Some notes and memories on Ebap in its earlier days*

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1. Introductory note

I have been motivated to prepare this paper because I am very much afraid that the early days of Ebap will be lost in the celebration of today's successes. As far as I am aware, only Diogo Lordello de Mello remains of people who knew the organization from its earliest days. My calculation is that he has served nearly 48 years as an Ebap faculty member. My credentials are not nearly so solid, but it is fair to say that I have had some sort of a relationship, much of it at a distance, since 1952. And I did have personal contact with all the people who should be regarded as its founders and developers.

As the reader will discover, this paper covers the history of Ebap only up until 1964. There are plenty of people around who know its history since that time much better than I. It must be noted, however, that my memory is not all that good, and I have been helped in my recall and in filling in missing knowledge gaps by the excellent dissertation by Jose Silva de Carvalho, completed in 1967. Its title is *Ebap: an experiment in institution building*. I am proud to say I was his dissertation chairman. Jose Silva is a nephew of Benedicto Silva, the first Ebap director; and I think that relationship helped him see its history in more intimate and sensitive terms.

2. The many preliminaries that led to the creation of Ebap

My relationship with Ebap goes back almost to its beginnings. In the year in which it was established, 1952, I was welcoming eight young men to the campus of the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, California. Most were to prepare themselves to become faculty members of the Brazilian School of Public Administration, which had just been established.

This set of recollections begins earlier, however, and involves my dear colleague and mentor, the late Henry Reining, Jr. He was the catalyst through which I developed my long and profound feeling for Brazil. When he was educational director of the National Institute of Public Affairs in Washington, D.C., he traveled to Rio in 1943 to serve as a short-term adviser to the Administrative Department of the Public Service (Dasp), during which time

[1] This paper was originally published as part of the celebrations of Ebape's 50th anniversary, in Apr. 2002.

he began his long association with Luiz Simões Lopes and Benedicto Silva.

Largely because of Simões Lopes, the country had long been engaged in a herculean effort to cleanse its administrative system of patronage and to fashion a highly professional, technically competent staff to manage the business of government. Simões Lopes, a wealthy man, had come to Rio from Rio Grande do Sul with Getulio Vargas in 1930. Though a young man in his early thirties, he was a powerful figure in the Vargas dictatorship. From all I can understand, it was he who persuaded Vargas that his interests would best be served by thoroughly competent technocrats committed to doing their assigned tasks, with loyalty to their hierarchical masters and not to outside political forces. Benedicto Silva was also involved in these efforts.

The organizational manifestation of this effort was Dasp, the Administrative Department of the Public Service, which was created in 1938 and whose head for its first seven years (until 1945, when the Vargas dictatorship collapsed) was Luis Simões Lopes.

Dasp was recognized throughout the world as the embodiment of what was then thought to be the best of public administration theory. Then the creed of classic public administration mandated the consolidation of all those functions wrapped up in the concept of Posdcorb (planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, and budgeting) in a single, dominant entity. Dasp was one of the few agencies in the world that essentially put these functions in one place and thus elevated the professional bureaucracy to a superordinate role in government affairs.

While this theory of organizing had serious flaws, the emphasis on technical competence and professionalism in Dasp constituted a lasting influence on public administration in Brazil. Beatriz Wahrlich, later to become director of Ebap, was one of the talented young people who had an early career in Dasp. It was in the late 40s that Dasp sent her to the US on a study tour. Beatriz, who was a young woman, spoke of that trip fondly, not only because of her learnings in public administration but also because of the young Americans who were attracted to her.

It was clear that the Vargas regime would come to an end at some point and with it the special place of Dasp. Simões Lopes, whose intense loyalty to Vargas did not tarnish his reputation as a selfless and dedicated public official, began to search for other organizational means of preserving the professional spirit of Dasp. While Henry Reining's assignment in October 1943, was to advise Dasp on personnel matters, he recalled that Simões Lopes did raise with him the possibility of other organizational arrangements to perpetuate the Dasp idea. He commented to Silva de Carvalho that Simões Lopes "was greatly concerned" about assuring a Dasp survival. He said he suggested the organization strategy of a foundation as a way to achieve continuity.

