One of Jimmy Carter's ace cards in his drive to the White House was his image as a successful businessman. Carter, the prosperous peanut farmer, would tame the federal Leviathan with thoroughgoing reorganization, zero-based budgeting and tough-minded management.

In his first months in office, Carter has demonstrated a fine feel for the public pulse on such issues as pork barrel spending, nuclear nonproliferation and U.S. support for human rights. In his choice of issues and his skillful use of political symbolism the President has established a strong hold on the electorate. Yet the same Jimmy Carter who benefits from his perceived role as moralist and visionary is now increasingly revealed as an incompetent as a manager and implementer of policies. A consensus is growing among veteran Washington observers that Carter's White House staff---by far the largest and most lavishly paid in history---may be the weakest since the Harding Administration.

Carter's six top aides outside the foreign policy and energy area are all Georgians with little previous national experience. Although bright and sometimes politically agile---witness Jody Powell's ability to explain away the foreign policy flaps generated by Carter or Andrew Young's loose verbiage---few of the aides have much comprehension of political Washington. While Midge Constanza, for example, is theoretically of equal rank with the Georgians, her major accomplishment to date has been pushing through $400,000 a year in raises for White House staffers.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, while perhaps the brightest foreign policy academic Carter rubbed shoulders with at the Tri-lateral Commission, can hardly hold an intellectual candle to Henry Kissinger. James Schlesinger's once super-heated reputation in this city has suffered enormous attrition as the Administration's energy program has been revealed to be both ineffective and politically unsalable. In all fairness to Schlesinger, his problems are in many ways traceable to the President's imposition of an arbitrary April 20 deadline for unveiling the Administration's energy program. This same presidential compulsion has plagued numerous Administration domestic initiatives, including the economic stimulus package with its ill-fated tax rebate proposal and scheme to use general tax revenues and huge employer tax hikes to bail out the Social Security system.

Carter's compulsive personality and the political naivete of his aides underlie many of the White House's current problems and undermine its policies. For example:

1. Inept Congressional Relations. Clumsy as the White House's congressional relations appear, they sparkle when compared to the performance of departmental counterparts. Members of House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill's staff have privately conceded that they got far bet-
ter service in obtaining information from the Ford Administration.

2. A Chaotic Talent Recruitment Process. Nearly six months after Carter assumed the Presidency, numerous federal agencies are still headed by acting administrators. In many instances, prospective nominees who have not yet been sworn into their posts have exercised the full powers of their office-to-be. Hence, millions of dollars in expenditures may be subject to legal challenge. Democrats who contrast Carter's recruitment effort quite unfavorably with that of the Kennedy or Johnson Administrations point out that Carter aides made much less use of personal interviews. Instead, they relied much more heavily on sifting resumes. Unsurprisingly, the result was often appointees with glowing credentials but less luminous administrative acumen or political savvy.

3. Tensions Generated by the First Lady's Insistence on Playing an Extra-Constitutional Role. Without question Rosalynn Carter is a shrewd and highly intelligent individual and a major influence on her husband. Mrs. Carter's active involvement in White House policy making and her conduct on her recent Latin American tour have underscored her determination to shape Administration policy. Despite the warning of White House lawyers that her actions would violate federal anti-nepotism rules, she has insisted on running the Mental Health Advisory Commission. Mrs. Carter's involvement in administration political maneuvering has suggested to some that she does not appreciate the distinction between being an activist First Lady and being a Co-President. Her tough-minded political style has already earned her the appellation "the Iron Magnolia" among many veteran Democrats. While Rosalynn Carter may liken herself to Eleanor Roosevelt, to outsiders she is beginning to resemble Eva Peron.

4. President Carter's Reluctance to Hear Dissenting Views from any but a Handful of "Old Boy" Georgians. Most analyses of the downfall of the Nixon Administration have focused on the "chip on the shoulder" personality of the former President. Carter suffers from neither the insecurities nor the paranoia that afflicted Nixon, yet in some ways he seems even more averse than Nixon to dissenting advice. Carter's closest advisers are even more geographically concentrated than the southern Californians around Richard Nixon. President Carter reportedly tunes out or shunts aside advice contrary to his inclinations. Only a tiny handful of staff members who were battle-tested with him in Georgia can risk being "no-men." The result is that staff members often fear to advise the President that he may be mistaken when he sets an unrealistically short deadline or considers casually unloading a foreign policy bombshell.

