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This essay uses the fictitious setting of the Riverworld to bring
together some of the great—and not-so-great—minds that have
contributed to our development over the past two thousand years. It
examines their thoughts as they relate to a current topic: recruiting
top-level administrators who are both technically competent and
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not reach any firm conclusions, but rather leaves the reader to find
his or her own answers to the questions it raises.

Public Administration in Ancient China:
The Practice and Thought
Vatche Gabrielian

Modern public administrators can gain useful insights by studying
centuries old administrative phenomena and philosophical teachings.
This essay discusses the development of Chinese civil service and
the important role it played during the early history of Chinese
civilization. Approaches to public administration and governance in
three important streams of political thought of ancient China —
Taoism, Confucianism and Legalism — are explored, as well as
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Confucius on Government and Administration
From *The Wisdom of Confucius*

Chapters from the 1900 English edition of *The Wisdom of Confucius* (edited by Epiphanius Wilson, translated by William Jennings) directly address the issue of governance. Different sayings of the ancient sage about the art of government and personnel appraisal are based on moral characteristics of people. Values such as reverence to tradition, patience, integrity, moderation and balance are discussed.

Constitutionally Speaking: A Conversation with Lycurgus of Sparta on the Role of the Lawgiver in a Society
*Kenneth L. Nichols*

Lycurgus, a legendary figure of Ancient Greece, established an enduring military-based society: the city-state of Sparta. In this hypothetical interview, Lycurgus discusses his role as lawgiver. In so doing, he reflects on laws and the framing of laws as building blocks that help form a society and its government.

*Analysis and Commentary:*

Humanistic Guidelines for Public Administration Professionals
*Stephen K. Blumberg*

In 1937 Luther Gulick created POSDCORB. Forty years later he wrote, “...we all assumed in the 1930s that...public management flowed in a broad, strong stream of value-filled ethical performance. Were we blind or only naive...?” Stephen Blumberg has created the acronym EVPOSDCORB, which represents Ethics, Values, Patience, Openness, Sensitivity, Dignity, Cooperation, Responsiveness, and Beneficence. These humanistic guidelines bring to our focus of attention what was inadvertently left out of Gulick’s prescription.
“Forrest Gump” has been extraordinarily popular with the ordinary citizens, and one of the reasons is self-evident: it presents a Jeffersonian confidence in the moral stalwartness of the yeoman citizenry that runs counter to some of the current approaches in ethics. The film celebrates a basic decency and a common sense that are accessible to all. No real or imagined superiority is required for one to partake. The film is not only popular but also populist in its assertion of the primacy of the ordinary citizen within this regime. In a political climate that now finds the tenure of elected officials uncertain and the legitimacy of public administration suspect, the visible portrayal of exemplary citizen virtues may serve as a timely reminder to all that, more so than any other regime, a democratic republic is ultimately and fundamentally dependent on the core values possessed by its citizenry.
Cover Art

Portrait of a Chinese Civil Official
Late 19th Century, Ink and Color on Paper
from the collection of the Newark Museum

This elderly man wears the winter regalia of the ruling class in China, which shows his position in the government and in society. The square badge on his coat depicts the silver pheasant of the fifth civil rank. His official hat is for cold weather, with upturned brim, fringe-covered crown and the faceted crystal finial of the fifth civil rank.
Public administration as a modern discipline in the USA is only one hundred years old. The phenomenon of government and the art of governance, though, are not new. The problems that public administration is called upon to solve were confronted many thousand of years ago. Ancient administrators managed to build huge irrigation systems, coordinate the conscription, logistics and supplies of armies consisting of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, and erect magnificent buildings. During their life, they faced many challenges that required creativity as well as rational deliberation. Very often they came up with keen insights into human nature that have not lost their relevance even today.

Many questions that are often asked today were asked much earlier: How to lead and motivate public employees? What is the proper role of the government in the society? What and how much should be centralized or decentralized? How different is public management from private management? What is the role of the experts and expertise in the process of governance? What is the nature of public interest, if there is any?
The issue of how to organize government bureaucracies in an effective, efficient and responsive manner is not new. Such problems have been facing mankind since the earliest civilizations. Although never before the introduction of the idea of separation of powers had the issue of governance been framed as “how to run the constitution” (Wilson 1887), the ancients were also concerned with problems of representation and “public interest” (often articulated as the interest of the state) which they distinguished from the interests of the rulers. Long before modern times people were concerned with accountability and effectiveness, and were trying as hard as their contemporary counterparts to build effective systems of control and hierarchies.

Consider, for example, Aristotle’s (1990: 112) take on public interest: “...for Tyranny is monarchical rule of the good of the Monarch; Oligarchy the rule of a Few for the good of the wealthy; and Democracy the rule of the Many for the good of the poor; none of them sub serve the interest of the community at large...”

Government, though was never a purely political endeavor that was discussed from the angle of “the interest of the community at large.” Government had its administrative routines and mechanisms of control. There were codes of regulations and regulators, there were government standards and enforcing agencies, planners, forecasters and record keepers. Respectively, ancient thought was not limited to the political side of administration, but also to “technical” matters such as tax and expenditure administration, military campaigns, etc. The great Indian thinker Kautilya (3rd century BCE), for example, mentioned “about forty ways of embezzlement,” of which the following resemble modern accounting practices:

- What is collected earlier is credited later;
- What is realized later is credited earlier...
- What has not been credited is shown as credited;
- What raw materials are not paid for are entered;
- An aggregate revenue is shown split up...
- What is a gift of one sort is shown as gift of another sort;
- What is a gift for one person is made a gift for a different person... (Ramaswamy 1962: 87-89).

To sum up, human experience did not start with modernity and there are lessons to be learned from history: both administrative practice and political thought. A great many of the ancient thinkers who were concerned with administration were philosophers and authors. They
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exhibited a rather broad scope of interests and often unorthodox approaches. Perhaps the non-traditional, creative approach to public administration advocated by Public Voices would serve as a valuable method for gaining insights from their work.

The works in this featured symposium have different approaches to learning from history. My piece on Confucius is traditional: Confucian thought on governance is situated within the context of the ancient Chinese government system and political thought. In the following piece, Confucius speaks for himself. Kenneth Nichols breathes life into Lycurgus in an imaginary interview with the famous Spartan lawgiver, who explains his ideas to the modern reader. And Nolan J. Argyle, through the power of Philip J. Farmer's literary image of Riverworld, has made the ideas of prototypical Bill Bureaucrat be viewed in relation to arguments of such seminal thinkers as Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Jefferson and Hamilton.

Hopefully, this diversity of approaches will help to enrich our readers' understanding of history and political thought, as well as of the methods one can employ for studying them.

References


Call for Books to Review and Book Review Essays

Suggestions for books to review, particularly fictional works, and book review essays about fictional literature regarding organizational life and bureaucracies, are requested for future issues of Public Voices. Books being suggested for review should have complete citations, including title, author(s), publisher and date. A brief explanation of why the book is an important contribution and should be reviewed would be helpful. Books and book reviews selected should conform to the mission of Public Voices and the ASPA Section on Humanistic, Artistic and Reflective Expression, which include unorthodox and controversial perspectives on bureaucracy; explanations of how novels, short stories, poetry and other genre contribute to our understandings of society; and how society is reflected in the creative writings of novelists and others.

Please send your suggestions for books to review or completed book review essays to Marc Holzer, Editor-in-Chief, Public Voices, Graduate Department of Public Administration, 701 Hill Hall, 360 King Blvd., Rutgers University, Newark, N.J. 07102, E-mail: mholzer@pipeline.com.
Appointing the Best and the Brightest: Observations From the Riverworld Committee

Nolan J. Argyle

The choice of a prince’s ministers is a matter of no little importance.... The first impression that one gets of a ruler and of his brains is from seeing the men that he has about him.

Niccolo Machiavelli

The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance.... In a country where offices are created solely for the benefit of the people, no one man has any more intrinsic right to official station than another.

Andrew Jackson

Introduction

Selecting appropriate personnel and recruiting them for public service is a many-faceted topic. This essay examines only one of those facets: recruiting top-level administrators who are both technically competent and responsive to the values of the system they serve. The essay does so by way of deliberations and recommendations to the Riverworld Prince made by a commission charged with developing criteria for staffing top-level administrative positions in his regime. This device allows the author to select
relevant thought from some great—and not-so-great—minds that have contributed to our development.

Recruitment and Selection: The Ethical Dimension

One of the more vexing questions concerning the selection and recruitment of personnel has been and remains: How can one recruit personnel who are both competent to perform the duties required of them and at the same time responsive to the public interest? This question seems particularly relevant at this time, when many top-level officials of the Federal Government have been investigated or indicted on various charges of conflict of interest. Literally hundreds of political appointees made by the Reagan and Bush administrations have shared similar fates, and the Clinton administration appears to be continuing this trend, with an Agriculture Secretary who resigned facing questions of ethics, an Attorney General nominee who fell victim to "Nannygate," and several other officials who have had concerns raised concerning the propriety of their actions. This question has been given a great deal of attention in the literature of administration, both public and private.

This question was central to the classic Freidrich (1940) - Finer (1941) debate. Increased attention was given this question in the wake of the Watergate scandal and that attention has been maintained through a series of scandals that have helped erode the public's confidence in both public and private institutions. Abscam, Koreagate, insider trading on Wall Street, and the Whitewater episode have all contributed to this erosion of confidence. Much of the reaction to this has focused on attempts to repair the damage by restoring public confidence through programs designed to strengthen the professional image of administrators, and to prepare future administrators to better deal with the ethical situations they will find themselves in. Thus Chandler (1984) argues for public administrators to be "representative citizens," and Cooper (1984) for "professional citizens" who are "fiduciaries . . . employed by the citizenry to work on their behalf." To accomplish these goals, ethical instruction is to be provided as part of the training for future administrators, and included as in-service training for current administrators. These approaches seem to share an implied belief that the failure of administrators has been an institutional failure—that somehow society has failed to properly prepare people for the temptations they will face in positions of power.
This implicit abrogation of individual blame is prevalent in modern society. We seem to be embracing a "no-fault" view of the world, from automobile insurance to criminal actions. Perhaps the scandals of the 1988 Olympics illustrate this as well as anything. Bruce Jenner, being interviewed on ABC, indicated that he blamed Ben Johnson’s problems with illegal substances on those who were around him, and who had given him "bad advice." The idea that an individual might be responsible for his or her own actions seems out of fashion.

This essay will take a different argument—that individuals must be held personally accountable for their actions. This is not to say that ethics in administrative instruction is not a good idea—the author teaches such a course—but that such an approach has to recognize that the ultimate responsibility rests with the individual. Anyone who accepts a position in the public service must be aware that he or she has subjected himself or herself to public scrutiny, and that he or she is expected to live up to a standard of behavior expected by the public.

Setting and Cast

This essay is set on the Riverworld, an intriguing creation of Philip José Farmer (1971). The Riverworld is a world on which a river spirals around the globe in a continuous chasm with unclimbable walls. Everyone who had ever lived on Earth comes back to life on the Riverworld. As no one explains to them why they have come back to life, or what purpose their life now serves, they create their own new social systems and orders. In doing so, they must draw upon their own experiences and values, and do so in an unfamiliar setting. The premise allows Farmer, and the author of this essay, the opportunity to bring together interesting collections of historical personages for our own ends. For this essay that end is to examine the thinking of some of the most respected thinkers of the past concerning personal accountability in the public service. This is done through a more general discussion of selecting advisers to the prince.

This essay is set in a rather small portion of the Riverworld, a portion currently under the control of one of the Earth’s former great leaders. This prince has formed a commission to help him select the criteria to use in staffing his new government.
The prince has been very fortunate in the individuals who came back to life in his little stretch of the Riverworld. He has selected several of these individuals for his commission—people of either great intellect, great government experience, or both. To chair his Select Commission on Personnel Recruitment, the prince has chosen perhaps the greatest of the ancient Greek philosophers: Plato. The other members of the Commission include Aristotle, Niccolo Machiavelli, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson. The final member of the Commission is Bill Bureaucrat, an individual who entered the Federal Civil Service after serving in Vietnam. As a graduate of Eastern State University with a Master in Public Administration degree, he brings twentieth century thinking to the topic at hand.

Deliberations of the Riverworld Committee

Plato climbed the gentle slope from the river, carrying his pail with its assortment of food carefully to avoid spilling the hot brew that formed part of his breakfast. Entering the rough-hewn log cabin that served as temporary quarters for the Committee, he saw that the other members of the group had arrived.

"The grail has done well by me this morning. I trust that it has treated you all equally well." Although his speech was in the form of a statement, not a question, Plato noted that Bill was, as usual, bound to reply. To divert a monologue on the quality of food provided by the hidden builders of this strange world, he added, "I still wonder at how this mushroom-shaped stone, which someone named a grail, is capable of providing us with our meals, day after day." This didn’t stop Bill from answering, but it changed his response to a more useful one, from Plato’s perspective.

"We had the theory to construct such things in my era," Bill stated in his always serious style. "It is some form of a matter-energy converter—something right out of Startrek."

The other Committee members ignored Bill when he talked like this. None of them had been born in what Bill liked to call the age of technology, and they all found his references puzzling at times. Jefferson had tried to get details of such things as "matter-energy converters" from Bill, but had soon discovered that Bill knew terms, but not meanings.
"If we can establish a stable state here, there will be time enough to plumb the mysteries that surround us," Hamilton said, bringing them back to the mission of the Committee. "Such a state, however, will not create itself. We need to devote our energies to more practical pursuits than speculations concerning the grail."

"Well spoken," said Plato. "We are to advise our prince about selecting the proper people to create the state, and I suggest that we begin." Taking his place at the head of the rough dais built by some of the prince's laborers, he looked over the Committee. "We must begin by recognizing that people differ in their capacities, and our prince must be careful to select only those who can subordinate their own desires for the good of all."

"I agree," stated the Florentine, Machiavelli. "While I hesitate with my poor facilities to make recommendations to such an august assemblage, I too have noted that individuals differ greatly in their capacity. There are three different kinds of brains, the one understands things unassisted, the other understands things when shown by others, and the third understands neither alone nor with the explanations of others. A prince must himself be of the first sort, and must at all costs avoid surrounding himself with those of the last."

"True," Jefferson mused, "there is a natural aristoi among people, and it is the role of government to select from that aristoi to fill the positions of government. Only in that way can you attract those who will understand the purpose of the state."

"I agree," stated Hamilton, "but I must add that these individuals must be given the opportunity to govern, once selected. It is a just observation that even minds of the strongest and most active powers for their proper objects, fall below mediocrity, and labor without effort, if confined to uncongenial pursuits."

Bill Bureaucrat, as usual, was not convinced. "I'm not so sure that there is a natural aristocracy," he stated, with an apologetic half-smile for Jefferson. "With the proper training and preparation, most people can function well in serving their community." He steepled his fingers under his chin and seemed to examine the center of the table. "We have a very diverse group of people here in our little stretch of the Riverworld, and I think we need to reflect that
diversity in those who advise and support our prince—we need a representative bureaucracy in order to insure equity for our citizens."

“Our esteemed colleague makes an interesting argument,” nodded Plato. “It is one well worthy of examination.” He smiled at Bill. “Let me see if I understand you correctly. You seem to be saying that equity is the key consideration here. May I use the word justice for what you mean—that we should ensure that the state provides justice for all who reside within its confines?” At Bill’s nod, he continued. “You are right, of course. The goal of the state must be justice. After all, the state arises in the first place to satisfy the reciprocal needs of its members, does it not?”

“What do you mean by that?” Bill asked. From the recesses of his mind, he seemed to recall that agreeing with Plato could lead one down a path to a conclusion one didn’t want to reach. He wished, not for the first time, that he had actually read the Republic as an undergraduate, instead of just the Cliffs Notes.

“Let me see if we can discover what justice is,” responds Plato. “The state consists of various persons who seek various goals. Would you agree with that?” At Bill’s wary nod, he continued, “some of these people seek after material things—a comfortable house, good clothing, and so forth. The state allows them to create these things, and everyone benefits, wouldn’t you agree?” He smiled at his former pupil, Aristotle, who had so far been an observer, rather than a contributor, and asked “what do you think about this?”

“You are correct,” stated Aristotle. “People differ in their capacities to obtain these things, as well as in the importance they place upon them. They need the support of others in the state to accomplish their goals for a good life. Wouldn’t you agree, Bill, that some are better fishers than others, and that some are very capable of construction, while others cannot build even a rude shelter?”

“That is true,” Bill conceded.

“These different capacities are also reflected in the ability to conceptualize. Some are slower of thought than are others. For the state to prosper, these different capacities must be utilized in a way that benefits all. Let us look at the example of those who ply the boats we now have on the river. Each sailor is a member of an
association, with different duties. They differ from one another in virtue of the capacities in which they act: one is a rower, another a pilot, another a look-out, and yet another a captain. When each of these individuals is properly performing his task, they all have a common object, and the entire boat benefits.” He smiled patiently at Bill. “Would you not agree that this is the case?”