Once having settled on the idea that a foundation was the way to go, Simões Lopes lost little time in securing approval from Getulio Vargas. He sent a formal proposal to the dictator on July 4, 1944, and received an approval within 10 days in the form of two decree laws. In one Vargas authorized Simões Lopes, as president of Dasp, "to promote the creation of an entity concerned with the study and propagation of the principles and methods of rational organization of work, as well as the development of qualified personnel for the public and private adminis-

tration, through the creation of research centers, teaching establishments, and other services that are needed."[1]

As hoped by Simões Lopes, the Getulio Vargas Foundation quickly became a special, incorruptible institution with its own special sources of support, unaffected by changes in political power. While there were many parts of the foundation, I came to think that Simões Lopes valued three above the others. One was the economics program, which had the mission of developing a sophistication and competence in Brazilian economics that was scientific and non-ideological; the second was a data center on which all segments of the society, including the government, could rely for its neutrality and integrity; and the third was a school of public administration that would prepare the future leaders of Brazilian government. The first two functions were lodged in the Institute of Economics, while an Institute of Administration was created to foster the development of schools of public and business administration.

These aspirations were extremely high. But they proved to be achievable. The foundation developed a reputation during the politically stormy days of the 1950s and the 1960s as politically neutral and technologically ahead of the rest of the country. Its data services, particularly with reference to the computation of costs of living in a period of consistent and high inflation, were valued for their integrity, accuracy, and honesty.

Benedicto Silva had joined the staff of the United Nations in the later 1940s; and he took a leading role in inspiring a UN interest in public administration. In January 1948, Roberto Campos proposed in a major conference that the UN support technical assistance in public administration. Benedicto Silva wrote the proposal. The idea was apparently hotly debated in UN circles; but, by the end of the year, there was consensus that this was a legitimate area of interest. Because Brazil had been so active in these deliberations, it enjoyed a lead over other countries in attracting UN support for the ideas being pushed by the foundation.

Earlier, however, the foundation had commissioned a study, based on reviews of institutions in the US and Europe, to propose some kind of school. The year was 1946; and the recommendation was to establish an entity roughly analogous to the French School of Administration. Such an organization presumed that an elitist corps of bureaucrats, formed in a special school, could be created in Brazil. The Dasp experience, as well as the raw politics of patronage in Brazil, left such an approach highly suspect. The recommendation went nowhere.

By March 1949, Simões Lopes was negotiating with UN officials and announcing the possibility that a national school of public administration would be established in Brazil. Shortly thereafter, a lengthy memorandum was prepared on the establishment of a graduate school of public administration. It became the basis for a UN-sponsored discussion at Lake Success, New York, on June 24 and 25, 1949, which brought together UN officials with most of the luminaries in public administration in the US, among them Henry Reining. The discussions were extensive and exhaustive. They covered every possible dimension of operating a

[1] Silva de Carvalho translated this quotation from art. 1 of the decree-law. It is included on p. 112 of his dissertation.

graduate school of public administration in Brazil. The discussions were regarded as fruitful and appeared to whet UN interest in supporting Simões Lopes' efforts. Benedicto Silva continued to take a major role in the UN and led an international seminar on personnel administration in 1950.

The major move came in 1951 when the UN agreed to support a pilot program, viewed as preliminary to the formal establishment of Ebap, that would operate from November 1951, to March 1952. By this time Benedicto Silva had returned to Brazil and was co-director of the Vargas Foundation's Institute of Administration, which Luiz Alves de Mattos headed. The pilot program was designed as an event of international importance, with a star-studded cast. It was to be composed of two parts: three special courses to be offered by the experts to a select group of Brazilians and an international seminar on staff and auxiliary activities in the public service. The participating experts were, for the most part, Americans: the now ubiquitous Henry Reining, Roscoe Martin, of Syracuse University, and Harvey Walker, of Ohio State University. Others participating were Enrique Tejera, of Venezuela, for whom Reining had a high regard, and George Langrod, of France. There was one other, Carl Murray, whose name I do not recognize. Five distinguished Brazilian professors joined this group, and Silva and Mattos chaired the undertaking. Reining, the only participant with whom I had any real conversation about the event, regarded it as a big success. He felt it set the right tone for the launching of Ebap in April 1952.