The last President with as narrow a group of political intimates as Jimmy Carter was Warren Gamaliel Harding. Carter's Georgians seem somewhat more high-minded than the "back-porch boys" of Marion, Ohio. Yet, it is doubtful that Powell, Jordan, Watson, Eizenstat, Lipshutz, and Moore can provide the intellectual balance to Carter's own compulsive messianism.

Moreover, their boss seems unable to deliver on the promise of efficient management that attracted many to his banner in 1976. As some have belatedly realized, Carter did not make his economic way through a highly competitive business. Carter made his fortune in the peanut industry, one of the most controlled and heavily subsidized sectors of American agriculture. If we insist on management acumen and consistent leadership from our President, Carter is likely to fall short. If symbolism and good intentions are enough, we may already have the best.
James Thompson did it last year in Illinois. Now Richard Thornburgh hopes to do it next year in Pennsylvania. There seems to be a market for politician-busting prosecutors for governor.

Thornburgh established an enviable record as a crime-busting U.S. Attorney for Western Pennsylvania before he moved to Washington to head up the Justice Department's Criminal Division in the Ford Administration. Two decisions made by the Carter Administration may have inadvertently boosted Thornburgh's gubernatorial stock. One was the selection of Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flagherty (D) to be deputy attorney general. Flaherty was a possible gubernatorial candidate himself. The second was the elimination of Thornburgh as a possible candidate for director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Thornburgh has several distinct advantages for a GOP gubernatorial candidate. The most important is his reputation for scrupulous prosecution of criminal activity. The administration of Gov. Milton Shapp has been beset by an unending series of scandals, embarrassments and indictments. The two latest were the Federal Election Commission's and Justice Department's investigations of Shapp's handling of 1976 presidential campaign contributions. At about the same time, House Speaker Herbert Fineman (D) was handed a two-year jail sentence for shenanigans involving medical school admissions.

Shapp's legal problems appear to have effectively torpedoed any possibility that he would move up to an appointment in the Carter Administration before the end of his term. Such an appointment would allow Shapp to retire gracefully and elevate his chosen successor, Lt. Gov. Ernest Kline (D).

Thornburgh's second advantage is his base in western Pennsylvania. The other Republican candidates currently being mentioned come from Central or Eastern Pennsylvania. The most prominent are former Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Spector and House Minority Leader Robert Butera of Montgomery County. Sen. H. John Heinz' 1976 primary victory over Spector and George Packard illustrated the power of a Western Pennsyl-

In addition to splitting the metropolitan Philadelphia vote, Spector and Butera have additional problems. Sper- ter has the advantage of Philadelphia GOP leader Billy Meehan's support, but the disadvantage of losing campaigns for D.A. in 1973 and the Senate in 1976. Butera hails from a county which already boasts Sen. Richard Schweiker (R) and GOP National Committeeman Drew Lewis, who was the party's losing gubernatorial candidate in 1974. Lewis has been mentioned as a possible candidate again for 1978 but he is currently backing Butera. In a race where corruption is sure to be a prime topic of conversation, a bill Butera introduced about ten years may haunt the Montgomery Republican. The legislation enabled Butera's contractor brother to proceed with a development over adverse local rulings.

Thornburgh's connections with Heinz and GOP National Committeewoman Elsie Hillman of Allegheny County will offset the impact of Butera's and Spector's allies. With the Republican State Committee deeply in debt, money will be a chief concern for any candidate. Butera has already begun the search for cash and so has Thornburgh. Spector has been content to let a committee boost his candidacy.
Other possible candidates have faded somewhat. U.S. Rep. E.G. "Bud" Shuster was a possible conservative entry from south central Pennsylvania, but he has taken himself out of the race after testing the waters. He cited family and time considerations, but he too was concerned about the GOP's ability to raise cash. State Senate Minority Leader Henry Hager has expressed interest as has former Philadelphia Common Pleas Court President Judge D. Donald Jamieson. Jamieson is considered more interested in a 1979 mayoral run in the city. Discussion of former Transportation Secretary William Coleman has faded, but there are two possible locker room entries: Penn State football coach Joe Paterno and golfer Arnold Palmer.

