuclear diplomacy.

At the present time, there are about 60 nuclear power plants in operation in the United States, and nuclear power is in use in some 30 foreign countries, with dozens more in the market for nuclear reactors. The price of one reactor is in the vicinity of $150 million, and their sale by us certainly contributes to a favorable U.S. balance of payments.

In the field of arms control, the President last year signed congressionally initiated legislation strengthening the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), whose powers were gutted by the Nixon Administration (*Science*, 26 December 1975). The most important amendment to the ACDA bill is one requiring an "arms control impact statement" to be filed along with every legislative or budgetary proposal for an important new weapons system or military program. Ford signed the bill after Congress inserted a clause saying that no court shall have the authority to review these impact statements. It was also during the Ford tenure that negotiations with the Soviet Union on the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty were concluded, but the Senate has not yet ratified them.

Health

During the past couple of years, Congress has struggled unsuccessfully to untangle a web of bills that would in one way or another provide the country with national health insurance, while day by day the cost of medical care has gone up and up. Ford's position on comprehensive national health insurance—the kind that would cover everyone for everything and be paid for by employer-employee payroll taxes—is simple. He is against it, not because he wants to deny medical care to people who need it, but because, in keeping with his policies of fiscal conservatism, especially when it comes to social programs, he believes the country just cannot afford it. Not now, anyway. He has said that, were the economy to recover, he might be able to support coverage of catastrophic illness for all citizens.

Ford's emphasis in health is not on national insurance but on a consolidation of the myriad existing health delivery programs for mothers, children, the mentally retarded, mentally ill, minorities, and so on, that are scattered throughout government. The President proposed consolidating Medicaid (aid to the medically indigent) and 15 other health care programs into a single "economic," "block grant" program, in which the federal government would turn over authority for delivering care to the states and give them $10 billion with which to do it. Ford, if elected, will introduce the block grant program again. Last time around, Congress did not pay much attention to it.

In addition, the President favors an immediate extension of coverage in Medicare benefits for persons over the age of 65. He definitely would like to see coverage of catastrophic illness for them and has also proposed provisions for unlimited stays in a hospital or "skilled care" nursing home for patients who need more than custodial supervision.

The biomedical research community, which felt particularly unappreciated under Nixon, has received reassuring treatment from Ford, who chose well-regarded insiders for his two top health jobs. The appointment of Theodore Cooper, former director of the National Heart Institute, and a Democrat, to the post of assistant secretary for health, was well received in the community, as was Ford's choice of Donald S. Fredrickson to head the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Furthermore, for the first time since 1971, when the war on cancer began to dominate the biomedical research scene, government is listening to scientists' advice about restoring some measure of balance in funding among the NIH institutes. Total funding for NIH is up in the fiscal year 1977 budget and, although cancer still leads the rest, money is being a bit more evenly distributed.

The President Ford Committee (Ford's campaign outfit) notes that his initiation of the swine flu vaccination program was one of his most outstanding actions in the health field since taking office. It is, at best, a dubious claim.

Science Policy and Basic Research

Despite his failure to formulate a comprehensive science policy for the nation, Ford has taken a real and personal interest in the development of the OSTP and, according to his first science adviser, H. Guyford Stever, who formerly was director of the National Science Foundation (NSF), Ford is accessible and is clearly sympathetic to basic research and development. He recognized that the federal investment in R & D was declining, particularly in the face of inflation, and his budget for FY77 called for $24.7 billion in R & D obligations, an 11 percent increase over FY76. Although it may not be as much as the scientific community would like, Ford's judgment about increasing research budgets at all reflects a sharp change in attitude from the previous Administration, which was only interested in things likely to pay off quickly and profitably. When the budget-cutters tried to take a whack at NSF's R & D budget for FY77, the President himself stepped in and restored some $15 million.

So far, in addition to Stever, the two scientists most closely allied with the Ford White House are Simon Ramo, vice-chairman of the board of TRW, Inc., and William O. Baker, president of Bell Laboratories (the latter was also a Nixon adviser). During the months that Congress and the White House were negotiating the details of the OSTP bill, Ford, taking a "We have to get on with the job right away" tone, named Ramo and Baker to head two panels of prominent scientists to study national science and technology policy issues. But even though Ramo and Baker are industry scientists who, generally speaking, fit one's preconceived notion of the Republican mode, the panels they headed were made up of men of a broad range of academic and research backgrounds and came from both political parties. Similarly, Ford showed that he does not think science advice should be a one-party affair when he recently named Democrats as well as Republicans to terms on the National Science Board.

The outlook for science seems to have improved during the two and a half years of the Ford Administration. In part, that is because it could not have gotten much worse. But in part also because Ford seems to have an honest regard for science.—BARBARA J. CULLITON

Jimmy Carter

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last August Carter, followed by a troop of reporters, visited Clyde Young, a Georgia agricultural experiment station scientist who has developed a practical method of chemical analysis for predicting when a farmer's peanut crop will mature and be ready for digging. Young was astonished at how much Carter knew about what was going on in peanut research. "He knew more than half the scientists who work at it full time," Young told *Science*. "That statement seems incredible, but I'll stick to it."

As a political campaigner, Carter has gained a well-deserved reputation for trying to present himself in such a way as to win over conservatives and liberals alike. Policy positions which may arouse strong antagonism in one group or another have often been downplayed or soft-peddled. The fact is, however, Carter must be regarded a liberal and a reformer on the basis of his commitments to labor, blacks, women's rights groups, environmentalists, and consumer organizations.

The very fact that, in Georgia, Carter built a constituency composed in substantial part of both blacks and rural whites is evidence that, on his home turf, he has been coming across as a champion of the common man. Blacks generally supported his opponent, Carl Sanders, in the 1970 gubernatorial race, but they warmed to him later. After the inaugural address in which he proclaimed racial discrimination to be a thing of the past, Carter was pictured on the cover of *Time* as one of the new breed of southern governors.

Given the limitations of his office and the "mess" he inherited from his predecessor, Lester Maddox, Governor Carter performed more than creditably. His principal achievement seems to have been to reorganize the state bureaucracy—which was a stupefying maze of agencies, boards, and commissions (many of them nonfunctioning or obsolete)—and to institute zero-based budget-