At the inauguration of the pilot program, professor Harvey Walker thanked Simões Lopes and others who played a major role in its development, but had special words for Benedicto Silva. He extolled him in the following words: "Benedicto Silva, who is another architect of the IBRA (...) he worked in the backstage of the UN to guarantee interest for the plans of the Institute. Thanks to his prestige before the Brazilian delegation to the UN, he could influence the elaboration and development of the proposals for training in public administration (...) Although he was unable to attend the meeting at Lake Success, when it was time to prepare the final project leading to the Institute (IBRA), the task was given to him (...) The role he played in the approval of the project by the Brazilian government and by the United Nations, constitutes a priceless service."[2]

3. Eight Brazilians arrive to study public administration at the University of Southern California, and I get involved

It was a time when there was a strong US interest in Brazil; and it was possible to persuade the US Inter-American Affairs agency of the urgent need to recruit and prepare faculty for the Ebap that was definitely going to emerge from the planning phase. A few months after Ebap was formally created, eight Brazilians arrived at the University of Southern California. The time was September 1952. Five of the eight were expected to take faculty positions at Ebap. Another group of five received UN fellowships at other US institutions. In that number was Beat-

[2] Translated by Silva de Carvalho from typewritten reports in the files of Ibra (p. 172 in the dissertation).

riz Wahrlich, who studied at New York University.

While Henry Reining was on hand to greet the newcomers, I was assigned the task of working closely with them and particularly to make sure they had a satisfactory learning experience. This assignment was a daunting one for me. I had been on the faculty only a year, and I really knew nothing about Brazil. It quickly became apparent that the Dasp environment had produced highly competent, technically sophisticated people. I was involved in a heady learning experience; and, almost immediately after my encounter with this talented group, I developed a deep affection for Brazil.

The members of the group were:

- Diogo Lordello de Mello, who had been an officer in the Air Force, and who had already come to see the importance of local government to the country; the plan was that he would study municipal administration and return to teach in that area at the University of Paraná;
- Armando Bergamini de Abreu, who had already become a recognized public administration professional and had worked in several agencies, as I recall; Bergamini was expected to teach public administration at the federal university in Rio;
- Jose Senna, who was one of the two oldest in the group; he had already become a much respected public administration professional in the social security agency and had a knowledge of the field that few in the US matched;
- Alexandre Morgado Mattos, who was the other older member of the group; he had already earned a master's degree in public administration at Syracuse University and was awarded the doctorate at the University of Southern California; he had substantial financial resources, and that separated him somewhat from the rest of the group;
- Flavio Peixoto Nogueira, who was early in his career and seen as a real comer; he had served as an assistant in the pilot program that preceded the formal launching of Ebap;
- Eugenio Macedo-Soares, whose education was in engineering and who also served as an assistant in the pilot program;
- Florindo Villa Alvarez, who was the same age as Nogueira and Macedo-Soares, but who did not have previous experience in government; his interest had been in the arts; and my recollection is that he had been a dancer;
- Paulo Neves de Carvalho, who was a professor of administrative law from Minas Gerais; where others spent a year and a half in study, Carvalho stayed a bit longer and also received a doctorate in public administration, writing a dissertation on municipal government in San Diego, California.

In effect, three of the eight were slated for academic posts away from Ebap. There were high hopes that the other five, along with those on UN fellowships, would form the base cadre for the new School of Public Administration.

In fact, things turned out quite differently. None of the five slated for major

roles in Ebap played a significant part in its development. They simply moved on.

The two that did become significant Ebap actors were not even scheduled to join the organization.

One was Lordello de Mello, who is being honored at the 50th anniversary ceremony for his contributions not only to Ebap but to government and administration in Brazil and around the world. I regard him as one of my dearest friends. When he returned to Brazil at the end of 1953, he began his academic career at Ebap. So he has been teaching in this institution for nearly 50 years. At the same time he joined with Cleanto Leite in building the Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration (Ibam), which has played a unique and major role in supporting and developing municipal government in Brazil. When Lordello was its head, I can remember thinking that Ibam was the most beautifully organized and managed public enterprise in the world. And the times were never easy. It was always a wonder to me that he could maintain Ibam's institutional viability.