Kline is the Democratic frontrunner but he could be seriously challenged by former State Auditor Robert P. Casey, who was a frequent critic of the Shapp Administration before he returned to his law practice in 1975. While Kline would be handicapped by his associations with the Shapp Administration, Casey might be hindered by the potential candidacy of State Treasurer Robert E. Casey. The latter's election in 1976 was largely attributed to voter name confusion.

Back in Philadelphia, Mayor Frank Rizzo (D) has refused to give up his mayoral ambitions despite the fiscal problems faced by the city and the defeat of his candidates for district attorney and controller in this spring's primary. Rizzo lost a friend in Harrisburg when Fineman was convicted; his present pleas for additional state school aid will meet less receptive ears. Philadelphia's scandals were effectively swept into the Delaware when Shapp eliminated the special prosecutor investigating the city's politicians. Former U.S. Rep. William Green, the party's defeated 1976 Senate candidate, may be the only Philadelphia Democrat who could dissociate himself from the city's troubles.

Meanwhile, notes the Pittsburgh Press, Sherley Uhl, "Republicans sensing the killer are especially active." He concludes that Thornburgh "appears to be the Republican most likely to succeed in mobilizing GOP leadership support, including monetary support." Justice may be good politics in Pennsylvania.
NEW YORK The state of New York City machine politics was summed up in a recent article in the Village Voice by Jack Newfield and Paul DuBrul: "There was a great moment in the City Council 10 years ago, when Dominick Corso of Brooklyn got so frustrated in a debate with a reformer that he blurted out an existential truth: 'You think it takes guts to stand up for what is right?' he asked. That doesn't take guts. What takes guts is to stand up for what you know is wrong, day after day, year after year. That takes guts!" Despite this confession, Corso went on to his reward as a Civil Court judge in Brooklyn.

GEORGIA "Politics is still arithmetic," Rodney Cook told Georgia Republicans at the state party convention in Atlanta May 20-21. That Cook, a former state legislator and Atlanta city alderman, knows the equations of winning in the discipline of political arithmetic seemed to be the key to his election as new state Republican chairman. Cook's reputation as a party moderate probably did not endear him to the mostly-conservative Republican faithful in Georgia. What they did like enough to give him a surprisingly easy victory was his background in putting together votes in diverse political terrain and winning elections—something Republicans in this state haven't been doing a lot of lately. On the surface, the election of the state GOP leadership this year seemed to reflect a definite trend back to the center of the political stage. In addition to Cook, the convention elected a young black minister from Fort Valley, James Webb, to the number two post of first vice chairman. Webb won with a pledge to build the party in a number of areas where both blacks and Republicans are unorganized and powerless. This year's Georgia GOP convention was thinking less of philosophy and more of political realism, however. The election of Cook and Webb symbolized not so much an increased influence for party moderates as a realization by the delegations of the importance of broadening the party's very weak and narrow base of support. Cook won with the backing of both the hard-line conservatives of the kind that enabled Ronald Reagan to easily defeat President Ford here in 1976 and the younger moderates such as State Rep. John Savage and State Sen. Paul Coverdell, the unsuccessful Republican congressional candidate in the 5th C.D. this spring. Cook ran for the same seat against Andrew Young in 1972.

NEW JERSEY Former U.S. Rep. Joseph Maraziti(R), who was defeated by Democrat Helen Meyner in 1974, was nominated for the New Jersey Assembly in the June primary. Maraziti's ouster from Congress was due to a combination of payroll indiscretions and his blind defense of Richard Nixon on the House Judiciary Committee.