“Of course,” Bill responded. “But a rower may be trained to be a good look-out, or even a captain. The association of the boat should allow that.”

“Ah,” said Plato, “but is everyone equally capable of being each of these—rower, look-out, or captain?”

“Perhaps not equally,” Bill hedged, “but they can accomplish it with proper training.”

“Yet,” persisted Aristotle, “would a boat where the strongest served as look-outs, and those with the best eyesight as rowers be as successful as one where the strongest rowed, and those with the best eyesight served look-out?”

Bill, starting to feel trapped, shook his head. “No,” he conceded, it would not.

“True,” mused Plato, “and it would not be just to the members of the association to allow individuals to labor at those tasks they are not best suited for. This would be justice neither for the individual nor for the association.”

Jefferson, who had read the Republic, looked amused. “Bill, you shouldn’t argue with the man who, in your phrase, ‘wrote the book’ on the subject. People do differ in their capacities, and we need to ensure that our ‘pilots’ for the state are the best we can get.”

“Justice,” Plato stated, “in the state comes from making sure that people are doing what they are best suited for. And, as our valued colleague Machiavelli has so brilliantly stated, we must ensure that our prince is advised and served by those best suited for it. The question remains, however, as to how that selection should be accomplished. How do we find those whose reason prepares them for such service?”
Machiavelli, who hadn’t quite said what Plato had credited him with, rejoined the discussion. “Permit me to address this question by asking a slightly different one. How can a prince know that his minister is serving the interest of the prince, and not that of the minister? I think by looking at this question, we can begin to see the answer to Plato’s question.”

“Fair enough,” agreed Plato, “let us look at the question from this perspective. What response do you have for your query?”

“To begin,” Machiavelli replied, “I will mention a mistake which princes can with difficulty avoid, if they are not very prudent, or if they do not make a good choice. And this is with regard to flatterers, of which the land is full, because people take pleasure in hearing good things said of themselves.”

“Well put,” said Jefferson. “There are always those who seek influence through flattery, and I agree that it is difficult for any leader to avoid their attention. It is a danger that must be well-guarded against.”

“I agree,” said Bill, glad to be able to really agree with something for a change. “We called those types of guys ‘brown-nosers’ in my day. They’re everywhere, and you do need to watch out for them.”

“Flattery can be a problem,” Hamilton interjected, “but it is a problem that those who are themselves competent are much less likely to suffer. Therefore, one who flatters makes himself suspect, and his advise should be avoided.”

“That is wise advise,” Plato said with a slight smile, “but how does the prince recognize flattery from sound counsel?”

“One way to do so,” Machiavelli answered, “is for the prince to take counsel only when he wishes, not when others wish. He should discourage absolutely attempts to advise him unless he asks it, but he ought to be a great asker, and a patient hearer of the truth about those things of which he has inquired.” The Florentine looked at Bill, and continued: “indeed, if a prince finds that an adviser hesitates to tell him the truth he should be angry, wouldn’t you agree?”
"You’re right, of course," nodded Bill, "but that requires a prince who cannot only accept hearing the truth, pleasant or not, but who can tell when his adviser is giving him that. That seems to place a heavy burden on the prince."

"The prince cannot escape responsibility," responded Machiavelli. "It is only right that he be held accountable for the quality of his advisers and ministers. The first impression one gets of any ruler is from seeing those that he has about him. However, there is a way for a prince to tell the quality of his minister. When you see the minister thinks more of himself than of you, and in all his actions seek his own profit, such an individual will never be a good minister, and you can never rely on him; for whoever has in hand the state of another must never think of himself but of the prince."

"You are saying, then," Bill rejoined, "that any minister who brings discredit upon himself by actions that are seen as being motivated by selfishness also brings doubt upon the wisdom of the prince. That seems to imply that the prince can be held accountable not only for his own actions, but for the actions of those he chooses to assist him. Can we really do that?"

"We not only can, we must!" Hamilton’s fingers drummed on the table. "In selecting a prince we trust that our choice has been directed by a judicious estimate of our true interest, unperplexed and unbiased by considerations not connected with the public good. When, then, such a prince takes action, or allows action to be taken by his ministers, that does harm to that good, he must be held accountable."

"I think we are in agreement on that point," Plato stated firmly. "Our deliberations along the lines suggested by our esteemed colleague, Machiavelli, have been useful. Still, I am not certain that we have answered the question originally posed: how do we find those best qualified to serve the prince? How do we find those whose reason prepares them for such service? I think that we have concluded that a minister, to faithfully serve the prince, must serve the interest of all. If he is to do this, he must know the interest of all, would you each agree to that?"

"I will agree to some degree," said Aristotle. "Yet we also agree that people are different in their capacities, and we must recognize that they differ in their capacities to determine what is the interest of all."
The polis cannot be compounded only of good people. We must select from among the compound that makes up the state those who know how to rule and how to obey—how to rule wisely in the interest of all, while at the same time being ruled by the citizens’ understanding of what is just.”

“That is a question that Finer addressed in my day,” Bill added. “He argued that the only way that this could be accomplished was through the proper education and training of the minister. That a socialization process would create an individual who behaved ethically because of internal checks—who would be good because he was good, to simplify his argument.”

Machiavelli seemed amused by this exchange. “We can ill afford either a prince or a minister who is always good. It is necessary for a prince to seem to have the qualities of goodness, but he must also have the mind to be otherwise when it is needful.” Leaning forward, he continued: “the prince who always seeks to do good for his subjects will in the end cause them harm.”

“But that,” Plato stated, “is because the subjects may not always know their interest. The prince must always be guided by the good of all, as should his ministers. This just further shows the need to select ministers who have reason to see the common good, and to act toward it. The prince must look at the training and background of his potential ministers, and he must look at whether or not they have advanced the good of all.”

“I will agree with that,” conceded Machiavelli. “The prince must be a lover of merit, give preferment to the able, and honor those who excel.”

“We are in agreement, then,” interposed Jefferson, “on a number of items concerning how the prince should select his ministers. Let’s see if we can list our areas of agreement.” At the lack of opposition to his suggestion, he continued. “First, we are in agreement that people have different capacities, that there is a natural aristoi in society based upon talent and virtue—reason, if you will. Second, that the prince must himself exhibit these talents and virtues, or it will be impossible for him to select as his ministers those that do.” He glanced around the table, getting nods from the others. “Third, that the best way to judge the prince and his ministers is by examining their actions, by seeing that they act not from self-
interest, but in the interest of all. Any who profits greatly from public service would be suspect under this view. Do we all agree with this?

"I think you have summed up our agreement well," Plato stated, retaking his leadership role. "We have now much to think on before we make our specific recommendations to the prince. I suggest that we adjourn, as the hour is late, to ponder what we have discussed. Tomorrow we will review what we have done, and prepare our report."

The Finale of the Riverworld Committee

The members of the committee pushed away from the dais, or table, content with their day's efforts. As they prepared to leave, the door to the cabin opened, admitting a man in the uniform of the Prince's Guard.

"Good evening, Colonel North," Plato greeted the new arrival. "We have made excellent progress, and you can tell our prince that we should have a report for him in just a few days."

"That's fine," North responded, his military background apparent even in his sure, positive speech. "However, it won't be necessary."

"Not necessary! And why not, may I ask?" stated Plato, his astonishment apparent.

"Prince Newt has had two of his old colleagues show up at this point on the river. They had heard that he was established here, and traveled a long distance to join him." North's smile did not go beyond his lips, leaving his eyes cool in their examination of the members of the Committee. "They have now assumed their roles as ministers in charge of the United Principality of the Riverworld, under the leadership of Prince Newt."

"Who are they?" asked Bill, the only member of the Committee to have lived during Prince Newt's era on earth.

"Jesse Helms, who has assumed the role of Prime Minister," North replied, "and Don Devine, who will be in charge of all personnel matters from this point on. Oh yes," he added, "that reminds me. I
have his first directive. Mr. Jefferson, you start tomorrow on kitchen duty . . .”

Endnotes

1. In the time since Paul H. Appleby dedicated *Big Government* to “John Q. Citizen and Bill Bureaucrat,” Bill Bureaucrat has been the bureaucratic equivalent “John Smith” or “Mary Doe,” and is used in this essay to represent the generic modern public administrator.


References


Nolan J. Argyle is Associate Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Political Science at Valdosta State University. His research interests include linking normative political thought to the study of public administration.
Movie Reviews Invited

The movies contain a vast wealth of information about and illustrative of management and public administration. Unfortunately much of this is "hidden" in war films, westerns, prison dramas and other genres that do not immediately appear to be relevant. Fortunately, now that most films are readily available on tape, it is easier than ever to find and use this treasure trove of light and sound that so often illuminates the administrative world far better than any text. Thus Public Voices encourages and invites reviews and analyses of pertinent films. Many films stand by themselves; but it is often useful to consider several films by a single actor. For example, consider Gregory Peck. In Gentleman's Agreement (1949) he demonstrated the subtlety of racism in the corporate world. In Twelve O'Clock High (1950) he illustrated the life cycle theory of leadership behavior. In The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit (1956) he coped with the ethical dilemmas of the modern organization man. And in To Kill a Mockingbird (1963) he showed how one person of unstinting integrity could make a difference.

Gary Cooper was more than just a lanky cowboy. In The Fountainhead (1949) he was a premature supply-side philosopher. In High Noon (1952) he offered a case study of the need for more effective pre-retirement planning. In Vera Cruz (1954) he dealt with the problems of Americans offering technical assistance to the Third World. And in The Court-Martial of Billy Mitchell (1955) he portrayed a martyred organizational dissident. And Clark Gable was more than Rhett Butler, the war profiteer in Gone With the Wind (1939). In Mutiny on the Bounty (1935) he rebelled against a famous practitioner of the Theory X management style. In The Hucksters (1947) he led a revolution against an organizational tyrant and transformed the company. In Command Decision (1949) he coped with the myriad political and administrative factors that so often frustrate public policymakers.

Similar summaries apply to the work of many other leading actors. The point is that we have within our collective memories hundreds of films that bear upon public policy and administration, but that have never been looked at in this light. So please accept the invitation of Public Voices and consider contributing your reviews of specific films or specific actors. Films are like great literature or history itself in that each new generation offers its own interpretations. The enormous backlist of U.S. and foreign film has hardly been interpreted at all by the public affairs community.

Reviews of 500-750 words should be submitted to:
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Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Fax: 412-648-2605
Public Administration In Ancient China: The Practice and Thought

Vatche Gabrielian
Rutgers University, Campus at Newark

"Machiavelli is no more the inventor of Machiavellianism than Graves is the inventor of Graves disease."

Mario Praz

Although modern administrators can draw helpful lessons and gain useful insights from centuries-old philosophical discourses (Nigro 1960, Hahn and Waterhouse 1972; Murray 1995), the traditional study of public administration and bureaucracy, in the tradition of Max Weber (1946a), as well as management thought in general, treats these phenomena as something characteristic only to the modern era. Most studies on bureaucracy start with modern states and go back as far as the medieval period and the organization of the Catholic church (e.g. Jacoby 1973; Roth 1993). Expansive bureaucracies of the ancient world have been studied, but rarely in a public administration context. Bureaucracy in ancient (sometimes labeled “bureaucratic”) empires have been studied quite extensively by Karl Wittfogel (1957) and Shmuel Eisenstadt (1963). Ancient bureaucracies serve as a starting point for comprehensive, comparative analysis of public administration by Ferrel Heady (1996), and Daniel Wren (1994) as well starts his journey in the evolution of management thought since times immemorial.
Most ancient empires required formal bureaucratic structures and centralized controls for their huge irrigation and flood control systems. Wittfogel (1957: 4) argues that this "hydraulic" nature of most oriental societies made them essentially bureaucratic, with bureaucratic landlordism and bureaucratic gentry. In a sense, bureaucratic managers were the ruling class. All empires substantially relied on the public sector. Most of the ancient states were unitary, and both the process of administration and advice for administration concerned central authority. On the other hand, ancient societies were quite fragmented, and in many cases central authorities had to rely on local administrative entities. As Herbert Kaufman (1988: 227) puts it, in many cases field officers of the central government were "stimulators and coordinators rather than operators." All the empires had an infrastructure of roads, and most prominently a very effective royal postal service. Postal services sometimes delivered perishable goods for the court, but their main purpose was the movement of privileged persons and governmental information (Wittfogel 1957: 55). The primary purpose of the post was to secure communications and reporting between the core and the periphery, as well as to monitor developments in the provinces.

Eisenstadt's (1963) interest in ancient empires has a different point of origin: their defiance to be classified using the categories of "modern" and "traditional" societies, which is so important in comparative politics and administration. Eisenstadt viewed these bureaucrats politically: he saw them as actors who had to balance pressures emanating from rulers and interest groups, balancing their own bureaucratic interests of aggrandizement with concerns for the effectiveness of the policies that rulers wanted implemented.

Chinese civilization, with its ancient roots and century-long traditions, has always interested social scientists. Questions of a distinct historical path of Chinese development (achievements and failures) have been the subject of numerous studies (Lin 1995). The importance of Chinese civil service in the history of Chinese civilization has long been acknowledged. For example, E. N. Gladden considers the institution of Chinese bureaucracy as "the one steadying factor that contributed more than anything else to the remarkable staying power of the Chinese civilization" (Gladden 1972: 172). Chinese civil service also had its impact on modern civil service systems in the West (Heady 1996: 173). Whereas Chinese civil service has not always been classified as progressive over a history, it has been considered as positive in some periods and non-progressive in others (Van Riper 1958: 9). Although students of
public administration and politics have discussed ancient Chinese bureaucracy, relatively little attention has been paid to ancient Chinese thought on public administration and governance.

Bureaucracy in Ancient China

For the study of ancient Chinese thought on administration, one should begin with the Eastern Zhou (Chou) period. The Zhou period (c. 771 BCE to 256 BCE) of Chinese history is very important in the evolution of Chinese civilization. During this period a more or less full-fledged bureaucracy emerged and various schools of political thought began to address the issues of governance. The Zhou period was characterized by a proliferation of many vassal states and continuous wars between them. During the first part of the Eastern Zhou era, the Spring and Autumn period, there were many wars, but their scale was relatively small. Many rulers were related by blood and very often warfare was a family matter, with diplomacy playing a large role (Rawson 1980: 133). In the second part of the Eastern Zhou era, the Warring States period, wars were on a significantly larger scale, with armies consisting of tens of thousands of people disputing power. Still, there was a common desire for political unity and order, which most conspicuously was demonstrated in the idea of hegemon (actualized in the 680s by Duke Huan). This period of political disorder and shifting alliances witnessed significant growth of philosophical thought (or more precisely, schools of political thought). Most prominently, three of the most influential streams of political thought of Chinese civilization — Confucianism, Legalism and Taoism — started during the Zhou period. In addition, one of most revered treatises on military strategy (and strategy in general), The Art of War by Sun Tzu, is also a product of this period.

As everywhere else in the ancient world, philosophy or political thought could not have blossomed without patronage. Jessica Rawson (1980: 135) identifies two important aspects of this process. First, it was a result of proliferation of many states. The increase in the number of states respectively increased the demand for advice in the art of governance, and several great philosophers served as ministers for these ancient states (mostly Confucians and Legalists). Second, as Rawson mentions, was the fact that with consolidation and development of the state an emergent ruling class came to substitute for the ruler’s (a king or a duke) immediate family in governing state matters. The states in the Warring States period
had become complex enough to require a more systematic organization, although a classic civil service/bureaucracy did not develop until the later Han dynasty period (206 BCE—220 AD). The emergence of bureaucracy can be seen in the rationalization of the state: ministers and officials were regularly changed; hereditary posts declined in numbers and promotion was made on a personal basis; territorial-administrative units under each official became limited (Rawson 1980: 135); along with a chief minister there were functional ministers for agriculture, public works and military affairs (Heady 1996: 171), and a formal currency (coins) was introduced (Rawson 1980: 138).