The other major contributor to Ebap was Bergamini, whose involvements were less on the teaching side and more in research and technical assistance. He did not achieve the reputation of some of his colleagues, but he was a solid, devoted, and committed member of the Ebap family. As far as I know, he never did teach at the federal university.

Though he was beautifully qualified academically, Morgado Mattos never was a full member of the Ebap faculty. Throughout his life, he had an association with the Getulio Vargas Foundation, occupying a number of different roles in the Institute of Administration, which had no operating mission but was hierarchically responsible for Ebap and Eaesp, the foundation's business school in São Paulo. Morgado's independent income made it less important for him to be an active employee.

On his return, Jose Senna played a major role in Brazilian Public Administration but not particularly at Ebap. He continued to be one of the most respected people in the field, but he worked in Ebap on only a few special projects. In 1961 he returned to his home in Bahia, where he joined the new school of Administration at the University of Bahia and, through its Institute of Public Service, launched one of the most creative and exciting in-service education programs I have ever seen. It was a tremendous success. After two years in Bahia, he returned to Rio to continue his consulting and technical assistance work. Unfortunately, he became afflicted with a dread disease that robbed him of his memory and his speech capability.

Flavio Nogueira and Florindo Villa Alvarez may have worked at Ebap for a short time after returning from the US. But not for long. Nogueira was employed by various Brazilian government agencies; and Villa Alvarez became well known for his work in international health administration. As far as I know, Macedo- Soares never joined the Ebap faculty. He returned to a position in the Federal District government as an engineer.

Paulo Neves Carvalho went back to Minas Gerais and became a highly important figure in the state's public administration. During the Magalhães Pinto governorship, he was the secretary of Administration. He also carried through on the assignment given him when he went to the States, namely to study municipal administration and offer a course in that

field on his return. He did just that, also serving as a consultant to many local governments. Great efforts were made to attract Paulo Neves to Rio, but that is not the Brazilian way. He insisted, like so many other Brazilians did, that he belonged at home in Minas.

At least five of the eight who went to Los Angeles are now dead. Lordello de Mello is the only one remaining with ties to the school.

The 1950s were a time when there was a strong belief that better government could have a significant effect on the quality of life in the world's developing societies. Further, there was the naive assumption that better mechanics would lead to better government. It was not surprising, then, that the US Point Four agency began to develop a strong interest in what was happening at Ebap and what could be done to create educational centers in other parts of Brazil. In consultation with Henry Reining, who had become dean of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California in 1953, a contract was signed with USC in 1958 to support the development of Brazilian public administration. Ebap was to be at the center of the effort, and the Dasp, whose responsibilities had been reduced to personnel, was also to be aided in its training activities. New schools of business and public administration were to be established at the universities of Rio Grande do Sul and of Bahia, with USC responsible for public administration and Michigan State University for business administration.

The program had two major components: providing US professors to function as resident advisers to the four institutions; and financing public administration studies at the University of Southern California of a substantial number of Brazilians who were expected to become faculty members at the three academic institutions. The Dasp played a much smaller part in the undertaking.

4. My first trip to Brazil in 1960 involved a review of the technical assistance program started by USC in 1958

It was mid-year 1960 when I made my first trip to Brazil. With my colleague, Richard W. Gable, I was charged with performing an audit for the university on the program's progress and problems. The sites in Rio Grande do Sul and Bahia were scrutinized, but we devoted most of our time and energy to Ebap, as it was expected to set the standard for public administration education in Brazil.

The Getulio Vargas Foundation was located at its current Botafogo site, but the physical arrangement then was very different. The foundation was housed in a fairly unexciting group of old buildings spread around the property. Physically, the structures did not convey the feeling of enterprises central to the growth and prosperity of the country. Rather, the cramped, decaying quarters left the impression that the foundation hardly represented the future of Brazil. Simões Lopes, of course, had other ideas. The structure we see today was already designed and ready to be built, but financing was a problem.