KANSAS The race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination has focused on Attorney General Curt Schneider and State Sen. Burt Chaney after former Democratic State Chairman Robert L. Brock took himself out of the race recently. Democrats are also focusing on the 5th C.D. seat now held by U.S. Rep. Joe Skubitz, who announced his retirement earlier this year. A crowded Republican primary appears likely. The GOP's margin in the six-member House delegation slipped a notch last year when Democrat Dan Glickman ousted U.S. Rep. Garner Shriver in the 4th C.D. Wichita attorney Dave Crockett, 32, has a bead on the seat, but Glickman will be tough to oust. George Van Riper, a former aide to Sen. Jacob Javits, was recently appointed executive director of the Kansas GOP. Note: An article in the June 15 FORUM misspelled the name of Kansas GOP State Chairman Jack Ranson, and located Gov. Robert Bennett's home in Jefferson rather than Johnson County.

TENNESSEE Adopting a code of ethics for the Tennessee Senate turned into something of a plague when State Sen. Halbert Harvill(D), 83, suggested that the Ten Commandments be substituted for the proposed code. An extensive debate ensued on whether the commandments should be voted on separately or as a body. The commandments eventually were adopted as an addition to the proposed ethics code rather than as a substitute. Despite near-unanimous support for the Ten Commandments, some senators worried that the Senate might be tested by allegations of cursing or prevarication. Said one senator: "I'll bet it won't be many years, if this
goes unchanged, before some jealous wife or some jilted lover comes up here and files an official, sworn complaint accusing someone of adultery. If that happens, the Ethics Committee will have no choice but to investigate."

OREGON Gov. Robert Straub(D) is considered vulnerable next year— if the right candidate emerges. He had a bad legislative session this year, but so did the legislature. State Senate president Jason Boe may be the only Democrat willing to challenge Straub. Senate Minority Leader Victor Atiyeh, the GOP's candidate against Straub in 1974, is again a candidate. He may be joined by House Minority Leader Roger Martin. They both will keep a watchful eye on former Gov. Tom McCall. The maverick progressive may stay aloof in the primaries, wait for the dust to settle and then run in the general election as an independent. The GOP's ace may be Secretary of State Norm Paulus. She and State Treasurer bucked the Democratic tide in last fall's election. Her surprisingly strong vote has been complemented by a strong performance in her first six months as secretary of state. Meanwhile, Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt and Attorney General James Redden will be keeping an eye on Straub's political pulse and pondering a Democratic primary.

ALABAMA The Alabama House of Representatives and a reporter for the Birmingham Post-Herald are locked in a momentous legal battle. At issue is a new dress code which requires reporters to wear coats and ties (for males) or a "suitable dress or blouse and skirt" (for females) on the House floor.

Pennsylvania Though he had little input in the choice of Richard Filling to succeed the late Richard Frame as state GOP chairman, Sen. Richard Schweiker has redeemed himself with state Republicans after his vice presidential bid last year. According to the Philadelphia Bulletin's L. Stuart Ditzen, "Today, Schweiker is in good standing with Pennsylvania leaders and he still has the strong support of the state AFL-CIO although he has said he is shifting his political ideology to the conservative."

RHODE ISLAND The GOP will have a hard time coming up with a strong candidate against Sen. Claiborne Pell (D) unless Providence Mayor Vincent "Buddy" Cianci makes the plunge. Based on a recent poll, however, Cianci would be more inclined to either challenge Gov. Joseph Garrahy(D) or seek reelection. Garrahy is a nice, indecisive politician who might be vulnerable to a challenge from the more dynamic Cianci. Earlier this year Garrahy refused to junk his limousine, saying, "I have no qualms about riding around in a big car." Both Cianci and Garrahy have fiscal woes—Cianci with a multi-million dollar city deficit and Garrahy with an unredeemed pledge to lower the state's sales tax. In either statewide race, Cianci would benefit from the absence of an Italian name in top state offices. Pell could face serious intraparty opposition regardless of Cianci's political move. His toughest opponent would probably be Attorney General Julius C. Michaelson (D), who has won a reputation as a utility-fighting consumer advocate. Pell has already begun preparing for such a challenge. Less likely is a campaign by maverick U.S. Rep. Edward P. Beard, who recently organized a blue collar caucus in the House of Representatives. Beard is an unpredictable force in Rhode Island politics, but he has Internal Revenue problems. He has trouble explaining how he gave away the proceeds of a political fundraiser to charity without keeping records. As a result, the Huey-Long-style populist may be confined to the House.