As already mentioned, bureaucracy fully developed only during the Han period. China was unified immediately before the Han dynasty’s rule, and under Shih Huang Ti (literally the First Emperor, known also as the Great Unifier) of the short-lived Ch’in (Qin) dynasty (221-206 BCE), which gave its name to the country. Under Han rule, the administration of the state was centralized and standardized (Heady 1996: 172). Later, the first civil service system in the world was instituted. The Han dynasty developed competitive examinations (which drew upon Confucianism) as a basis for the selection of officials, and also transformed the educational system. Prior to the introduction of the civil service the staffing for government services usually reflected the class structure of the society, with higher offices reserved for people of high status and birth, or these positions were bought. Beginning with Han rule, the selection was supposedly based on merit and abilities. Under Han rule, the seal of office gave the official holding it authority that earlier could have been claimed only by military force (Rawson 1980: 189). Although some rulers had disrespect for non-practical knowledge and literati (Hsu 1988: 177), it was generally accepted that administrators should be highly knowledgeable. Chinese civil service can be traced back to an edict in 196 BCE whereby it was ordered that officials in the commanderies send able men to the capital, where they could be considered for government service (Rawson 1980: 189). Generally, because of the more personalized nature of administration in ancient societies and the not yet developed technical and organizational disciplines of study, human resources was the subject that most concerned the ancient rulers and thinkers. The fear that field bureaucrats would “marry the natives” (to use a slang term that White House staff uses to describe the capture of political appointees by the so-called “iron triangles”), forced central authorities to intensively train and indoctrinate
bureaucrats, carefully weeding out those bureaucrats showing less than a total devotion, promoting only the loyal ones, and posting the field officers’ families to the capital (Kaufman 1988: 228). Hsu (1988: 189) describes the Chinese recommendation-merit system:

... the Han government recruited candidates for government services by means of a recommendation system. A quota for recommendees was assigned to each of commanderies from which local elites were drawn to serve in the central government. The typical route for advance of a young intellectual within the bureaucracy began with education at a local academy or tutoring at home. In his early years he was employed by the county government, often as a junior scribe. He might be gradually promoted to the position of secretary in charge of one department in the county government. Then he would be recommended to take a job in the commandery government. After his worthiness was proven, he would be recommended to take an examination at the capital, where he was either enrolled in the Imperial Academy or appointed to the position of a court attendant. Having finished such training, he was assigned a job in central government. In his career he might also be dispatched to govern a county or a commandery. He never, however, would be assigned to govern his native place.

The state developed a huge state apparatus capable of mobilizing a large number of citizens for military campaigns and major public works projects. In Han China (as in ancient Egypt on the eve of the Hellenistic period) a census of population is reported to have been executed annually (Wittfogel 1957: 51-52). Management of the economy of a large centralized state was also a matter of primary concern of the politicians and bureaucrats. A document from 81 BCE, the Debate on Salt and Iron, dealt with imperial control of salt and iron monopolies. As Rawson (180: 89) argues, “the debate was really concerned with the purpose of government, and with claims and counterclaims that the extended foreign wars were draining China.”

Bureaucracy also played an important role throughout later Chinese history. Under Sui rule (581-618), massive public works were completed (including the Great Chinese Wall), and reforms in education were carried out. Sui also introduced a corps of traveling government inspectors for controlling local officials (Heady 1996:...
During the rule of the Tang dynasty (618-907), printing was introduced, which had "widespread ramifications on administration in China and elsewhere later on" (Heady 1996: 172). Richard Sterba (1978: 73) comments on this matter that "in an interesting instance of supply creating demand, the Chinese, after first having invented the craft of paper making, proceeded to elevate administrative paperwork to a fine art. An endless number of reports, records, and other communications were regularly required, usually in multiplicate."

As everywhere else in the ancient world, government service and public administration were the most prestigious spheres of activity and were much more highly regarded than business and commerce. As Wren (1994: 15) mentions about China in the era of Confucius, merchants ranked only slightly above convicts in social esteem. Civil service, though based on competitive examinations, still reflected the class structure of the society. Government service was usually reserved for the literati, or the class of scholars. Discriminatory laws forbidding merchants to take civil service examinations were officially removed quite late—during the Ming era (1368-1644) (Lin 1995: 283). However, it did not mean that commerce was totally ignored. Money and capital were always needed; successful merchants, moneylenders and industrialists were treated almost as social equals by vassal kings from the time of the Han period (206 BCE—220 AD) (Lin 1995: 283).

Although the Chinese civil service system rationalized bureaucracy and improved its effectiveness in running the state, the bureaucracy did not always function smoothly. Chinese civil service, based on competitive examinations, covered only the upper layers of the bureaucratic apparatus—the "senior executive service." The rest was what Richard Sterba (1978: 73) calls "clerical subbureaucracy," a lower-level formally uneducated group of local people, who were "mistrusted, feared and disliked by the people and regarded with contempt by higher officialdom." Corruption and manipulation on this level of bureaucracy were abundant, and there were numerous attempts at reforms. The institution of a Censorate—the corps of traveling inspectors under the Tang dynasty—have already been mentioned. Reforms very often touched the educational system and the contents of civil service examinations. In this respect, the reform proposals of Fan Cheng-yen and Wang An Shih (statesmen of the Sung period (960-1279)) in the 11th century are of particular interest (Smith et. al. 1991: 27-28; Sterba 1978: 76-78). The existing
examinations valued literary skills and memorization, and had several steps. The first round of examination, for the baccalaureate degree (hsui ts’ai), was offered locally approximately every two years (Sterba 1978: 71). This did not immediately lead to civil service positions, but ensured that the applicants could take higher level exams, and sometimes ensured financial support for their continued studies. The second round of examinations, which tested determination along with knowledge, was held in provincial capitals every three years and awarded a master’s degree (chujen) (Sterba 1978: 71). And finally, there was the exam for the doctorate (chin shih), which was held in the imperial capital and consisted of two parts: 1) “presented literatus,” that tested first of all the ability to compose poems according to certain formal criteria, and then only the ability to write prose essays; and 2) “various fields,” which tested the applicant’s knowledge of the classics (going back some 1600 years) and their interpretation, and knowledge of ritual compendiums. The basic readings of examinations (not counting interpretations) consisted of 431,286 characters and were to be memorized by heart. This required 6 years of memorization, at the rate of 200 characters a day (Miyazaki 1976: 17). There were many cases of people taking exams for their whole life—sometimes with their fathers and children.

The reforms tried to eliminate the second part of the exam (it was abolished after Fan Chang-yen’s death), and, even more important, to reverse the logic of the first exam and give much more weight to the prose essay than to composition of poetry. Fan Chang-yen was displeased by the fact that the exams emphasized formal learning at the expense of value-laden thinking. The reform tried to encourage the recruitment and retention of literati committed to ideal values. For this end, it was proposed that the local officials, when recommending someone for service, certify the “ethical conduct” of the recomenpee (Smith et. al. 1991: 27-28). Wang An Shih continued the attack on poetry composition, and argued that students ought to study principles of philosophy and government. But, realizing the necessity of practical skills for civil servants and the ability of lower levels of bureaucracy (the “clerical subbureaucracy”) to manipulate and sabotage the decisions of higher civil servants (who had little contact with the outside world and were highly predictable because of their Confucian indoctrination), Wang An Shih went two steps further: 1) he suggested that entrants into civil service have an initial “internship” in clerical positions, for acquiring first-hand experience; and 2) he sought to elevate the status of clerks
and lesser functionaries, to bring them closer to civil service, and attain their loyalty and dedication through Confucian ethics (Sterba 1978: 77).

Long and demanding civil service examinations are considered to have both positive and negative effects on the development of China. It has been argued that the indoctrination of Confucianism (basically its main tenets of loyalty and filial piety) through civil service examinations contributed significantly to the unity of the country. It is believed that without strong moral and ethical characteristics of its bureaucrats, as well as their dedication, China could have experienced strong centrifugal tendencies given its vast territory, regional diversity and premodern channels of communication (Huang 1981). It is also argued that China, which until the 13th century was more developed than Western Europe, did not experience an industrial revolution mainly because of the effectiveness of its civil service system, which rewarded memorization of vast amounts of humanitarian knowledge rather than experimental inquiry. As Justin Yifu Lin holds (1995: 285), “because of the incentive system created by the specific form of civil service examination and officialdom, fewer of the gifted in China than those in Europe were interested in acquiring the human capital [i.e. knowledge and skills] essential for scientific revolution.”

Ancient Chinese Thought on Government and Administration

There are lessons to be learned from the ancient Chinese practice of administration, and one can as well gain valuable insights from ancient Chinese thought on administration and governance. Three important streams of political thought can be highlighted in ancient China when speaking about political philosophy—Taoism (Daoism), Confucianism and Legalism (Waley 1959). Of course, Taoism and Confucianism have their nuances and variations (e.g. in the broader stream of Confucianism alone there are recognized idealistic, naturalistic, yin-yang, Taoistic, and neo-Confucian schools of thought) (see e.g. Chan 1963), and on certain issues they may intertwine with each other and with Legalists and other schools. There are also many other schools of thought which are less concerned with governance (Buddhism, Zen), as well as schools of thought that criticize and complement Taoism and Confucianism (e.g. Mohism, called so after Mo Tzu), but are less interesting from a modern perspective. Apart from political-philosophical treatises,
Sun Tzu’s treatise on military strategy provides yet another source of valuable insights for public administrators.

In a very crude fashion one can imagine ancient Chinese thought on governance as an ongoing, centuries-old debate wherein the representatives of a predominant stream of thought, the Confucians, debate the Taoists and some ideas of Legalism (which did cease to exist as a school some two thousand years ago, although it never died in practice) and many other schools of thought (Mohists, Buddhists). Fascination with Legalists came perhaps in the twentieth century, when students noticed astonishing parallels with totalitarianism. Perhaps one can briefly sum up the arguments of the above mentioned schools in the following manner: Taoists argued for limiting government and less personal control in management; Confucians tried to indoctrinate everyone in goodness and reverence to tradition and morale; and Legalists attempted to eliminate vague terms like “morale” and “harmony” and to legitimize everything according to the state’s (i.e. king’s) interest, and ultimately administer the state according to laws. Although this portrayal ignores the fact that very often these schools of thought borrowed from, or shared arguments with, each other while debating one another, it serves as a starting point for discussion.

The arguments of Chinese philosophers have a striking resemblance not only to ancient Greek and Roman thinking, but also to modern thought. Reading Tao Te Ching one cannot help but recall the libertarian and conservative arguments of today. The debates of Confucians and Legalists remind one of the argument between Carl Friedrich’s thesis of the “responsible [i.e. indoctrinated in morality] administrator” and Herman Finer’s idea of “by-the-book-accountability” in the pages of the Public Administration Review in 1941.

Taoism is a philosophy that traces its origins to the mysterious contemporary of Confucius, Lao Tzu. Lao Tzu may have been a librarian in one of the kingdoms of the time, and he left his teachings in Tao Te Ching, which can be translated as The Way of Life. Although every Chinese school of thought has its understanding of Tao—a concept that one can translate as The Way of Life, this mystical teaching is the only one that is known by that name. The Taoist philosophy is best summed this up in a passage from Chuang Tzu (4-3 century BCE): “To regard the fundamental as the essence, to regard things as coarse, to regard accumulation as deficiency, and
to dwell quietly alone with the spiritual and the intelligent—herein lie the techniques of Tao of the ancients.... They built their doctrines on the principle of eternal non-being and held the idea of the Great One as fundamental. To them, weakness and humility were expression, and openness and emptiness that did not destroy anything were reality” (Chan 1963: 137). Because it is not the intent of this essay (or the ability of the author) to explore Taoism or Confucianism in general or in depth, writings from *Tao Te Ching* are cited to illustrate the Taoist attitude toward government and management. First, Taoists prefer limited government:

When taxes are too high,
people go hungry,
when the government is too intrusive,
people loose their spirit.

Act for the people’s benefit.
Trust them; leave them alone (Mitchell 1991: 75).
Or,

Governing a large country
is like frying a small fish.
You spoil it with too much poking (Mitchell 1991: 60).

This idea is based upon the belief that unnatural things should not be imposed upon human nature, which is free and subject only to self-improvement. Thus, Taoists do not like control. The following is reminiscent of the Roman Stoic argument:

Knowing others is intelligence;
knowing yourself is true wisdom.
Mastering others is strength;
mastering yourself is true power (Mitchell 1991: 33).

In a similar vein:

... In governing, don’t try to control...
When you are content to be simply yourself
and don’t compare or compete,
everybody will respect you (Mitchell 1991: 8).

This does not mean absolute negation of control. Rather, it means control without controlling, through leadership and example, and
not through force. If the master has found Tao, he will be so skillful, influential and revered that he will control whatever is needed to control easily and without effort. This is because the person is so immersed in what they are doing, that the behavior and skills will come naturally. Taoists did not revere bookish knowledge. They would rather appeal to natural, mystical, inner powers of man and their sense of harmony. The following excerpt from an alleged dialogue between Lao Tzu and Confucius illuminates this point. When Confucius complains to Lao Tzu that he edited six ancient scriptures and presented that priceless knowledge to seventy-two princes, none of which wanted to implement it, Lao Tzu answered:

"It is a lucky thing that you did not meet with a prince anxious to reform the world. Those six scriptures are the dim footprints of ancient kings. They tell us nothing of the force that guided their steps. All your lectures are concerned with things that are no better than footprints in the dust. Footprints are made by shoes, but they are far from being shoes" (Waley 1959: 15).

Taoist philosophy is often argued to be mystical, cosmological and escapist, non-pragmatic and, is sometimes compared to anarchism (Waley 1959: 72-74). Although this may be essentially true (it depends upon the eye of beholder), one can confidently say that there was never a Taoist state or that Taoist principles were never meant to serve the everyday routine of government. However, Tao Te Ching and other teachings of the Taoist school still may give a modern reader insights, especially into creative management, motivation and communication. All schools of political thought, or philosophy, were not separate from religion and beliefs of the day. Taoism also played an important role in criticizing (along with Legalists and Mohists) what its followers considered excessive rituals of Confucianism.

Of course, the dominant school of thought throughout the entire history of Chinese civilization is Confucianism. Although it has origins in humanistic thinking predating K’ung Fu-Tzu (551-479 BCE) (it means Grand Master K’ung, and Confucius is the latinized version of this name), this essential force of Chinese civilization is usually dated from Confucius, who not only was famous for his teachings, but also systematized the earlier writings into a more or less coherent core. Confucius served in minor posts in the state of
Lu, and then became the minister of justice. At age fifty-six, he felt that his superiors were not interested in his policies, so he left government to travel and preach political and social reform. Returning to his state, he settled down to teach and edit the Classics of earlier periods of Chinese history (Chan 1963: 17). The humanitarian nature of Confucianism perhaps can be best described in this excerpt from the above mentioned suggested dialogue between Confucius and Lao Tzu. When Lao Tzu asked Confucius to give him the gist of the argument, Confucius told him that they were goodness and duty. “We have a saying,” Confucius told him, “that gentlemen

‘Without goodness cannot thrive,  
Without duty cannot live.’  
Goodness and duty are indeed natural to men. What else should they be?....  
‘To have a heart without guile,  
To love all men without partiality,  
that,’ said Confucius, ‘is the true state of goodness and duty’ “ (Waley 1959: 15).

Confucius formulated some of the fundamental concepts of Chinese philosophy, including jen (humanity, goodness) and Mean (moderation, being in a state of balance). Confucius believed in the perfectibility of all men, and in this aspect he radically modified the concept of superior man (Chan 1963: 15). Before, chun-tzu, or superior man; literally meant “son of the ruler.” Confucius changed the understanding of superior man from being based on hereditary to a moral basis of character. This term appears in Analects 107 times, and is intended to set the foundation for appropriate behavior. Confucius tries to teach reverence for tradition, patience, long-term vision, integrity, loyalty, purposefulness, and righteousness. In the following description of an educated gentleman one can see that Confucius prizes values of moderation and balance:

He who can properly be so-called will have in him a seriousness of purpose, a habit of controlling himself, and an agreeableness of manner: among his friends and associates the seriousness and the self-control, and among his brethren the agreeableness of manner.

Confucian thought does not end with Confucius. There are a host of important philosophers in the Confucian tradition with conflicting
assumptions about human nature (good, evil, dual), that present important ramifications for management (trust, control, contingency approach) (Hahn and Waterhouse 1972). Of those, perhaps the most famous is Mencius (371-289 BCE), the representative of idealistic Confucianism. Mencius held that the nature of man is originally good (one step forward from Confucius who had implied it), and spoke about Government by Goodness. Mencius stated that bad people existed only because of scarcity and economic insecurity. In his passages on government, he spoke about land tenure, taxation and what can be called old age pensions ("nourishing the aged") (Waley 1959: 86).

Government by Goodness also meant the abolition of market taxes and frontier taxes; the use of conscripted labor only at times of the year when agriculture was slack; abandoning the tribute system where the household had to pay a fixed tribute of grain based on the average yield of the land; abolition of severe penalties; and education based on morality teachings (Waley 1959: 88-89). Like all Confucians, Mencius accepted hierarchy in the society and differentiation between superior and inferior men, and between good and bad products. Arguing against one of his opponents, who championed the idea of equalizing all prices so that there would be no cheating, Mencius replied, "... if coarse shoes and fine shoes cost the same who is going to make fine shoes? If this idea... were adopted, it would merely induce people to practice deceit. How could a State possibly be governed upon such a principle?" (Waley 1959: 141). As we can see, the argument is structural—if you have perverse rules, people will cheat; but if the rules are good, they will maintain their original goodness.