I do not have a copy of the report professor Gable and I wrote about our audit. But I do remember having some fairly strong impressions of the program and its future.

The first was that these were very tough times for Brazilian society. Juscelino Kubitschek was winding up his five

years as president. He had been a highly active leader and had launched many projects, of which Brasília was the most major. They cost a great deal of money, and Juscelino resorted to the printing press for the necessary financing. The result was high inflation, which was perverse in that the prices of goods and services went up, but salaries did not. Inflation was not a new experience for Brazilians; and people had become accustomed to working at several jobs. As a result, the goal in the public administration project of having people work full time at academic pursuits was quite unrealistic. A person could not live on an Ebap salary. It was a struggle even to secure the services of a professor on a part-time basis. This was my first real confrontation with inflation, and I quickly realized that many of the goals envisioned by the US government and USC could not be realized in such economic conditions.

It was also not a period when the US was popular. The students at Ebap, like those in other academic institutions in Brazil, found plenty to criticize in their neighbors to the north. As far as we could see, the American advisers had very little to do with the students at Ebap.

5. The Ebap director: a central figure. We saw a problem first in 1960; and it was still there in 1962

The second clear problem was one of leadership at Ebap. As I reported above, Benedicto Silva had been the central figure in the planning for the school; and, as expected, he became its first director. He announced his resignation in 1958, to take effect in 1959. His official statement was that he felt it was time for a change.

While Benedicto revealed little of his real reasons for resigning, it is not hard to speculate on his frustrations. From the first day, Ebap had money problems. Conceived as a school that would attract an elite group of students bound for the public service, Ebap faced a quite different reality. The public service did not provide an attractive opportunity for employment of the best and brightest. It was not easy, in the first place, to get into the government through the *concurso* route. Beyond that, success did not bring much. The jobs were mainly part-time, paid very low salaries, and career advancement depended very little on merit. The best thing that could be it provided security and retirement at an early age.

Aside from the incentives of public employment, Ebap was not formally recognized as a university level program. It was not entirely clear what the degree meant in the work world.

The result was that attracting good students involved providing financial incentives. My recollection is that about 80% of Ebap's students were on scholarships. Agreements were made with several states to share in the financing of the stipends, but they did not honor their commitments. Ebap was left to find the money to finance this heavy burden. Much of its financing was expected to come from a federal appropriation, not from the revenues that came to the foundation as a matter of law. The Federal Legislature, however, seemed less than convinced of Ebap's value and cut its appropriations drastically each year. Benedicto Silva had to go to the foundation leadership and beg for money to deal with the shortfall in Ebap's income. It is not exactly what a proud man enjoys doing — and Benedicto Silva was a proud man. As

he is reported to have said on one occasion, "Students don't want excuses; they want money."

The chronic shortage of funds took much of the excitement from the leadership job. There was no money available for investment in ways that could have improved the performance of activities in which Ebap was already engaged. And certainly moving in new directions and addressing new opportunities was impossible. The job appeared to be basically one of holding the line.

Personally, Benedicto Silva was a highly intelligent man, spoke several languages, was well versed in classic public administration, and was a cosmopolitan. One could not imagine a person better suited to lead Ebap. Such personal qualities, however, did not necessarily mean that he was right to head an academic institution. His experience had been in bureaucracies, not in universities, which are notorious for their insistence on shared leadership. My own experience with him led me to believe he was a very critical person. If a member of his faculty did not measure up either in terms of intelligence, professional knowledge, or cosmopolitan outlook, my guess is that Silva quickly let that be known. Even though we had a pleasant personal relationship, I had the uneasy feeling that he did not think that I quite measured up to my responsibility. That might have been because he was about 15 years older than I, but the generation gap was even more pronounced with his new, younger faculty members. These kinds of interpersonal factors do not lead to easy relationships. I did not feel I would be comfortable as a faculty member under his leadership.