NEW YORK Gov. Hugh Carey(D) pulls some perplexing political pranks but he confused everyone when he nominated former U.S. Rep Peter Peyser(R) to head the state's Public Utilities Commission. Peyser, who opposed Sen. James Buckley(R) in last year's Senate primary, had recently switched from the GOP to the Democrats so his nomination did not please State Senate Republicans who had to confirm Peyser. Nor did it please Democrats who would have preferred someone with more prominent partisan credentials. Nor did it please consumerists or editorialists who criticized Peyser's lack of utility expertise. But Carey is not accustomed to such mundane considerations so the appointment made sense. Peyser is said to be considering a race against U.S. Rep. Bruce Caputo(R) in 1978 and another Senate race in 1980.

AVOID THE SUMMER HEAT—RENEW TODAY!
BOOK REVIEW: FROGS.

Fair Play for Frogs by Jerome R. Waldie and Nestle J. Frobish (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: New York & London, 178 pp., $7.95.) The FORUM is not in the habit of publishing book reviews. But as a consequence of the FORUM's longstanding association with Nestle J. Frobish and due to the importance of the subject, an exception has been made.)

Wit and letter writing in America are forgotten, neglected art forms—almost. But the arrival of Fair Play for Frogs, the collected correspondence of Jerome R. Waldie and Nestle J. Frobish, heralds a renaissance for both.

For the uninitiated, Jerome R. Waldie was, 15 years ago, a young, liberal California state legislator. He rose to become a young, liberal California congressman and even aspired to the governorship of that great state. But the tenacious, unforgiving, unrelenting Frobish brought him down—No Udall tells us so in the introduction.

Frobish is clearly a crusader searching for a crusade and he finds it when young assemblyman Waldie introduces a bill which, in its entirety read, "Frogs may be taken by using a slingshot."

From that point on, Frobish hounds (befrongs?) Waldie. In the first letter on the subject of frogs (March 20, 1962), Frobish protests Waldie's slingshot bill:

The frog is, by nature, a friendly creature. We do not hear of bands of wild frogs carrying off children. We do not hear of rabies being caused by the bite of a maddened frog... Rather, the frog crouches amiably in his aqueous lair, asking only the opportunity to go his unmolested way, and giving in return the pleasant cugarum of the evening to the true nature lover, of which there are many and all of whom vote.

To Waldie's great credit as a public official, he responds—and continues to respond to all of the pleas, threats and insults sent to him in the years that follow. First, Waldie protests that his bill actually offered a more humane way of taking frogs—-noting that "frog hunters presently take frogs by gigging. A gig is a three-pronged spear. With barbs. It goes, snickety-snack, and is pulled out, snackety-snack...Horrible!"

But Frobish is unimpressed. "Why dissimulate?" he queries. "If your goal in life was to protect and advance the cause of frogs, as you so righteously assert, you would have introduced legislation to outlaw the use of gigs which, as you point out with scarcely suppressed relish, really do a job on a frog, snickety snick, snickety snack."

The letters—continue to flow—-some abusive ("Dear Frogslayer"), some pedantic ("I have consulted my files on your activities over the past decade, which will form an important part of my forthcoming best seller..."), some pleading ("I hope that some day, when you find yourself strolling down some bucolic lane and the pleasant cugarum of the friendly frog delights your year, you will rethink deeply your present course") some exhorting ("Sophistry will get you nowhere, Waldie. Only repentance for past sins and dedication to Truth, Beauty and Fair Play for Frogs. When you are ready to be shriven, I am ready to oblige.").

So, nearly after nearly ten years of correspondence, Waldie repents and says, "I am ready to be shriven." Frobish for once is unsure what to do. ("For a moment I thought I might engage Mr. Sargent Shriver for the job, assuming he would know what to do..."") Finally, Frobish decides that Waldie can attain a state of grace if he introduces the Omnibus Frog Protection Act of 1971, and generously forwards a draft bill. Along with the more obvious provisions such as prohibitions on the hunting of frogs from aircraft or motor vehicles, the bill contained an exhaustive set of cross references to laws providing for preservation of other wildlife (inserting "frog" into such laws where the subjects to be protected are itemized), a prohibition on interstate traffic in devices designed for the taking of frogs, and authority for a National Frog Week.