Mencius' idea of division of labor (and the necessity of ruling or management) is also worth mentioning, mainly because of its argumentation. By comparing a king's work to that of a peasant, who cannot engage in every possible craft (to produce clothes, tools, etc.) because there will be no time left for him to till the soil, Mencius comes to the following traditional idea of the division of mental and physical labor:

True indeed is the saying, 'Some work with their minds, others with their bodies. Those who work with their minds rule, and those who work with their bodies are ruled. Those who are ruled produce food; those who rule are fed.' That
this is right is universally recognized everywhere under Heaven (Waley 1959: 140).

As any major religious/philosophical teaching, Confucianism contains lessons to be learned for every age, including our technologically advanced century. Aesthetic and ethical implications of Confucian and Taoist teachings for modern administration are of particular interest (Murray 1994).

The third school of Chinese thought that deals extensively with governance is the School of Law (also referred to as Realists or Legalists), represented mainly by the author Kuan Tzu—Kuan Chung (d. 645 BCE) and Han Fei Tzu, prince of Han (d. 233 BCE). Kuan Chung was greatly admired by Confucius for his role in setting order under the hegemon Duke Huan (in the excerpt below he suggests that Kuan Chung’s instrumentality in securing peace and order outweighs his other unworthy deeds). Perhaps, the most vivid example of Legalist thought is that of Han Fei Tzu. Han Fei Tzu was a student of Confucian philosopher Hsun Tzu (298-238 BCE), who, as opposed to Mencius, held that human nature is evil and that “without transformation through the process of education, discipline and law, it must always be treated as bad (evil)” (Hahn and Waterhouse 1972: 360). Han Fei Tzu took the argument further, emphasizing power and structure (schemes, law) as crucial elements for maintaining order. Legalists were primarily interested in the accumulation of power and the expansion of state, and were instrumental in establishment of the Ch’in dynasty (221-206 BCE) which unified China under a tight and short-lived dictatorship. Their basic argument was that law should replace morality, and that Government by Law should reign instead of Government by Goodness, because as Han Fei Tzu put it, “people are submissive to power and few of them can be influenced by the doctrine of righteousness” (Chan 1963: 258). Fundamental to the Legalists’ argument was rejection of subjective standards of right and wrong—what is right and wrong should be set up by rulers, and not by philosophers and scholars.

The Legalists had a very interesting twist on the principle of checks and balances: the people were to be organized into groups “who were mutually responsible for each other and were obliged to denounce each other’s crimes” (Waley 1959: 152). It should be noted that this is conceptually different from a centralized spying institution advocated by the great Indian thinker Kautilya (3rd
 century BCE), who held “... the ruler should proceed to institute spies,” and that “... states’ orphans, fed and educated by the state, should be employed as social spies” (Ramaswamy 1962: 55-56). Max Weber was so impressed by Kautilya’s disregard for means in pursuit of ends that he called Machiavelli’s Prince harmless when compared to Kautilya’s Arthasastra (Weber 1946b: 124). There are other parts in the teachings of the realists that remind one of Machiavelli. As Arthasastra of Kautilya, the writings of realists were also intended for royal consumption only. And advice is sometimes Machiavellian, too. For example, the realists held that the ruler should never reveal his wishes or ideas, because ministers will conform to his wishes and ideas and he will never learn their true identity and opinion. The ruler should confide in no one, even his children, because others can use them as leverage for furthering their private interests (Waley 1959: 178). Or, they asserted that the objective of every ruler was to become a ‘hegemon’—to make his state paramount over all states or become a supreme ruler of all China (Waley 1959: 177).

The Legalists did not have high regard for aristocracy, only for the sovereign. They condemned a host of harmful classes, which included, among others, both harmful moralists (Confucian scholars) and harmful amoralists (merchants). In matters of management they significantly differed from Confucians—and held that efficiency (“getting the most out of the soil”) was the principle that should be followed, not morality or some common good not defined by the ruler (Waley 1959: 167). The same principle of efficiency applied for human resources—the most efficient ones were supposed to get the jobs. When choosing personnel, they argued as much as possible for impersonal selection procedures: “The enlightened ruler lets the Law choose men; he does not find them himself” (Waley 1959: 178). For government of the state they advocated two things: statecraft and law. Statecraft was defined as involving “appointing officials according to their abilities and demanding that actualities correspond to names,” and law as “statutes and orders formulated by the government, with punishments which will surely impress the hearts of people” (Chan 1963: 255). For law they urged publicity, and for statecraft secrecy. As Waley (1959: 192-193) mentions, their writings were intended for a specific audience—the ruler and his ministers—and when the Legalists had to appeal to people they changed their rhetoric to a moralist one not so different from Confucianism.
Although Legalism did not continue into the Common Era, its principles of totalitarian, state-centered government were from time to time revived by the next despot in Chinese history. But in general, from a historical perspective Confucianist thought overpowered Legalism, and many people in civil service had a very high moral standing. For example, when an eminent bureaucrat in Han China resigned in protest, he was saved from arrest only because of local people who came to his support (Hsu 1988: 190). Another Chinese scholar was executed because he dared to recommend that the Emperor pass his post to the most worthy person, and not to the Emperor’s son (Hsu 1988: 181).

Sun-Tzu’s (6th century BCE) *The Art of War*, is a technical, specialized military treatise, and perhaps the most ancient of currently accepted “management classics,” wherein this philosopher-warrior speaks of planning, chain of command, discipline, leadership, economy of resources, and efficiency, among other things. Sun Tzu identifies five things that should be compared when making military decisions: the way, the weather, the terrain, the leadership and discipline (Sun Tzu 1991: 2-5). Sun Tzu makes a very straightforward argument for planning: “Therefore a victorious army first wins and then seeks a battle; a defeated army first battles and then seeks victory” (Sun Tzu 1991: 29). The weather (seasons) and the terrain, which he calls to “assess in terms of distance, difficulty or ease of travel, dimension and safety,” are direct concerns of planners. The discipline deals with both organization and logistics, which is understood as overseeing of supplies — a planning activity (Sun Tzu 1991: 4-5). In his argument, Sun Tzu actually goes beyond such a twentieth-century idea as POSDCORB, calling for both strategy and planning. While the Way can be said to relate to planning, it is closer to vision. Sun-Tzu describes the Way as “inducing the people to have the same aim as the leadership, so that they will share death and share life, without fear or danger,” and Leadership as a “matter of intelligence, trustworthiness, humanness, courage, and sternness” (Sun Tzu 1991: 2-4).

In ancient times, coordination was usually achieved through hierarchical organization. One of the five things necessary for winning, Sun Tzu mentions, was discipline, which means “organization, chain of command and logistics,” and where chain of command is described as the requirement that “there must be officers to keep the troops together and lead them,” and “logistics means overseeing supplies” (Sun Tzu 1991: 4-5). It is understandable that
supplies were meant to be planned beforehand and coordinated with the maneuvers of the army. Supplies were a primary concern of all ancient societies and are reported to have been the focus of attention of not only Chinese, but of Persians, Incas, and Byzantine generals as well (Wittfogel 1957: 62).

Technical knowledge was not limited to military affairs only. Accounting standards also can be thought of as guidelines for decision making and acting, and ancient China had accounting rules and standards. Chang Tsang was a mathematician who supervised the auditing of government accounting and came up with standards of measurements for public construction in Han China (Hsu 1988: 178).

Hopefully, the argument above is sufficient to warrant a modern reader’s attention to ancient Chinese thought. In the following article, this issue of Public Voices presents excerpts from the 1900 English edition of The Wisdom of Confucius (edited by Epiphanius Wilson, translated by William Jennings) in the hope that Confucian approaches to governing will provide some insights for the readers of the journal. In several cases the spelling was modified to conform to modern American usage.

Endnotes

1. Although most authors agree that bureaucracy (administration by officials very often selected on a merit basis) ruled China at least since the Han period, the literature mentions several dates of establishment of civil service in China. In addition to the Han period (206 BCE—220 AD) (Heady 1996), the Sui dynasty rule (589-617) (Lin 1995) is also mentioned, along with the Sung rule (960-1279) (Wren 1994). One can also argue that China experienced centralization even later — under the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when the Emperor had supreme control. Perhaps, this difference in dates emanates from different perspectives as to what we can call a real civil service. As Richard L. A. Sterba (1978) argues, the civil service in the Chinese Empire was covering only the “senior” echelons of state bureaucracy, with lower (and much larger) ranks filled with clerks that never took any exams and were even forbidden from taking exams. Following Hsu’s (1988) description above, we will accept the date of birth of Chinese civil service as the Han period.
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Vatche Gabrielian is studying for the Ph.D. in Public Administration at Rutgers University’s Newark Campus. Upon graduation he plans to return to his native Armenia, where he was a staff member in the Armenian Parliament.
TSZ-LU was asking about government. “Lead the way in it,” said the Master, “and work hard at it.”

Requested to say more, he added, “And do not tire of it.”

Chung-kung, on being made first minister to the Chief of the Ki family, consulted the Master about government, and to him he said, “Let the heads of offices be heads. Excuse small faults. Promote men of sagacity and talent.”

“But,” he asked, “how am I to know the sagacious and talented, before promoting them?”

“Promote those whom you do know,” said the Master.

“As to those of whom you are uncertain, will others omit to notice them?”

Tsz-lu said to the Master, “As the prince of Wei, sir, has been waiting for you to act for him in his government, what is it your intention to take in hand first?”

“One thing of necessity,” he answered—“the rectification of terms.” “That!” exclaimed Tsz-lu. “How far away you are, sir! Why such rectification?”

“What a rustic you are, Tsz-lu!” rejoined the Master. “A gentleman would be a little reserved and reticent ill matters which he does not understand. If terms be incorrect, language will be incongruous; and if language be incongruous, deeds will be imperfect. So, again, when deeds are imperfect, propriety and harmony cannot prevail, and when this is the case laws relating to crime will fail in their aim;
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and if these last so fail, the people will not know where to set hand or foot. Hence, a man of superior mind, certain first of his terms, is fitted to speak; and being certain of what he says can proceed upon it. In the language of such a person there is nothing heedlessly irregular—and that is the sum of the matter.

Fan Ch'i requested that he might learn something of husbandry. "For that," said the Master, "I am not equal to an old husbandman." Might he then learn something of gardening? he asked. "I am not equal to an old gardener," was the reply.

"A man of little mind, that!" said the Master, when Fan Ch'i had gone out. "Let a man who is set over the people love propriety, and they will not presume to be disrespectful. Let him be a lover of righteousness, and they will not presume to be aught but submissive. Let him love faithfulness and truth, and they will not presume not to lend him their hearty assistance. Ah, if all this only were so, the people from all sides would come to such a one, carrying their children on their backs. What need to turn his hand to husbandry?

"Though a man," said he, "could hum through the Odes—the three hundred—yet should show himself unskilled when given some administrative work to do for his country; though he might know much of that other lore, yet if, when sent on a mission to any quarter, he could answer no question personally and unaided, what after all is he good for?"

"Let a leader," said he, "show rectitude in his own personal character, and even without directions from him things will go well. If he be not personally upright, his directions will not be complied with."

Once he made the remark, "The governments of Lu and of Wei are in brotherhood."

Of King, a son of the Duke of Wei, he observed that "he managed his household matters well. On his coming into possession, he thought, 'What a strange conglomeration!'—Coming to possess a little more, it was, 'Strange, such a result!' And when he became wealthy, 'Strange, such elegance!'"
The Master was on a journey to Wei, and Yen Yu was driving him. "What multitudes of peopled he exclaimed, Yen Yu asked him, "Seeing they are so numerous, what more would you do for them?"

"Enrich them," replied the Master.

"And after enriching them, what more would you do for them?"

"Instruct them."

"Were any one of our princes to employ me," he said, "after a twelvemonth I might have made some tolerable progress; but give me three years, and my work should be done."

Again, "How true is that saying, 'Let good men have the management of a country for a century, and they would be adequate to cope with evil-doers, and thus do away with capital punishments.'"

Again, "Suppose the ruler to possess true kingly qualities, then surely after one generation there would be good-will among men."

Again, "Let a ruler but see to his own rectitude, and what trouble will he then have in the work before him? If he be unable to rectify himself, how is he to rectify others?"

Once when Yen Yu was leaving the Court, the Master accosted him. "Why so late?" he asked. "Busy with legislation," Yen replied. "The details of it," suggested the Master; "had it been legislation, I should have been there to hear it, even though I am not in office."

Duke Ting asked if there were one sentence which, if acted upon, might have the effect of making a country prosperous.

Confucius answered, "A sentence could hardly be supposed to do so much as that. But there is a proverb people use which says, 'To play the prince is hard, to play the minister not easy.' Assuming that it is understood that 'to play the prince is hard,' would it not be probable that with that one sentence the country should be made to prosper?"

"Is there, then," he asked, "one sentence which, if acted upon, would have the effect of ruining a country?"
Confucius again replied, "A sentence could hardly be supposed to do so much as that. But there is a proverb men have which says, 'Not gladly would I play the prince, unless my words were ne'er withstood.' Assuming that the words were good, and that none withstood them, would not that also be good? But assuming that they were not good, and yet none withstood them, would it not be probable that with that one saying he would work his country's ruin?"

When the Duke of Sheh consulted him about government, he replied, "where the near are gratified, the war will follow."

When Tsz-bié became governor of Ku-fu, and consulted him about government, he answered, "Do not wish for speedy results. Do not look at trivial advantages. If you wish for speedy results, they will not be far-reaching; and if you regard trivial advantages you will not successfully deal with important affairs."

The Duke of Sheh in a conversation with Confucius said, "There are some straightforward persons in my neighborhood. If a father has stolen a sheep, the son will give evidence against him."

"Straightforward people in my neighborhood are different from those," said Confucius. "The father will hold a thing secret on his son's behalf, and the son does the same for his father. They are on their way to becoming straightforward."

Fan Ch'i was asking him about duty to one's fellow men. "Be courteous," he replied, "in your private sphere; be serious in any duty you take in hand to do; be leal-hearted [loyal-hearted] in your intercourse with others. Even though you were to go amongst the wild tribes, it would not be right for you to neglect these duties."

In answer to Tsz-kung, who asked, "how he would characterize one who could fitly be called 'learned official,'" the Master said, "He may be so-called who in his private life is affected with a sense of his own unworthiness, and who, when sent on a mission to any quarter of the empire, would not disgrace his prince's commands."

"May I presume," said his questioner, "to ask what sort you would put next to such?"

"Him who is spoken of by his kinsmen as a dutiful son, and whom the folks of his neighborhood call 'good brother.'"
“May I still venture to ask whom you would place next in order?”

“Such as are sure to be true to their word, and effective in their work—who are given to hammering, as it were, upon one note—of inferior caliber indeed, but fit enough, I think, to be ranked next.”

“How would you describe those who are at present in the government service?”

“Ugh! mere peck and panier men!—not worth taking into the reckoning.”

Once he remarked, “If I cannot get via media men to impart instruction to, then I must of course take the impetuous and undisciplined. The impetuous ones will at least go forward and lay hold on things; and the undisciplined have at least something in them which needs to be brought out.”

“The Southerners,” said he, “have the proverb, ‘The man who sticks not to rule will never make a charm worker or a medical man.’ Good!—’Whoever is intermittent in his practice of virtue will live to be ashamed of it.’ Without prognostication,” he added, “that will indeed be so.”

“The nobler-minded man,” he remarked, “will be agreeable even when he disagrees; the small-minded man will agree and be disagreeable.”

Tsz-kung was consulting him, and asked, “What say you of a person who was liked by all in his village?”

“That will scarcely do,” he answered.

“What, then, if they all disliked him?”

“That, too,” said he, “is scarcely enough. Better if he were liked by the good folk in the village, and disliked by the bad.”

“The superior man,” he once observed, “is easy to serve, but difficult to please. Try to please him by the adoption of wrong principles, and you will fail. Also, when such a one employs others, he uses them according to their capacity. The inferior man is, on the other hand, difficult to serve, but easy to please. Try to please him
by the adoption of wrong principles, and you will succeed. And when he employs others he requires them to be fully prepared for everything."

Again, "The superior man can be high without being haughty. The inferior man can be haughty if not high."

"The firm, the unflinching, the plain and simple, the slow to speak," said he once, "are approximating towards their duty to their fellow-men."

Tsz-lu asked how he would characterize one who might fitly be called an educated gentleman. The master replied, "He who can properly be so-called will have in him a seriousness of purpose, a habit of controlling himself, and an agreeableness of manner: among his friends and associates the seriousness and the self-control, and among his brethren the agreeableness of manner."