It has been reported by Silva de Carvalho that Benedicto Silva identified three people whom he thought were possible successors. He crossed out one, however, because he doubted that Simões Lopes would give his approval. Another was Lordello de Mello, who had, by this time, been on the Ebap faculty for about five years. But now he was leading the Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration and was dedicated to his work in local government. He refused to move to Ebap.

That left one viable candidate, Raul Jobin Bittencourt. He had taught history on a part-time basis since Ebap's beginning in 1952. But his professional preparation was in medicine, and he was a practicing psychoanalyst. He held senior positions in two universities and was well respected in academic circles. The problem was, however, that he had no conceivable tie to public administration. He really knew nothing about the field. Further, he had no English. While it should have been expected that US faculty would have command of Portuguese, such people could not be found in the US. This was a case where communication between the Brazilian leader and his advisers had to be conducted through an interpreter.

Even if Bittencourt had been more approachable and more of a public administration person, there is a question whether we had the right people to give him help. The early 1960s were times in the US when there were relatively few programs in public administration, and the number of faculty teaching in the field was limited. It is probable that our people in Brazil could have helped an individual construct and teach a specific course, but institution building was a new idea at the time. It involved the far tougher problem of identifying the ways in which Ebap could transact with its environment, per-

form services that could secure supports from critical sectors of that environment, and most certainly reach beyond the teaching activity into research, publications, and technical assistance. And, of course, the broad mission of Ebap was hard to achieve with a faculty that was part-time at best.

In any case Bittencourt's advisers were sitting a courtyard away from him with very little to do.

There was also the problem of the physical facility, to which I referred above. Professor Gable and I had no chance to interact with Ebap students, but we certainly were able to view the classrooms within which the learning was assumed to occur. They were in dreadful shape, with walls that needed painting, a diverse assortment of chairs badly in need of repair, and an absence of even satisfactory blackboards, much less any evidence of simple audio-visual equipment. The physical plant hardly merited the expenditure of large amounts of money in foreign advisory services.

The other part of the program financed by US Point Four did identify and send to the US a highly impressive group of future scholars, not only from Ebap but from the universities of Rio Grande do Sul and Bahia. But that aspect of the enterprise was only getting under way in 1960. It would be later before its contribution to a larger and more effective faculty cadre in public administration would be known.

Our report was carefully reviewed at the University of Southern California, and I think it had an effect on dean Reining's decision to go to Brazil as chief of the USC party for the academic year 1961/62. Reining had excellent relationships with key figures like Simões Lopes, and he was undoubtedly able to bring the problems of building Ebap as an institution to Simões Lopes' attention. Also, a person with whom he had been associated over the years was Beatriz Wahrlich, who was recognized as the outstanding expert on personnel in the Brazilian government.

But Reining's long history of involvement and close associations with key actors did not help much. The same old problems persisted.

Bittencourt had, however, been able to secure the legitimation of Ebap as an academic institution. It was a signal accomplishment and probably could have been done only by a person with his background and status.

6. A special little story about Bittencourt's proposal to include business in Ebap's mandate

Given recent changes, it is interesting that a proposal to include business in the Ebap program was made by Bittencourt nearly 35 years ago in his first statement to the faculty. He even proposed that the name of the school be changed to Ebape. The idea was embraced by Simões Lopes who was concerned with the education of administrators in both the public and private sectors.

At the end of 1960 Lordello de Mello was asked to study the possibility of adding business to the Ebap mandate. He recommended the addition of business and that a pilot program be inaugurated in 1961, with the full program to get under way in 1962. Bittencourt acted on this proposal, which was approved by the faculty, and appointed a person from the Catholic University to lead the effort. The appointment was unfortunate. The Catholic University had enjoyed a monopoly in the business administration field and was insistent that Ebap not become a compet-

itor. The new appointee resigned, with a good deal of controversy over his intentions, and there was heated debate on proper directions within Ebap itself. The move toward business died.