Waldie resisted this entire campaign—-which at one point included picket lines outside a testimonial gathering to help launch his gubernatorial campaign. But Frobish was triumphant. California voters turned down Waldie's bid.

Nestle J. Frobish is the untiring crusader...the little guy who never
gives up. Even when pitted against the mightiest powers in the establishment, he parleys his paltry resources and few friends into the appearance of global power. He claims victory in the end. Here is a hero we can all hope to emulate and perhaps do.

Contributor Note: Patricia M. Lines is an assistant professor at the Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Washington.

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- U.S. Rep. Thomas B. Evans, Jr. (R-Del.) spoke at the District of Columbia Chapter's April meeting. Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.) spoke to the group's May 23. Serving as auctioneers at the chapter's annual political auction at the Capitol Hill Club May 3 were U.S. Reps. Silvio Conte (R-Ma.) and Bill Frenzel. Auctioned items included a Tam-o'-shanter from Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, one hour's flight in an airplane personally piloted by Sen. Robert Stafford, a doubles tennis match with Rod and Carla Hills, and an original photograph by Sen. Howard Baker, Jr. Serving as District of Columbia Chapter officers for 1977 are William Ehrlig, president; Kathy McDonald, executive vice president for operations; Ardell Taylor Fleeson, vice president for administration; Ron Fisher, assistant vice president for administration; Tina Marts, vice president for program; Steve Anderson, vice president for membership; Alex Bocast, vice president for communications; Sue Allen and Vivian Levin, vice presidents for issues; Liz Dalrymple and Dan Hall, vice presidents for politics; Steve Livengood, secretary; Debbie Ehrlig, treasurer, and Fred Kellogg, counsel. Waring Partidge is an NGB representative and auction directors were Debbie Ehrlig, Mark Harroof, Jay Smith, and Carol Ann Woods.

- Ripon National President Glenn Gerstell appeared on the NBC-TV program "The Loyal Opposition" June 19.

- Washington Post columnist David Broder was the District of Columbia Chapter's speaker June 27.

- The Lincoln Society of Houston was given provisional status as a chapter of the Ripon Society at the Society's annual meeting. The chapter is led by Bill Hubbard, assistant vice president of the Bank of the Southwest; Bob Sobel, a Houston businessman, and Jim Beall, a Rice University senior.

- New officers of the Illinois chapter are Alice M. White, president; Leland J. Badger, vice president; Patricia A. Ferris, treasurer; Fred Louis III secretary, and Peter V. Baughner, chairman. The Chicago-based chapter now has units in Peoria, headed by Michael Maibach and John Sahn, and Springfield, headed by Chris Atchison. Chicago Al-derman Dennis Block, the GOP candidate for mayor, was the chapter's speaker at its May 3 meeting.

- State Sen. Victor Ashe (R-Knoxville), State Sen. Ray Albright (R-Chattanooga), and State Rep. Brad Martin (R-Memphis) were three of Tennessee's top ranking legislators in a survey of votes in the 1977 legislature recently released by the Memphis Chapter.

- John Trubin, campaign chairman for State Sen. Roy Goodman's New York City mayoralty campaign, was the speaker at a June 22 meeting of the New York Chapter. Among the chapter members involved in his campaign are John Steele, campaign chairman, and Phil Weinberg, campaign treasurer. Tanya Melich is directing the campaign of Arch Gillies for Manhattan councilman-at-large. Reelected president and chairperson of the New York Chapter for another year were Daniel Cochran and Phyllis Weinberg, respectively.

- We didn't say it. The Wall Street Journal did in an editorial June 14: "As Congress discovers that the President's sweeping energy plan was stitched together with bailing wire, he responds by taking press conference swipes at the the 'inordinate influence' of special interests and making speeches against the oil and auto companies. He sends his press secretary, Jody Powell, out to give Ziegler-like performances, for example, referring to the liberal Republican Ripon Society as 'the ripoff society.'"