"Let good and able men discipline the people for six years," said the Master, "and after that they may do to go to war."

But, said he, "To lead an undisciplined people to war that I call throwing them away."
BOOK XIV
Good and Bad Government—Miscellaneous Sayings

YUEN SZ asked what might be considered to bring shame on one. "Pay," said the Master; "pay—ever looking to that, whether the country be well or badly governed."

"When imperiousness, boastfulness, resentments, and covetousness cease to prevail among the people, may it be considered that mutual good-will has been effected?" To this question the Master replied, "A hard thing overcome, it may be considered. But as to the mutual goodwill—I cannot tell."

"Learned officials," said he, "who hanker after a home life, are not worthy of being esteemed as such."

Again, "In a country under good government, speak boldly, act boldly. When the land is ill-governed, though you act boldly, let your words be moderate."

Again, "Men of virtue will needs be men of words—will speak out—but men of words are not necessarily men of virtue. They who care for their fellow-men will needs be bold, but the bold may not necessarily be such as care for their fellow-men."

Nan-kung Kwoh, who was consulting Confucius, observed respecting I, the skillful archer, and Ngau, who could propel a boat on dry land, that neither of them died a natural death; while Yu and Tsih, who with their own hands had labored at husbandry, came to wield imperial sway.

The Master gave him no reply. But when the speaker had gone out he exclaimed, "A superior man, that! A man who values virtue, that!"

"There have been noble-minded men," said he, "who yet were wanting in philanthropy; but never has there been a small-minded man who had philanthropy in him."

He asked, "Can any one refuse to toil for those he loves? Can any one refuse to exhort, who is true-hearted?"
Speaking of the preparation of Government Notifications in his day he said, "P'i would draw up a rough sketch of what was to be said; the Shishuh then looked it carefully through and put it into proper shape; Tsz-yu next, who was master of the ceremonial of State intercourse, improved and adorned its phrases; and Tsz-ch'an of Tungli added his scholarly embellishments thereto."

To some one who asked his opinion of the last-named, he said, "He was a kind-hearted man." Asked what he thought of Tsz-si, he exclaimed, "Alas for him! alas for him!"—Asked again about Kwan Chung, his answer was, "As to him, he once seized the town of P'in with its three hundred families from the Chief of the Pih clan, who, afterwards reduced to living upon coarse rice, with all his teeth gone, never uttered a word of complaint."

"It is no light thing," said he, "to endure poverty uncomplainingly; and a difficult thing to bear wealth without becoming arrogant."

Respecting Mang Kung-ch'oh, he said that, while he was fitted for something better than the post of chief officer in the Cháu or Wei families, he was not competent to act as minister in small States like those of T'ang or Sieh.

Tsz-lu asked how he would describe a perfect man. He replied, "Let a man have the sagacity of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kung-ch'oh, the boldness of Chwang of P'in, and the attainments in polite arts of Yen Yu; and gift him further with the graces taught by the 'Books of Rites' and 'Music'—then he may be considered a perfect man. But," said he, "what need of such in these days? The man that may be regarded as perfect now is the one who, seeing some advantage to himself, is mindful of righteousness; who, seeing danger, risks his life; and who, if bound by some covenant of long standing, never forgets its conditions as life goes on."

Respecting Kung-shuh Wan, the Master inquired of Kung-ming Kiá, saying, "Is it true that your master never speaks, never laughs, never takes aught from others?"

"Those who told you that of him," said he, "have gone too far. My master speaks when there is occasion to do so, and men are not surfeited with his speaking. When there is occasion to be merry too,
he will laugh but men have never over much of his laughing. And whenever it is just and right to take things from others, he will take them, but never so as to allow men to think him burdensome.” “Is that the case with him?” said the Master. “Can it be so?”

Respecting Tsang Wu-chung the Master said, “When he sought from Lu the appointment of a successor to him, and for this object held on to his possession of the fortified city of Fang—if you say he was not then using constraint towards his prince, I must refuse to believe it.”

Duke Wan of Tsin he characterized as “artful but not upright”; and Duke Hwan of Ts’i as “upright but not artful.”

Tsz-lu remarked, “When Duke Hwan caused his brother Kiu to be put to death, Shau Hwuh committed suicide, but Kwan Chung did not. I should say he was not a man who had much goodwill in him—eh?”

The Master replied, “When Duke Hwan held a great gathering of the feudal lords, dispensing with military equipage, it was owing to Kwan Chung’s energy that such an event was brought about. Match such goodwill as that—match it if you can.”

Tsz-kung then spoke up. “But was not Kwan Chung wanting in goodwill? He could not give up his life where Duke Hwan caused his brother to be put to death. Besides, he became the duke’s counselor.”

“And in acting as his counsellor put him at the head of all the feudal lords,” said the Master, “and unified and reformed the whole empire; and the people, even to this day, reap benefit from what he did. Had it not been for him we should have been going about with locks unkempt and buttoning our jackets (like barbarians) on the left. Would you suppose that he should show the same sort of attachment as exists between a poor yokel and his one wife—that he would asphyxiate himself in some sewer, leaving no one the wiser?”

Kung-shuh Wan’s steward, who became the high officer Sien, went up accompanied by Wan to the prince’s hall of audience.

When Confucius heard of this he remarked, “He may well be esteemed a ‘Wan.’“
The Master having made some reference to the lawless ways of Duke Ling of Wei, Ki K'ang said to him, "If he be like that, how is it he does not ruin his position?"

Confucius answered, "The Chung-shuh, Yu, is charged with the entertainment of visitors and strangers; the priest T'o has charge of the ancestral temple; and Wang-sun Kiá has the control of the army and its divisions:—with men such as those, how should he come to ruin?"

He once remarked, "He who is unblushing in his words will with difficulty substantiate them."

Ch'in Shing had slain Duke Kien. Hearing of this, Confucius, after performing his ablutions, went to Court and announced the news to Duke Ngai, saying, "Ch'in Shing has slain his prince. May I request that you proceed against him?"

"Inform the Chiefs of the Three Families," said the duke.

Soliloquizing upon this, Confucius said, "Since he uses me to back his ministers, I did not dare not to announce the matter to him; and now he says, 'Inform the Three Chiefs.'"

He went to the Three Chiefs and informed them, but nothing could be done. Whereupon again he said, "Since he uses me to back his ministers, I did not dare not to announce the matter."

Tsz-lu was questioning him as to how he should serve his prince. "Deceive him not, but reprove him," he answered.

"The minds of superior men," he observed, "trend upwards; those of inferior men trend downwards."

Again, "Students of old fixed their eyes upon themselves: now they learn with their eyes upon others."

Ku Pih-yuh despatched a man with a message to Confucius. Confucius gave him a seat, and among other inquiries he asked, "How is your master managing?" "My master," he replied, "has a great wish to be seldom at fault, and as yet he cannot manage it."
“What a messenger!” exclaimed he, admiringly, when the man went out. “What a messenger!”

“When not occupying the office,” was a remark of his, “devise not the policy.”

The Learned Tsang used to say, “The thoughts of the ‘superior man’ do not wander from his own office.”

“Superior men,” said the Master, “are modest in their words, profuse in their deeds.”

Again, “There are three attainments of the superior man which are beyond me—the being sympathetic without anxiety, wise without skepticism, brave without fear.”

“Sir,” said Tsz-kung, “that is what you say of yourself.”

Whenever Tsz-kung drew comparisons from others, the Master would say, “Ah, how wise and great you must have become! Now I have no time to do that.”

Again, “My great concern is, not that men do not know me, but that they cannot.”

Again, “If a man refrain from making preparations against his being imposed upon, and from counting upon others’ want of good faith towards him, while he is foremost to perceive what is passing—surely that is a wise and good man.”

Wi-shang Mau accosted Confucius, saying, “Kiu, how comes it that you manage to go perching and roosting in this way? Is it not because you show yourself so smart a speaker, now?”

“I should not dare do that,” said Confucius. “‘Tis that I am sick of men’s immovableness and deafness to reason.”

“In a well-bred horse,” said he, “what one admires is not its speed, but its good points.”

Some one asked, “What say you of the remark, ‘Requite enmity with kindness’?”
"How then," he answered, "would you requite kindness? Requite enmity with straightforwardness, and kindness with kindness."

"Ah! no one knows me!" he once exclaimed.

"Sir," said Tsz-kung, "how comes it to pass that no one knows you?"

"While I murmur not against Heaven," continued the Master, "nor cavil at men; while I stoop to learn and aspire to penetrate into things that are high; yet 'tis Heaven alone knows what I am."

Liáu, a kinsman of the duke, having laid a complaint against Tsz-lu before Ki K'ang, an officer came to Confucius to inform him of the fact, and he added, "My lord is certainly having his mind poisoned by his kinsman Liáu, but through my influence perhaps we may yet manage to see him exposed in the market-place or the Court."

"If right principles are to have their course, it is so destined," said the Master; "if they are not to have their course, it is so destined. What can Liáu do against Destiny?"

"There are worthy men," said the Master, "fleeing from the world; some from their district; some from the sight of men's looks; some from the language they hear."

"The men who have risen from their posts and withdrawn in this manner are seven in number."

Tsz-lu, having lodged overnight in Shih-mun, was accosted by the gate-keeper in the morning. "Where from?" he asked. "From Confucius," Tsz-lu responded. "That is the man," said he, "who knows things are not up to the mark, and is making some ado about them, is it not?"

When the Master was in Wei, he was once pounding on the musical stone, when a man with a basket of straw crossed his threshold, and exclaimed, "Ah, there is a heart that feels! Aye, drub the stone!" After which he added, "How vulgar! how he hammers away on one note!—and no one knows him, and he gives up, and all is over!

'Be it deep, our skirts we'll raise to the waist,
-Or shallow, then up to the knee.'"
That determinations" said the Master. "Yet it was not hard to do."

Tsz-chang once said to him, "In the 'Book of the Annals' it is stated that while Káu-tsung was in the Mourning Shed he spent the three years without speaking. What is meant by that?"

"Why must you name Káu-tsung?" said the Master. "It was so with all other ancient sovereigns: when one of them died, the heads of every department agreed between themselves that they should give ear for three years to the Prime Minister."

"When their betters love the Rules, then the folk are easy tools," was a saying of the Master.

Tsz-lu having asked what made a "superior man," he answered, "Self-culture, with a view to becoming seriously-minded."

"Nothing more than that?" said he.

"Self-culture with a view to the greater satisfaction of others," added the Master.

"That, and yet no more?"

"Self-culture with a view to the greater satisfaction of all the clans and classes," he again added. "Self-culture for the sake of all—a result that, that would almost put Yau and Shun into the shade!"

To Yuen Jang,² who was sitting waiting for him in a squatting (disrespectful) posture, the Master delivered himself as follows: "The man who in his youth could show no humility or subordination, who in his prime misses his opportunity, and who when old age comes upon him will not die that man is a miscreant." And he tapped him on the shin with his staff.

Some one asked about his attendant—a youth from the village of Kiuch—whether he was one who improved. He replied, "I note that he seats himself in the places reserved for his betters, and that when he is walking he keeps abreast with his seniors. He is not one of those who care for improvement: he wants to be a man all at once."
Endnotes
[by Ephipanius Wilson]

1. Confucius had now retired from office, and this incident occurred only two years before his death.

2. It is a habit with the Chinese, when a number are out walking together, for the eldest to go first, the others pairing off according to their age. It is a custom much older than the time of Confucius.
Constitutionally Speaking: A Conversation with Lycurgus of Sparta on the Role of the Lawgiver in a Society

Kenneth L. Nichols

Sparta. A score of centuries have passed, yet “Sparta” conjures images: The warring persona of Classical Greece; harsh, prototypical military state; awesomely fierce and cunning warriors; and, perhaps most intriguing, Sparta’s intense spirit of community.

Greek historian-biographer Plutarch, writing approximately a hundred years after the birth of Christ, captured a provocative picture of the Lacedaemon world and of its founder. In Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans, Plutarch recorded an undoubtedly mythologized, but nonetheless remarkable account of a man named Lycurgus (lie-KUR-gus).

Lycurgus was legendary in the ancient world as the individual who established Sparta’s enduring military-based society. Historians date his reforms to sometime between the Ninth and Seventh Centuries, B.C. In this hypothetical interview, Lycurgus discusses his role as lawgiver and, in so doing, discusses law and the framing of laws as building blocks that help form a society and its government.

Spartan Society: An Enduring Model

INTERVIEWER: Along with only a handful of other leaders in antiquity — Moses of the ancient Middle East and Solon of early Athens, for example — you have been esteemed as more than a leader of your people. You have been called a lawgiver. What is a lawgiver and why is a lawgiver important to society?
LYCURGUS: Laws, as you know, form the basis for any society; but laws will only endure to the extent that the population embraces them willingly. By shaping the laws, a lawgiver shapes the community. An effective lawgiver-leader can be the difference between whether the members of a community venerate or dismiss their laws and, consequently, whether a society succeeds or perishes.

In Sparta, I was able to create an environment that encouraged the population to support laws (and, therefore, a type of community) that turned out to be highly effective for Sparta’s citizens. Because of their support — because of the downright enthusiasm of the citizens of Sparta — Spartan society succeeded unchanged for centuries. That is what a lawgiver can do.

INTERVIEWER: The Spartan community you molded has served for over two thousand years as a basis for philosophic model building. Why has your concept been so widely studied, and for so long?

LYCURGUS: First, it served the citizens well, or else it would not have endured. Second, it was comprehensive, covering education and everyday life as thoroughly as it regulated economic and political affairs. Third, it was practical, making use of available resources and recognizing the foibles of humanity.

INTERVIEWER: What do you consider your Sparta’s major features?

LYCURGUS: The Spartan society was a simple society, self-contained, communal, a paean to the glory of the military spirit. It was egalitarian; the shabbiness and the greed of trade-oriented, wealth-driven societies were neither necessary nor tolerated. It recognized beauty in the courage of the human spirit and the development of the human body rather than sculpture, precious metals, or frivolous crafts. For example, agriculture and manufacture were for servants and slaves, not for the free citizens of Sparta.

Breeding healthy, strong, sensible, unselfish citizens was Sparta’s major goal. By doing that, the society maintained and improved itself. The laws I provided settled the Spartan community into exactly this path.
Law: The Basis for Society

INTERVIEWER: We keep referring to “laws.” What do you mean by the term?

LYCURGUS: Undefined words are slippery and vague, and this one is especially ripe with meanings. I frankly take for granted natural law — that is, the laws of nature that govern not only human beings, but all the universe. So, while I here acknowledge natural law, I ignore it for purposes of our conversation.

My focus, instead, is on positive law; these laws are human-crafted commands or prohibitions by which people define the way they deal with one another in a society. Non-obedience is punishable by the state; this distinguishes law from custom, which has no official source of punishment.

Within positive law, I see constitutional law and then lesser laws or ordinances. Constitutional law, the “fundamental law in every commonwealth,” as Hobbes phrased it in Leviathan, “is that which being taken away the commonwealth faileth and is utterly dissolved.” By contrast, lesser laws, ordinances, and regulations do not determine the existence of the state. The laws I developed for Sparta fell in both spheres, constitutional and sub-constitutional. Let me mention, though, that in formulating a new society for Sparta, I was more interested in fitting together a complete society than in pigeon-holing the various laws.

Moreover, the distinction between constitutions and lesser positive law is a graduation rather than a stark contrast. I say that because Sparta was a fully crafted society — synergistic. If Spartans abolished or ignored some of the more mundane laws — the ban on travel, for example, or communal mess or its education system — Sparta would not only have been the less for the law, but it would actually have been less Spartan. Any fruit, once a piece of it has been removed, deteriorates throughout; likewise, would it have been with the culture I crafted. And so, for Sparta, most of its simple laws met the definition of a constitutional law. Remember, please, that Spartans were citizen-warriors, not wordsmiths — people of few words require but few laws.
INTERVIEWER: If your laws were so important to Sparta’s social existence, why did you refuse to put them into writing?

LYCURGUS: It is precisely because they were so precious that these laws could not be entrusted to the recorded word. Such laws belong in the hearts of the population, not on musty shelves; for the laws themselves were living—“organic” is a still better term. The practice has been going on since civilization began: for example, Solon used written law; intentionally, though, according to Plutarch, Solon “was obscure and ambiguous in the wording of his laws,” thereby forcing those laws to be interpreted in the courts. Similarly, the Supreme Court interprets the Constitution of the United States.

You see, my people did not need the kind of frivolous education you find it necessary to squander on your multitudes in the industrialized nations of the twentieth century. We did not have tiers upon tiers of courtrooms or platoons of lawyers (“those-who-take-apart-words”) to interpret and reinterpret a written document, and thereby keep it alive and appropriate for generations— to me, that concept is absurd. If, instead, those basic tenets were directly instilled in Sparta’s young people by older citizens who felt the life that existed within Spartan law, then written law—a dead and artificial medium—was certainly superfluous. It is, in fact, an impediment to society: for the written word can be parsed and twisted away from its true meaning, very like one of Plato’s flickering shadows of the ideal.