7. I arrive back in Rio in August 1962, and find little changed — But wait! Beatriz Wahrlich is in the wings and about to become director

When I came back to Rio in August 1962, succeeding Henry Reining as chief of the USC party, I found things little changed from 1960. I really wondered whether we could do much to help Ebap, and I found myself looking particularly to Rio Grande do Sul, where there appeared to be some real prospects that a dynamic program would develop. As might be anticipated, my contacts with Bittencourt were cordial and formal. I had been working on my Portuguese, but it was not good enough to engage him in any direct manner. My colleagues and I continued to sit in our offices.

Then, in early December 1962, Bittencourt announced his intention to resign. Simões Lopes quickly accepted his proposal to step down, and things became exciting at Ebap. Whereas the first two directors had received their appointments through the Vargas hierarchy, the process changed this time. It was the Ebap faculty who took the initiative. They proposed Beatriz Sousa Wahrlich for the directorship, a nomination which gained the rapid approval of Simões Lopes.

Things improved immensely with her assumption of the directorship. While the same old problems of high inflation, less than minimal salaries, and a wholly unsatisfactory physical structure persisted, there was new life and enthusiasm in the organization.

Perhaps most fundamentally, she brought commitment to the Ebap enterprise. Ebap was her highest — and, in some ways, her only — priority. Since she had other means, she was able to devote her full time to Ebap. That made a huge difference. She quickly became the stabilizing, integrating force in the system.

Having a person of dona Beatriz' reputation for quality and integrity at the head of Ebap also made a big difference. People knew that Ebap was a significant player in Brazilian government affairs simply because dona Beatriz was the director. Such close-in relations with its environment were critical to the future of Ebap, particularly in terms of its capacity to mobilize support and resources for its activities.

Dona Beatriz saw her leadership task as one of institution building. That meant moving Ebap beyond a limited teaching role in the system, gaining the resources and supports that would enable it to become a fully functioning organization with expanded responsibilities, and insuring the continuity of the enterprise.

The major, and perhaps most intractable, problem for Ebap was its inadequate salary structure, with the result that it was staffed by part-time professionals. The answer had to come from finding ways for staff members to do more things at Ebap and thus earn more money. The areas in which dona Beatriz sought expansion were ones fully compatible with the purposes of a learning organization, research and outreach services. As dona Beatriz sought ways to build a full-time staff, it can be said that Ebap became an entrepreneurial organization. No longer would the organization look only to Simões Lopes for

its financial support. It was recognized that there were other organizations in the immediate Ebap environment that had reason to value its existence and to benefit from its services.

To support the research function (and thus to supplement faculty salaries), dona Beatriz was able to secure a grant from the Ford Foundation. She was insistent, of course, that the Ford monies be used to fund solid research, not just to supplement salaries. Here she had a problem because there was no research tradition at Ebap. There had never been money to do more than pay for classroom services. No one really knew who among the faculty had research competencies and the self-discipline to take on individual projects. The leadership of this undertaking became a critical matter. As she surveyed her resources, dona Beatriz could identify only one person who she was sure would provide the required leadership. He was Lordello de Mello, who, as director of the Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration, was already over-burdened. But there was no way around it. He had to direct the research program at Ebap. My recollection is that dona Beatriz had to argue long and hard with him. In the end Lordello's commitment to Ebap and his affection for dona Beatriz caused him to agree to the assignment. Lordello got the program off to an excellent start; and I believe it was one of the most successful Ford projects in Brazil.

The other major effort occurred in technical assistance. It was hardly a time to launch such an undertaking. The hopes for a new day in Brazil had reached a peak with the election of Janio Quadros in 1960. But he was a major disappointment, proving to be a quirky and thoroughly unpredictable leader. He resigned after a year and João Goulart (Jango), his vice president, succeeded to power. Almost no one thought Jango was up to the job, and he was not. He was ousted in a military coup in 1964.

Though the governmental system was in obvious chaos in these times, dona Beatriz had no alternative but to launch Ebap's technical assistance effort. It would involve services to government agencies on a fully reimbursable basis. Again, the idea was that engagement in this kind of technical assistance would broaden the knowledge and experience of faculty members, feed into classroom instruction, and hopefully provide possibilities for research. Not unimportantly, the monies collected would further supplement faculty salaries, thus bringing more people into full-time service at Ebap. Though it was a very difficult time to launch such an undertaking, there were always a few agencies with a little money and a desperate need to get some help in performing critical functions. The Vargas Foundation did have a great reputation for integrity and quality; and thus Ebap derived status from its parent organization. An agreement could be made with Ebap without fear that it would be seen as another political move.