People and Society: Their Nature

INTERVIEWER: Excuse me, but are you saying that Sparta was an ideal society?

LYCURGUS: By no means. If I am nothing else, I am a realist about such things. People, societies, and constitutions are real entities. If they were ideal, I suspect they would not exist—and, for me, whether or not an ideal something-or-other can or cannot exist is an irrelevance.

INTERVIEWER: What, in your view, does it mean to you to be realistic about people and about society?

LYCURGUS: Humanity—people—will be lazy to the point they hurt themselves and one another; and so long as they live near one another, and speak to one another, and marry, their sloth will injure
the whole community. Likewise with greed and likewise with cowardice.

I would not go so far as Machiavelli, a Florentine social-climber who, in his Discourses, contended, “Whoever desires to found a state and give it laws, must start with assuming that all men are bad and ever ready to display their vicious nature, whenever they may find occasion for it.” But on another point he was correct; for, indeed, “men are always adverse to enterprises where difficulties can be seen, and it will be seen not to be an easy thing to attack one who has his town well fortified, and is not hated by his people.” It pays, you see, to stand ready to deal with the ill elements in human nature—the ill in individuals as well as the ill in groups.

INTERVIEWER: Which brings us to society.

LYCURGUS: Societies serve the needs of the people comprising those societies; some do a better job of it than others. “This town well fortified” is paramount, of course, and that protection must extend both to the current inhabitants and to the generations that succeed them. Sparta’s unrivaled military spirit, and the enduring and enthusiastic support of its citizens for the Spartan way of life, were the primary mechanisms for achieving these ends. I encouraged that spirit and solidarity through my reforms and, in particular, through intensive public education.

Two other principal social goals I held for Sparta were moderation and frugality, for they led to three practices: First, by minimizing avarice and envy, they fostered harmony within the society; second, by providing only meager spoils for potential enemies, they deterred invasion from without; and, third, by rejecting wastefulness and hoarding, they ultimately provided all citizens with better welfare than otherwise they would have. The spare, communal environment I established encouraged these practices.

To be honest, I used my laws to tailor Spartan society around what the region and the people had, and what they did not have. For laws, as you see, are the binding force between citizens and the society. Hence, as Montesquieu wrote in The Spirit of the Laws, “men should not think it slavery to live according to the rule of the constitution; for it is their salvation.”
I had to invoke new laws — stage a coup, actually — to establish a more stable base for Sparta’s existence and to provide a satisfactory life for Spartan citizens. Of course, those laws were in large part a codification and extension of tendencies already present in the Lacedaemonian region around Sparta, and, of course, even my newer concepts were not sprung on the people overnight. For that reason, I sent Thales ahead of me. A trusted friend, a poet, and a sage lawgiver himself, Thales sowed and nurtured the seed for many of my reforms.

INTERVIEWER: But why?

LYCURGUS: Those societies are successful and enduring that have, as a base, the support of the population itself. The population will sponsor a society most heartily when the people are comfortable with the laws (and have assimilated them into custom) and when they see personal advantage in those laws. A lawgiver must make citizens recognize the gain in following the law and the gain in coercing their peers to follow it as well, though, left alone, they might exhibit different tendencies. This means co-opting the people so as to maintain a law in force, if I might quote Shakespeare, “‘til custom make it / Their perch and not their terror.”

Custom — that is, habituation to a way of doing a thing — is most important to the success of a law. “By actions also, especially if they be repeated, so as to make a custom, law can be changed and expressed; and also something can be established that obtains force of law,” wrote Aquinas in Summa Theologica, adding: “For when a thing is done and done again, it seems to proceed from a deliberate judgment of reason. Accordingly, custom has the force of a law, abolishes law, and is the interpreter of law.”

Consequently, while the lawgiver is the progenitor of a society’s constitution, the citizens are the power that drives it. And whatever they drive becomes the real constitution of the society. By “the real constitution,” as Rousseau explained in The Social Contract,” I am speaking of morality, of custom, above all of public opinion, ... a power on which success in everything else depends. With this the great legislator concerns himself in secret, though he seems to confine himself to particular regulations.” Rousseau seems to have understood me well.
INTERVIEWER: So the role of a lawgiver is to conceive and implant laws — and customs — in a society?

LYCURGUS: Yes, for the benefit and durability of that society. Plato used this metaphor:

Copymasters use the stylus to draw strokes in outline for children who have not yet mastered writing, and then hand the tablet over to them and make them write by following the guidance of the strokes. Exactly so does the city draft in outline the custom-laws, which have been the invention of excellent lawgivers of old, and compels men to rule and be ruled under their direction.

While, to my standard, Plato is too much a theorist rather than a practitioner, his observation here is apt.

In addition to conceiving and implementing laws, a wise lawgiver promotes comprehensiveness and consistency. The main aim of my Lycurgan reforms was “clearly to knot the Spartan citizen body together and to inculcate a spirit of solidarity,” to cite M. T. W. Arnheim, one of your modern scholars. That, to me, was also true of Solon and of Numa, of Moses and of the promulgators of the American Constitution, of Thomas More’s King Utopus and of lawgivers throughout the ages.

INTERVIEWER: But how does a lawgiver do this? What makes such an individual capable of establishing constitutions and, thereby, societies?

LYCURGUS: Lawgivers — by which, in using the word with you, I mean society-founders rather than legislators or judicial magistrates — lawgivers are strong-willed and clever people. They are typically well-educated, often well-traveled individuals. Many are creative — they have to be. But, above that, they are able to look around and discover ideas of others, then borrow and adapt those ideas to their needs. Many lawgivers, though not all, are kindly-disposed (or seem so), and all are seen as authority figures. They are charismatic people who burn with a particularly personal philosophy. Zealots, you well may call them. Lawgivers are usually neither extremely rich nor extremely poor, and they usually operate in unstable, deteriorating environments and in times of crisis in the society.
Lawgivers, successful lawgivers at any rate, are also practical people. The most successful lawgivers, in my opinion, leave a legacy for their people as well as for the political philosophers of later ages. By that criterion Solon, Moses, and I — and your country’s Constitution Framers — are successes, whereas Numa and, say, Karl Marx fall short; for Numa’s reforms died with him, and Marx did not put into action what he so colorfully put into words.

INTERVIEWER: “Put into action. . . “? You mean he did not himself head a society?

LYCURGUS: Correct. The “action” is the legacy, or continuing result, of a lawgiver’s talent. By Max Weber’s terminology, it is “the routinization of charisma.” In that regard, I paid considerable attention in Sparta: first, to establish a broadly-based, perpetuating political organization; second, to instill citizens with the spirit and purpose of my laws and, most certainly, an awareness of the laws themselves; and third, to make certain that the society was functioning as I felt it should before I stepped away from the helm.

The Lawgiver’s Challenge: Giving Society Its Form, Direction, and Durability

LYCURGUS (continuing): That permanence is essential; for if a society disintegrates with the loss of its progenitor, then the lawgiver-progenitor has established nothing. A society will endure only so long as it serves the needs of its constituents, and serves those needs in a fashion the members recognize as desirable. Consequently, the qualities of charisma, foresight, drive, and practicality must be part of any lawgiver’s make-up and must be reflected in those laws, or a durable society is out of the leader’s reach.

INTERVIEWER: Then that, Sir, is your view of societies’ lawgivers?

LYCURGUS: Workable laws plus willing men and women are the raw materials out of which a society is built. The lawgiver, by fabricating a coherent pattern of fundamental-constitutional laws, can give society form and direction and perpetuity. The laws must be appropriate to the situation; Sparta, by example, was not suited to be a trade-oriented state. And the citizens must embrace the laws;
here, too, the lawgiver — through personality and through action — can develop in the population an appreciation of the fundamental laws.

By thus shaping a soundly-designed and soundly-constructed society, the lawgiver creates an enduring society as well as a useful one. That, stripped to its most basic, is the lawgiver’s role.

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Public Voices hopes to provide a more emotive approach to public management than the traditional forms of analysis presented by many professional journals. As such, Public Voices focuses on humanistic, artistic and reflective expression concerning public administrators and the people they serve. Unlike traditional social science journals, Public Voices publishes unorthodox, controversial perspectives on bureaucracy by students of organization, broadly defined as public servants, the public, writers, and artists, as well as academics from all fields. That dialogue is aimed to:

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Humanistic Guidelines for Public Administration Professionals

Stephen K. Blumberg

Background

Luther Gulick (1892-1993), who is firmly established as a leading pioneer in the field of public administration, will undoubtedly be remembered long into the future. The vast experience he had through a lifetime of over 100 years identifies this giant in our field as the epitome of the practitioner/academician in public administration.

Luther Gulick served some twelve years as Eaton Professor of Municipal Science and Administration at Columbia University, authored at least eight books and innumerable articles, and for many years directed the Institute of Public Administration which he established in New York City.

In public service he held many positions with the Roosevelt administration in the 1930s and during the war effort in the first half of the 1940s. His practitioner experience was further broadened during the 1950s with his service as the first New York City Administrator under Mayor Robert Wagner. Additionally, Gulick was one of the founders of the American Society for Public
Administration, an early president of ASPA, and a past president of the American Political Science Association.

Certainly Luther Gulick has left a lasting legacy for future generations of public administration students and practitioners. Perhaps he will best be remembered, though, for his creation of POSDCORB. It was in 1936, as a member of President Roosevelt’s Committee on Administrative Management, that Professor Gulick prepared a very lengthy memorandum titled “Notes on the Theory of Organization — with Special Reference to Government in the United States” (1937). In this classic memorandum he made up an acronym to define the duties and activities of public executives. In order to give specific content to the words “administration” or “management” he created POSDCORB, which represents Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting, and Budgeting. Ever since Gulick created this word, it is a rare student of administration who has not been exposed to POSDCORB.

For close to 60 years public administration students have been taught that in order to be an effective administrator we must know, understand, and practice the functions contained in POSDCORB. It is obvious that these are critically important functions which must be practiced if one wishes to effectively manage an organization. I call these the “technical guidelines” of administration. While they are important, many of us have come to realize that the human element was inadvertently left out of Gulick’s POSDCORB prescription. It was 40 years later that he wrote:

How interesting it is historically that we all assumed in the 1930s that all management, especially public management, flowed in a broad, strong stream of value-filled ethical performance. Were we blind or only naive until Nixon came along? Or were we so eager to “take politics out of administration” that we threw the baby out with the bath water? (Gulick, 1978).

Over 30 years ago Pfiffner (1962; 112) specifically argued that following POSDCORB is not enough, and that management “must adopt a scheme of social values.” He persuasively advocated that public administrators’ more important responsibility “is to make this world a better one in which humans are to live.” Pfiffner was telling us that what goes on inside public organizations affects life outside these organizations, and this concept is embedded in the philosophy
of the New Public Administration. We are concerned with the impact public agencies have on their surrounding communities. An essential element of this "new" attitude was expressed over 20 years ago by Frederickson's hope that we have moved "light years away from the POSDCORB image" (1971; 331).

There are those who argue that the practice of public administration has evolved in the manner advocated by people such as Pfiffner and Frederickson. They cite notions like "administrative ethics," "reinventing government," "client centered administration," and "participatory management." What appears to be needed then is a new symbol to represent this new direction. Perhaps public employees could use a sort of handle or hook to focus their attention in this new direction. It is proposed that this new tool be EVPOSDCORB which represents "humanistic guidelines" of Ethics, Values, Patience, Openness, Sensitivity, Dignity, Cooperation, Responsiveness, and Beneficence.

Gulick's POSDCORB has been used deliberately as the foundation for EVPOSDCORB in order to emphasize that any effective administrator must know, understand, and practice a combination of humanistic attitudes and behaviors along with technical skills. It must be clearly understood no argument is made for the abandonment of the technical dictates of POSDCORB — these are important guidelines for public administration professionals. Public administrators must plan ahead, be well-organized, surround themselves with competent personnel, efficiently direct and coordinate their organizations, follow appropriate reporting techniques, and be vitally concerned with fiscal matters. What is suggested is that these guidelines be enhanced with an additional set of guidelines — the humanistic components of EVPOSDCORB. Additionally, while Gulick created POSDCORB for federal executives, we hope that EVPOSDCORB will be understood and utilized by non-managers as well as executives and at all levels of public service.

The balance of this paper is intended to clarify the definition and understanding of these humanistic guidelines of ethics, values, patience, openness, sensitivity, dignity, cooperation, responsiveness, and beneficence, and to present some of the support in contemporary literature for each guideline.
Humanistic Guidelines

Ethics

We have all heard of the countless acts committed by public officials for whom ethics appears not to have been a primary consideration. It is appropriate that the first of the EVPOSDCORB guidelines is ethics.

Ethics includes honesty, integrity, uprightness, decency, a regard for others, and being of sound moral principle. While talking about ethics might be acceptable, practicing ethics is what is needed. Bonczek and Menzel (1994) indicate that management plays an important role in developing an ethical work environment and that this ethical environment has a positive effect on the public. Management's critical role is also stressed by Paine (1994; 111), who argues that management must "create an environment that supports ethically sound behavior." It appears that, as ethical public administrators, we must do all we can to improve the poor image that much of the public has of our organizations, and Barker (1993) says that ethical behavior can improve this image.

As public employees, we are accountable to the public. "Public service ethics differ from the ethical codes of most professions in that they stress external accountability" (DeHoog and Whitaker, 1993; 2023). Most public employees would welcome this sense of external accountability. Focusing on ethics as we pursue our careers will help make us more comfortable with the notion of accountability to the public. Inherent in this guideline of ethics is a concern for the common good equal to or greater than self-interest.

Values

What is really important to you? What are you willing to fight for? What motivates you to take risks? The answers to these questions serve to identify one's personal value system as we must honestly consider the values that influence our behavior. The process of human interaction must begin with "an intimate examination of one's sense of values" (Nierenberg, 1977; 48).

Decisions are made, policies are promoted, actions are taken. A strong influence behind these actions and policies is the personal
value system of decision-makers. "Because they are at the core of people's personality, values influence the choices they make, the people they trust, the appeals they respond to, and the way they invest their time and energy" (Posner and Schmidt, 1994; 24). It is proposed by Bonczek and Menzel (1994; 14) that public managers should have values like "customer service, employee empowerment, professionalism and integrity." Similarly, deLeon (1993; 306) suggests that public managers focus on "values such as equity, individual rights, liberty, and so on."

The predominant value for public employees must be to provide effective service to the community; this is our fundamental responsibility. The remaining EVPOSDCORB guidelines may help to serve as the foundation for this type of humanistic value system.

**Patience**

We all are aware that there is stress and tension in today's organizations and throughout society. Public organizations are also confronted with the reality of dealing with angry and frustrated citizens. In order to respond appropriately to this situation, public employees must possess an abundance of patience. As public employees we must be patient with citizens who perceive how they are affected by a given issue without seeing the whole picture. Taking time to explain the rationale behind a decision — being patient — may very well help people be more accepting of decisions which they perceive as not in their own best interest.

As public administrators we are concerned about results, about productivity. We know that high productivity will only be achieved by committed public employees. Patient administrators can help lead to more committed productive employees. "Patience refers to long-term perspective. Investing significant amounts of time and attention now will yield dividends later as employees accept ownership of their jobs, deepen their commitments to the organization, and increase their levels of competence and maturity" (Wisdom and Denton, 1991; 57).

Giving more time and thought to a particular situation before speaking or taking action may help prevent an unpleasant result. Through Hamlet, Shakespeare tells us to "take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgement." He is counseling patience, and that advice is still valid.
Openness

This guideline of openness is closely related to the first EVPOSDCORB guideline of ethics. Holmquist (1993; 538) tells us that leaders “should be seen as making honest and ethical decisions—trusting what other people do and working with openness.” It is a critical responsibility of management to act in ways which help to create an open climate. “Openness should begin at the manager’s door” (Wisdom and Denton, 1991; 57).

All public employees, managers and non-managers, must be honestly comfortable that whatever they say or do can stand up to the light of day—comfortable with their actions subject to public scrutiny.

A further aspect of openness relates to our encouragement of input from others. Bennis (1976) suggested that there must be an open willingness to listen to new suggestions. The quality of organizational life and productivity will be enhanced if employees throughout the organization feel that supervisors are open to their input. Citizens will have more trust and confidence in our public organizations if they believe that public officials and public employees are truly behaving with openness as one of their guiding principles.

Sensitivity

Sensitivity is empathy—putting oneself in the other person’s shoes, looking at issues from the perspective of other people. Being sensitive means an awareness of how one says or does something might affect others.

What is needed in our organizations is “caring, compassion, sensitivity...and an effort to maintain and nurture relationships with others...(an) ‘ethic of care’ “ (Jos and Hines, 1993; 374). Would not our society benefit if this “ethic of care” were the guiding principle for all of us who are public employees? Jos and Hines (1993; 386) continue by saying that “sensitivity and compassion are required to avoid the complacency that results from turning clients into cases and the public interest into an abstraction.”
The same theme is presented by Carnevale and Carnevale (1993; 5), who propose sensitivity as a guideline by saying that “services ought to be delivered through usersensitive delivery systems.”

Public employees with sensitivity can construct similar antennae toward the people with whom they work and the people they serve. Being “user-sensitive” with an “ethic of care” can help to make our organizations more productive and satisfying for all.

Dignity

It is reasonable to expect that public employees conduct their professional lives in a dignified manner. However, this humanistic guideline displays concern for the dignity of the people with whom we work and whom we serve.

Public managers recognize that they are responsible for results and that productivity can only be achieved by the people whom they supervise and support. Holmquist (1993; 540) says that “dignity is essential to attain excellence.” Enlightened managers understand that they must have serious concern for their employees’ emotional needs. “Well-being includes the dignity and worth of personhood” (Campbell, et. al., 1990; 71). Managers need to be aware of the kinds of duties they assign to people. “It is increasingly recognized that employers may not ask an employee to do something that may hurt his or her dignity” (Osiqweh and Huo, 1993; 140). There can be no doubt that in organizations where supervisors demonstrate serious concern for the personal dignity of their employees the organization will run more smoothly.

Further, public administrators must constantly strive to ensure that any policies promoted or programs advocated take into consideration the dignity of the people served by these programs. Sensitive public administrators must be diligent to act in those ways which add to the dignity of the recipients of their services. Furthermore, they will avoid doing anything which might erode the dignity of people. Awareness of people’s dignity involves maintaining respect for others.

Cooperation

The most effective decisions are not made in isolation. None of us, managers included, have all the answers. We must recognize that
people throughout our organizations want to feel a sense of cooperation and participation at the workplace.

People “who view their workplace as more cooperative...are more globally satisfied with their jobs” (Rubaii-Barrett and Beck, 1993; 512). Berrey, et. al., (1993; 76) suggest that this feeling of cooperation will be more easily achieved if “more people (are) involved in the decision making process.”

Like the other humanistic guidelines, cooperation is not advocated just to make people “feel good.” Public administrators are concerned about productivity, accomplishing results, achieving tasks, and providing services. “Effective delivery of services...requires (a)...cooperative work environment” (Kearney and Hays, 1994; 46). This point is made with an appeal for cooperation by Gabris (1992; 81) who says, “If cooperative decision-making patterns can be expanded, municipal governments should experience more frequent optimization of the policy process.”

Organizations must strive to create a cooperative atmosphere. In addition to the internal benefits accruing from this atmosphere, the community will sense it, thus creating more positive relationships between organizations and their public. This atmosphere of cooperation can help an organization to achieve an overall philosophy of “win-win” (Blumberg, 1983).

Responsiveness

Too often in too many organizations people sense a lack of responsiveness. Too frequently citizens as well as organizational members feel that they are not being heard in an atmosphere symbolized by “nobody listens to me.” A responsive environment will go a long way toward replacing this negative atmosphere with one that is positive. One step is to develop the habit of responsive listening. This involves actively listening to the words and being aware of the feelings conveyed by the words. This therapeutic technique of being a responsive listener and interpreter will help to enhance the degree of trust, credibility, and respect others have toward us.

Manring (1994; 202) says, “Traditional notions of economy and efficiency need to be supplanted with a more modern calculus that values and accommodates the pace of administrative
Responsiveness." She is suggesting that POSDCORB notions of economy and efficiency are not sufficient for today's organizations. Responsiveness is one of the values which must now be added. Wright (1994) tells us that in order to meet the needs of our communities there must be more responsive governments which value an understanding of people.

In its most elemental meaning responsiveness means going out of our way to be helpful to others. Little courtesies such as looking up the correct phone number if someone has reached you with a wrong number, going across the hall to get a form or application for someone, or escorting a citizen to another office and introducing her to the person she needs to see are some examples of the many acts of responsiveness which will better the relationship between the citizenry and ourselves.

**Beneficence**

The last of these humanistic guidelines, beneficence, may be a word not frequently used, but it represents an appropriate concept for public administration professionals. Beneficence is being kind or producing good.

We are in public administration because we want to serve the public. We believe that we provide needed, relevant services to the community. It is necessary, though, to provide this service with an overlay of beneficence. “Beneficence means contributing to another person's well-being” (Campbell, et al., 1990; 71). This theme is echoed by Cotter (1991; 94) who says, “Duties of beneficence rest upon the mere fact that there are other beings in the world whose condition can be made better.”

Sensitive, patient, responsive public administration professionals, openly and ethically carrying out their duties with a cooperative concern for the dignity of others, will consistently be demonstrating values of beneficence. This beneficent value system — following these humanistic guidelines — will enhance the well-being of others. In order to define or operationalize this final humanistic guideline of beneficence we can reflect on the other EVPOSDCORB components. Consideration of the other guidelines may help us see where and how we can practice beneficence.

**Conclusion**
It is suggested that there is support in the contemporary literature for concepts like ethics, values, patience, openness, sensitivity, dignity, cooperation, responsiveness, and beneficence. EVPOSDCORB provides a tool for uniting these notions. Many thoughtful people posit that public administrators need to provide more than what is represented by POSDCORB efficiency and effectiveness. While POSDCORB is symbolic of the Classical/Traditional approach toward administrative behavior, perhaps in the years to come EVPOSDCORB may represent the New Public Administration.

Unfortunately, some public administration professionals may tend to see a sort of incompatibility between POSDCORB and EVPOSDCORB. For them, that incompatibility may indeed exist. Also, there may be some administrators who feel that “technical” guidelines are all-important. They may feel that they have no time to follow “artsy, bleeding-heart, humanistic” guidelines. Our response to them must be that there is a critical need for humanistic guidelines parallel with technical guidelines.

The common theme of EVPOSDCORB is a sincere concern for people. As basic or simple as this concept may appear, it must be recognized that there are, unfortunately, too many public employees who do not share the ideals of EVPOSDCORB which provide an easy method to express this concern for people.

Inherent in what is represented by the EVPOSDCORB principles is an intentional overlap of the guidelines. These guidelines are interrelated by the common theme which holds them together. This overlap exists to advance the essential point that EVPOSDCORB leads toward an attitude which is different from the attitude symbolized by POSDCORB.

No argument is being made to suggest the elimination of POSDCORB; these are critical guidelines. What is suggested is that Luther Gulick, in delineating the administrative functions, did not go far enough. We need humanistic values in addition to technical guidelines. Further, it is anticipated that all public employees, not only administrators, will absorb the concepts of EVPOSDCORB to influence their behavior. These additional guidelines will not only facilitate smooth working relationships between co-workers, but will also help to better the relationships between our organizations, our citizens, and our clients.
EVPOSDCORB will help to foster a humanistic organizational culture, a culture that can help organizations be more productive. Let there be no misunderstanding — we are vitally concerned about productivity, results, and getting the job done. A joint focus on humanistic guidelines and the practice of classical public administration offers an opportunity for organizations to optimize results on a sustaining basis. This healthy productivity will create an atmosphere of trust and respect which will help to decrease the growing sense of alienation which is prevalent in today’s society.

Practicing the humanistic guidelines of EVPOSDCORB may not be the full answer to society’s problems, but it may represent an effective starting point. Bringing EVPOSDCORB into our vocabulary can help enlarge the focus of concerned contemporary public administration professionals.

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Analysis and Commentary

Citizenship, Community, and Ethics: Forrest Gump as a Moral Exemplary

William D. Richardson and Ronald L. McNinch

Introduction

In general, the literature on ethics is appropriately focused on the improvement of the moral state of human beings. With few exceptions, the approaches to such improvement can be divided into two broad categories: a concentration on an education which seeks to strengthen the internal restraints of the individual; and the erecting of suitable structural impediments to serve as the external restraints that will channel individual behavior in the desired direction. In the case of that portion of the study of ethics that concentrates on public administration, there is an understandable concern with the character and behavior of those who are tasked with the administration of the public’s affairs. As a consequence, there is considerable treatment of such important issues as codes of ethics, the training of practitioners in ethics, and how to ensure the most morally appropriate behavior in public administrators. However, there is often much less attention given to the crucial matter of the “ethos” or character of the ordinary democratic citizenry from whose ranks public administrators are drawn.

This is not the same as saying, however, that the field completely ignores the vital role of the democratic citizenry. For instance, one of the nation’s premier schools of education in public
administration, The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, made its emphasis on the place of “citizenship” in the field unmistakably evident in its very name. In the literature itself, we have seen periodic attempts to address the subject (e.g., Frederickson, 1984). Unfortunately, there is a strain of thought permeating a substantial portion of this literature that tends to see the public administrator as a “professional citizen” whose task it is to rejuvenate, politically and morally, the nation’s other (presumably “amateur”) citizens. Such a view presupposes a thinly veiled relationship of superior-to-inferior that is certainly not acceptable to the democratic majority (e.g., Waldo, 1984; Scott, 1982.) Indeed, one could argue that this view is in critical ways incompatible with the understanding of appropriate citizenship that is expressed in such works as The Federalist Papers and Tocqueville’s Democracy in America.

Unlike other types of regimes, a democratic republic such as ours by design excluded the idea of any type of hereditary ruling class that could be nurtured and prepared to assume the complex tasks of ruling a modern regime. Accordingly, we rightfully pride ourselves on our “meritocratic” approach to the allocation of elective and administrative offices. Our officials at all levels of government may as easily have come from humble as from privileged circumstances. Since our administrators are so obviously “of the people,” the field’s relative inattention to the subject of citizen character in favor of a concentration on the ethical needs of administrators-qua-administrators might be seen as a bit puzzling (Richardson et al, 1987).

**Forrest Gump and Democratic Citizenship**

It is from this perspective that we address the enormously popular movie, “Forrest Gump.” This Oscar winning film is one of several notable and relatively recent cinematic treatments of “ordinary” citizens who have an uncommon effect on others. (We have in mind such films as “Being There,” a tale of an out-of-work butler, and “Rain Man,” the story of the extraordinary feats of calculation performed by an institutionalized savant.) In these circumstances, however, one must be especially careful to acknowledge what one means by “ordinary” (e.g., Lindblom et al, 1979), for the protagonists in all of these films possess critical flaws. Indeed, the films are quite similar in that they revolve around the intellectual peculiarities or shortcomings of the main characters. In the harshest
possible view, they might be seen as “anti-intellectual.” More favorably, one might argue that the importance of the intellect is deliberately down-graded in order to elevate the principal concerns, which are either directly about character or attendant moral issues.

Indeed, we find that Forrest is named after a family relative, Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate general and subsequent founder of the KKK. (Ironically, Forrest’s black buddy in Vietnam, Bubba — whose complete name is “Benjamin Buford Blue” — also had the name of a Confederate general.) When young Forrest asks his mother why she gave him such a strange name, she replies: “To remind us that sometimes people do things that don’t make sense.” Fittingly, this is a consistent theme throughout the tale. Stupid or irrational things may indeed sometimes be relative to the times and one’s perspective. Hence, when accused of being “stupid,” Forrest tends to reply: “Stupid is as stupid does.” The emphasis is always on actions or behavior, not on rationalizations or exculpatory explanations. Fittingly, Forrest’s behavior is consistently upright and frequently exemplary.

In “Forrest Gump” we follow a man of low I.Q. from boyhood through mature adulthood. Abandoned by his father, Forrest is raised by a strong-willed mother who neglects her own needs and dreams in order to maximize those of her son. Afflicted with curvature of the spine, the boy is fitted with awkward corrective leg braces at the age of six. (After placing the leg braces on young Forrest, the town doctor remarks that, “his back is as crooked as a politician.” In actuality, though, Forrest proves to have a moral backbone that is decidedly straight and unflinching.) Burdened physically and mentally, he is an object of either affectionate or mean-spirited derision for most of the fellow-citizens in his rural Alabama hometown. Forrest does have a number of critical advantages, though. For one thing, perhaps because of the braces, he becomes unbelievably fleet-footed. (This speed eventually results in his becoming a remarkable college football star.) Even more important, he is blessed with phenomenal luck. (For example, he gets into college and becomes a gridiron star as a result of blazing across a football field in the midst of a practice session while trying to escape some local bullies. Because of his speed, he survives a devastating artillery barrage in Vietnam and, after going back to save his platoon mates one-by-one, wins the Medal of Honor. Finally, as a total neophyte, he is the only shrimper to survive Hurricane Carmen, which enables him to monopolize the market and make his
fortune.) At the end of the tale, he even gets to marry the only love of his life, the beautiful but corrupted Jenny, who has borne his child.

Admittedly, the fact that Gump possesses such phenomenally “good” luck in this film has disconcerted some viewers. One reason may well be because our 20th century regime, so much the philosophical child of Machiavelli (and Locke), is steeped in the belief that “Chance” (or “Fortuna” or “Luck”) is something that we must attempt to minimize and subdue. By definition, though, chance does not necessarily reward the claims of the extraordinarily rational any more than it does those of the ordinary and irrational. At best, all one can really hope to do is to attempt to narrow the domain over which chance holds sway.

The Private Virtues: Friendship, Loyalty and Love

This simplistic retelling of the story-line, of course, quite fails to convey the reasons why Forrest is deserving of being considered a morally exemplary citizen. In his relationships with others, Forrest is probably most notable for the depth and quality of his friendships. In every instance that we witness, though, his friendships are with individuals who prove to be troubled and, in significant ways, inferior to him. (With the possible exception of Bubba, this inferiority is generally a moral one, for their characters tend to have major shortcomings.)

For instance, in the first of three transition scenes involving bus rides, a six-year-old Forrest hobbles onto a bus and is cruelly shunned by all but one of the other riders. The exception is beautiful young Jenny, with whom young Forrest falls instantly in love. Together they grow up, Forrest remaining blissfully unaware of Jenny’s terrible burden: her heavy drinking, widowed father had sexually abused her until the local police finally removed her from home and took her to live with a nearby grandmother.

While Forrest appears to have no other childhood friends, he and Jenny seem to be inseparable, spending hours talking together and just enjoying the presence of each other’s company on the limb of a big tree (beneath which Jenny is lovingly buried by Forrest some thirty years later). It is she who first urges him to run from the town bullies, precipitating the discovery of his blazing speed. (Significantly, it is the deeply troubled “free spirit” Jenny who later
makes the soon-to-be-shipped-out Private Forrest promise that he’ll just “run away” if he gets in trouble in Vietnam. Fulfilling this remembered promise saves his life and enables him to win the Medal of Honor for subsequent acts of valor.) Their relationship is platonic — primarily because of Gump. (After Forrest beats up a “date” whom he mistakenly thinks is hurting Jenny — they are really sharing a mutually satisfactory amorous embrace — she makes a gentle, humorous but unsuccessful attempt to seduce him. Immediately prior to this she accuses the long-smitten Forrest of not knowing “what love is.” As chaste Forrest later proves, he most certainly knows the meaning of true love.)

A second transitional scene involving a bus occurs on Forrest’s way to Army basic training. As a personable college graduate/football hero, Forrest pauses to introduce himself to the driver — much as he had done during his first bus ride as a frightened six-year-old. Greeted with the Army’s traditional vitriolic abuse of recruits, an unfazed Forrest then makes his way down the aisle, only to be once again rudely shunned by another set of strangers, his fellow trainees. One scowling recruit doesn’t instantly bar him, though. Bubba, a black Louisiana shrimper with an abnormal lower lip (which gives him the appearance of a hateful scowl) willingly befriends him. Bubba, it turns out, cares about only one thing: shrimp. His every thought and word revolve around the subject of the innumerable ways of catching and (hilariously) cooking the delicacy. To all others, gentle Bubba is a colossal bore; to Forrest he is the second true friend of his life, to whom he serves as a most patient listener and confidant.

Forrest and Bubba experience the Army together — Bubba as, at best, an average recruit; Forrest as a “[*#@!] genius” who “ought to be a general!” (A rapturous drill sergeant first recognizes Forrest’s uncanny suitability for the Army when the sincere young recruit promises to “do whatever it is you want me to do, drill sergeant!” Forrest later reinforces this view by excelling at his training. For instance, he breaks all previous records for reassembling an M-14 rifle.) Shipped to Vietnam, they are both assigned to Lieutenant Dan Taylor’s platoon. The lieutenant immediately demonstrates a sense of humor by asking the two if they’re brothers. This produces a wondrous scene in which the white boy from Alabama and the black Louisiana shrimper carefully eyeball each other before sincerely responding “No,” thereby proving their immunity to irony and thoroughly baffling the lieutenant. (In point of fact, though, Gump
and Bubba do become like brothers. Indeed, before asking Gump to go into the shrimping business with him, Bubba remarks about how they “watch out for each other like brothers.” Later, Gump ingratiates himself into both Bubba’s family and, more important, the local community when he fulfills the promise he had made to start a shrimping business with the now dead Bubba.

Dan proceeds to give these “brothers” two crucial but succinct rules for survival. One concerns always caring for their feet and the other involves not doing anything stupid and getting themselves killed. (There is a fair amount of irony attached to both rules when one considers that Dan subsequently loses both his legs and almost ends up getting himself killed.)

Considering himself destined to be a warrior (his ancestors dating back to the Revolutionary War had “distinguished” themselves in at least one major way: they had all died in battle), Dan leads his troops into a devastating ambush. (Aside from his ironic military legacy of death in battle, Dan is not portrayed as an exceptionally able officer. He relies heavily — if not almost exclusively — on instinct or “hunches” as he deploys his platoon in the bush and, most tellingly, leads them into this final ambush. Similarly, when he much later signs on as a shrimper, Dan relies on instinct in his attempts to locate shrimp. Thus, while having the basic ability to be a rational human being — unlike Gump, there is no intimation that the lieutenant has a less-than-average I.Q. — Dan seems to favor the less rational aspects of his being.)

Ordered to flee by Dan (and remembering his promise to Jenny), fleet-footed Forrest outruns the trailing mortar barrage. However, after realizing that his friend Bubba has not emerged from the jungle, Forrest races back for him, pausing many times along the way to retrieve other injured buddies (including a furious Dan, who wants to die with his troops). Despite his wounds, Forrest returns once again and finally succeeds in saving a dying Bubba from the very teeth of an American air strike. Evacuated to an Army hospital, Gump shares a ward with a legless, greatly embittered Lieutenant Dan, who blames Gump for having prevented him from fulfilling his macabre destiny of dying in battle. (Curiously, if Gump hadn’t saved Dan from the battlefield, the lieutenant indeed would have fulfilled his destiny, but he would have been the last of his line ever to do so. Unlike his forebears at the time of their deaths, Dan was then unmarried and childless! As a reformed and rejuvenated partner
in the Bubba Gump Shrimp Co., his subsequent marriage to a Vietnamese woman holds forth the promise of both progeny and a different, perhaps even nobler, destiny for the as yet unborn descendents of his line. For Dan, his "Fate" has been broken and he has come full circle "back" to Vietnam. Through his Vietnamese bride, the land of his expected death provides the means for a "new" life.

Shortly before being notified that he is going to receive the Medal of Honor, Gump is enticed into a game of ping pong at the hospital. He proves exceptionally adept and soon embarks on another remarkable odyssey, becoming a world champion player who is the toast of the nation. Emerging from one of his television interviews, Gump is confronted by the legless and still greatly embittered Dan, now a wheelchair-bound vet on disability who for some time has been drowning his self pity in alcohol. Although abused and insulted by Dan, Gump stays with him through the forthcoming holidays and succeeds in winning a grudging but well concealed respect from him. As he is about to report back to the Army for mustering out, Gump confides his intent to fulfill a promise he made to Bubba: the two of them had agreed to become partners in Bubba's only passion, shrimping. An incredulous Dan mockingly promises to become either his first mate or an astronaut if Gump follows through with his plan. (In a sense, Dan eventually does follow through on both of these promises: he becomes Gump's first mate and he acquires a set of space age artificial legs made of titanium.)

Enriched by a $25,000 ping pong equipment endorsement quietly arranged by his loving mother, Gump moves to Bubba's black community in Louisiana, buys a complete shrimp boat from a wildly amused local shrimper, and starts "Bubba Gump Shrimp Company." A sober Dan later joins him and soon gives a riotous imitation of a blasphemous Ahab while perched astride the boat's rigging in the midst of a hurricane. As the owners of the only shrimp boat to survive the resultant devastation, the previously inept shrimpers of the Bubba Gump Shrimp Co. become gloriously and massively rich. One of Gump's first acts thereafter is to bestow a check for half their earnings on Bubba's once skeptical mother. (Like Dan, Bubba's mother can also recall a long line of ancestors, only in her case they were cooks who dutifully served wealthy whites. After receiving the check, there's a satisfying scene wherein Bubba's now wealthy mother is served by a white cook.)
Secular and Spiritual Happiness: Life and Death

Gump makes the dreams of other people come true. For example, he considers himself obligated to fulfill the dead Bubba’s aspiration that they be partners in a shrimp boat; he saves Dan once from his battlefield “destiny” and again from an aimless descent into the self-pity of a severely disabled vet; he elevates Bubba’s mother from a life of grinding poverty; he gives the Louisiana community a modern hospital and the local black church which took him in a magnificent new building.

What, though, of Forrest Gump’s own happiness? This wealthy man, the holder of his nation’s highest military honor, who was once a national football hero and an international ping pong champion, asks his now dying mother: “What is my destiny?” With prudential wisdom she remarks that “he’ll have to find it himself.” The one earthly source of happiness that he’s always wanted but could never have was Jenny. Fortuitously she once more reappears but, shamed by her own moral unworthiness, she flees after a single night of passion with the previously chaste-for-life Gump. (The passion follows Gump’s proposal of marriage and his forceful assertion that he does indeed know what love is. Jenny subsequently admits her own love for Gump and concedes that, while he does know what true love is, she does not deserve such a good man. It’s hard to argue with this assertion, for Jenny’s moral unworthiness is quite real. With the exception of her extraordinary relationship with Gump, all of her other relations with men are abusive. Perhaps seeking succor from the experiences of her sexually abusive father, Jenny lives a life of increasing degeneracy. She abuses her body in innumerable ways and continually flees from the basic decency of Gump.)

Deprived of the earthly happiness with Jenny that he had thought was finally going to be his, Gump, the man blessed with a speed that once brought him great fame as a football player and that later saved his life in Vietnam, suddenly begins to run and just doesn’t stop. He runs the breadth and width of the nation and, along the way, is adopted by aimless hordes of fellow-citizens as some sort of spiritual guru. As he passes through communities, befuddled entrepreneurs are portrayed as seeking the “guru’s” sage advice. He is thus depicted as the true originator of such inventions as the smiley-face tee shirt and a certain infamous bumper sticker which
uses scatological humor. (Indeed, throughout the movie Gump is portrayed as the unheralded cause of a number of famous events. For example, a young boarder named Elvis Presley watches boy-Gump dance in his stiff, leg-braced way and the notorious Presley dance style is born. Similarly, a thoughtful President Nixon puts ping pong champ Gump up in the Watergate Hotel complex and a sleep-disturbed Forrest calls the police to report a burglary in the DNC offices across the way.)

In the midst of his transcontinental runs, Forrest comes to witness two gorgeous and awe-inspiring natural vistas: clouds reflected in a lake, and a sunrise over desert mountains. (These are later recalled by him in a poignant conversation with a dying Jenny in which he tells her how much she was with him in his mind as he saw these beautiful spectacles as well as two others: a night of stars in Vietnam and a sunset over water in Louisiana.)

Gump's spiritual dimension, though, is certainly not limited to such pagan-like appreciations of Nature. He is also openly and unabashedly religious. Thus, when Nature fails to release her bounty to the Bubba Gump Shrimp Co., a skeptical Dan tells him to go pray. The unpretentious Gump does precisely that—at the local black church. When Dan later shouts out his blasphemies during the fury of Nature's great storm, a more pious Gump is understandably appalled. Even earlier than this, we see boy-Gump kneeling in prayer with Jenny amidst the bounty of a cornfield, together praying that poor little Jenny might become a bird to escape her predatory father. (Jenny ultimately gets her wish: after she is buried beneath the tree that was their favorite childhood haunt, a covey of white birds suddenly alights in its branches after Gump finishes talking to her headstone. It was as if her prayer as a child to become a bird and "fly far, far away" had (finally) been answered.)

Blessed in life with so many conventional advantages (the championships, the Medal of Honor, wealth), Gump remains temperate and without hubris. One might even say he's stoic. (In fact, the only intemperances we witness in Gump are his imbibing fifteen or so bottles of Dr. Pepper and the many months of running.) Deprived of marriage to Jenny for all but a few months of their lives, Gump finds death neither unfamiliar nor frightening. Indeed, deaths seem to be defining moments for him. (Those of Bubba, his mother, and Jenny are particularly so.)
Public Officials and Equality/Inequality

Gump’s life expresses one man’s dedication to the merits of conventional equality in a world that nurtures a large measure of its opposite. In this world public officials — and most especially public administrators — are not favorably portrayed. Thus, the school principal who wants to assign boy-Gump to a below average course of study happily seduces Forrest’s mother and then overrides the regulations he was using to exclude Forrest from the regular student body. (This is one of a number of instances in which Forrest’s mother makes grand sacrifices for his well being. Continually reminding him not to “...ever let anyone tell you you’re not as good as they are,” she refuses to let him be treated unequally in her presence.) Emerging from his labors, the principal tiredly remarks that “Your mamma sure does care about your schooling, boy.” The fact that the principal himself does not care is shamefully evident. (The first hint that this young boy may not be as inferior as the principal initially thought comes as Forrest, whom the educator thought didn’t “say much,” proceeds to embarrass and shame him by mimicking the sounds of the latter’s recent amorous encounter.)

Similarly, freshly decorated with the Medal of Honor by LBJ, Gump decides to see the sights in Washington. Unfortunately, a massive antiwar rally is underway. He quickly finds himself ordered into a line of disheveled, half-uniformed former vets who are being led about in a most authoritative manner by a helmeted young woman in army fatigues. (Aside from the fact that the protesting vets display some obvious similarities in attire and conduct to the combat troops he had recently left behind in Vietnam, Gump’s placid response when “ordered” to join them can be explained in another way. Throughout most of his life women provide guidance to Gump in very significant ways. His mother’s staunch moral and physical nurturing is clear. Jenny’s friendship, love and advice — “Run, Forrest, run” — sustain him in numerous ways. And with the protesters, we have an authoritarian woman — complete with uniform — ordering him about.) Recognized as the only true soldier among them, Gump is taken to the speakers’ platform to be introduced by (what appears to be) Abbie Hoffman. Ushered to the microphone, Gump is urged to tell the assembled masses “what it’s really like over there, man.” Just as Forrest begins to speak to this clearly legal citizens’ demonstration, a furtive police officer yanks the wires from the amplifiers and we are deprived of whatever a sincere Gump had to say.
Significantly, such unheard or unspoken words prove to be important in at least four other situations. For instance, Bubba dies in Gump’s arms, and a pensive voice-over by Forrest remarks that he would have said some things then if he knew that it was going to be their last conversation. Additionally, a dying Jenny laments that she couldn’t have experienced some of the beautiful natural sights Gump speaks of so eloquently. Forrest induces a long, loving silence between them when he replies that, in a way, she did experience them, for she was always with him in his thoughts. Later, Gump speaks movingly to the headstone of Jenny’s grave and places by it an unopened letter to her from their son. Finally, heartfelt letters he had written to Jenny while he was in Vietnam are all returned unopened while he’s recuperating in the hospital.

With the possible exception of JFK, elected officials are portrayed little better. Segregationist George Wallace blocks the school house door (with a puzzled Forrest Gump peering over his shoulder). When one of the jeered black students being escorted by federal troops drops her book, a gentlemanly Forrest retrieves it and returns it to her. A crude LBJ asks for (and receives) a public mooning. Nixon provides Gump with a bird’s-eye view of his White House Plumbers in action.

In contrast, citizen Gump, frequently either secretly or openly disparaged by his fellows, is a model of tranquillity and meretricious attitudes. The human beings he meets are permitted to prove their own worth. This is especially so in the matter of race relations. Whether it is Bubba, the simple shrimper who becomes his best male friend, or the black drill sergeant who considers Private Gump to be a genius, or the black soldier in the hospital who undertakes to teach future champion Gump the game of ping pong, or the members of the black Louisiana congregation who spiritually embrace him in his time of need, Forrest treats all with a dignity and respect that has all too often been denied to himself.

Individualism and Community

Forrest Gump received an unequal share of Nature’s bounty in terms of his intelligence and, in his boyhood years, his mildly deformed spine. However, bolstered by his mother’s iron determination that he not be treated as less than an equal, in no way does he come to consider himself a “victim.” What one might deem
his compensatory gifts of great speed and great good luck, when combined with Forrest's moral decency, produce a man who continually gives back to the community as much if not more than he ever gets from it. His individual exploits (football hero, Medal of Honor winner, ping pong champion) enhance the collective fame and stature of, respectively, a state (through its flagship university) and a nation. Made fabulously wealthy by his shrimping monopoly, Forrest gives half the proceeds to the mother of his long lost "partner" and proceeds to build magnificent houses for the twin temples of the body (a modern hospital) and the soul (a new church).

Uncorrupted by either high honors or great wealth, Forrest is anything but the self-interested individualist that Tocqueville feared might come to predominate in regimes such as our own. Long deprived of the one source of happiness he most wanted (marriage to Jenny), he contributes to the well-being of the community in whatever ways he can. For him, there is remarkably little tension between the individual and the larger whole. (Unfortunately, the community's relationship to Gump is less salutary. Aside from the views of his fellow-citizens that revolve around his being a "fool" or "a running fool," we see Gump being underestimated — even exploited — right up to the end of the movie. Thus, this very wealthy military and sports hero returns to his ancestral community and humbly offers his services to the town fathers. The former college hero is permitted to cut the grass of the same football field on which he excelled as a young man — a task he performs without complaint, for he "likes" to do things that keep him close to Nature.)

Public administrators, whether considering themselves "professional citizens" or "noble bureaucrats," have no lasting effect on either his character or, for that matter, his life. (Since their actions are not generally portrayed positively, this is fortunate, for it means they had no negative effects on him.) In fact, the most important positive effects on Forrest all come from other fellow-citizens who (with the exception of the adult Jenny) appear to be morally admirable. Forrest's lifelong behavior as a morally exemplary citizen certainly does not disappoint these individuals. That he ultimately marries a dying Jenny and becomes the father to the son he (literally) did not know he had sired seems equally satisfying to the citizen members of the movie audience. The fatherless boy-Gump, raised by a devoted and resourceful mother of positive character, becomes the morally exemplary father to his own motherless son. (As the dying
Jenny was at pains to point out, this young Gump appears to be quite above-average in his intellect. The community's derision — "the running fool" — will not follow from father to son. As the pivotal bus transports this young Gump of the next generation off to his own first day at public school, observers have reason to be confident that, in the not so distant future, there will soon be another worthy Gump emerging to assume his appropriate citizen responsibilities in the community.

**Conclusion**

Like the bureaucrat of contemporary times, Forrest lives a large portion of his life unloved and unappreciated by the larger community. Indeed, during long periods of it he is even disparaged as someone who is ignorant and inferior. Unfazed, he unstintingly pursues the path of morally exemplary behavior and dedication to the good of the community. With a character formed early in life, he doesn't need codes of ethics or other external restraints to guide his actions. Severely tested by trials and turmoil throughout his life, his all important behavior — both publicly and privately — remains above reproach. Internally ruled by a solid endowment of common sense, he habitually "does the right thing."

For more than a century, there has been a visible and uneasy tension between the nature of our democratic republic and the functions performed by public administration. Part of this tension is illustrated by the various ways in which public administration has sought to justify its exercise of that fundamental political power known as administrative discretion. From the time of the legislatively-delegated patronage system to the long period during which it claimed the protective cloak of political neutrality, public administration, in effect, attempted to explain why it was entitled to such powers over the ordinary citizen. When these explanations failed, the claim became that of superiority, at least in certain areas of "specialized" knowledge or practical wisdom. Professional expertise — not ordinary but extraordinary knowledge — justified the possession of political powers that, while ultimately derived from the people, were to be exercised on their behalf and for their own good. From here it was but a short leap to the assertion that public administration could make a claim of moral superiority as a justification for the powers it wielded (e.g., Frederickson et al, 1985).
“Forrest Gump” has been extraordinarily popular with the ordinary citizens, and one of the reasons is self-evident: it presents a Jeffersonian confidence in the moral stalwartness of the yeoman citizenry that runs counter to some of the current approaches in ethics. The film celebrates a basic decency and a common sense that are accessible to all. No real or imagined superiority is required for one to partake. The film is not only popular but also populist in its assertion of the primacy of the ordinary citizen within this regime. In a political climate that now finds the tenure of elected officials uncertain and the legitimacy of public administration suspect, the visible portrayal of exemplary citizen virtues may serve as a timely reminder to all that, more so than any other regime, a democratic republic is ultimately and fundamentally dependent on the core values possessed by its citizenry.

References


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