While agencies did not break down the doors to secure Ebap services, my recollection is that the technical assistance program almost immediately became viable and began to contribute both in making Ebap more visible in the larger government community and in bringing more people into the Ebap fold on a full-time basis. Armando Bergamini, one of the original eight who went to Los Angeles in 1952, was a major leader in this effort. He was more comfortable in this kind of activity than in the classroom, and so introduction of the technical assistance

program afforded him a major means to serve Ebap.

I remember observing the animated work of a technical assistance group under Bergamini's direction and feeling that it was certainly a new day for Ebap. The place was a beehive of activity. Ebap had truly become a learning organization.

In her institution-building efforts, dona Beatriz was not concerned only with the present day Ebap. Much of her thinking was directed toward the future. In that context she was anxious that there be an infusion of talented people in the academic cadre, at least some of whom would be potential directors. Honoring this commitment to the future was not easy, as Ebap was chronically short of fully qualified, committed staff. When a bright young person was sent off to Los Angeles for perhaps three years of doctoral study, a very definite loss was experienced at Ebap. Yet dona Beatriz never hesitated. The future came first. There were at least five people, whom she regarded as "her boys", who were dispatched to Los Angeles. I well remember how much faith she placed in them, and her eyes would brighten as she spoke of the "new day" they would bring to Ebap. Dona Beatriz certainly did have an eye for talent. All five of her people were bright, disciplined, and excellent scholars. I know four of them received their doctorates and the fifth should have, if he did not.

The sad thing is that only one of them, Paulo Vieira, fulfilled dona Beatriz' dreams. None of the others spent a substantial portion of their careers at Ebap. But perhaps one in five is all dona Beatriz could have realistically expected. Certainly Vieira has contributed magnificently to Ebap and includes in his resume service as its director. My recollection is that Paulo got his degree and returned to Brazil in 1967. Thus he has posted 35 years of service since earning his doctorate and continues as a full-time member of the faculty.

When I left my assignment as director of the USC project in Brazil in the latter days of 1963, I felt a great deal of satisfaction. Dona Beatriz had truly turned things around, and our small staff of US advisers had made at least a small contribution to that effort.

8. Some fond memories

I took with me some very fond memories.

There were the very close and special relationships with Lordello de Mello and with Beatriz Wahrlich, as well as a warm association with Luis Simões Lopes.

There was the time, in 1963, when we gathered on the unfinished first floor of the present foundation building to celebrate Simões Lopes' 60th birthday. The location was absolutely critical to the birthday celebration because I doubt there was anything more important to Simões Lopes than completing the building. It's questionable though, whether anyone but Simões Lopes thought we would live long enough to see the building completed. Money was really tight, and it seemed as if no progress was being made. But Simões Lopes' optimism was well founded. The structure was finished within his lifetime.

While it does not tie directly to public administration, I also cherish a relationship that came about through Ebap. Maurício Nabuco, member of a distinguished Brazilian family, worked closely with Simões Lopes in the early years of the Vargas dictatorship to develop a professional, merit-based civil service. It was my great fortune that Simões Lopes introduced me

to the aging Nabuco. My wife and I were invited to his house, and we interacted with him on several occasions. He was a thoroughly delightful man, a raconteur, and extremely cosmopolitan. It was fun to talk with him because you felt that you were experiencing the classic Brazilian culture. Not the least of the experiences with Nabuco were visits to his house, which was situated in Botafogo, close to the Vargas Foundation. In many ways it was like being transported back in time when well-to-do Cariocas lived in private, single-family homes, not in apartments. His house was quite special because it was one of the few left. It was simple but spacious, with wonderful ventilation. You had the feeling you could survive a Rio summer in that house.

I particularly remember a couple of experiences when at Ebap.

One involved Alberto Guerreiro Ramos, whom I did not know when I was on assignment in 1962/63 and encountered only after I returned for a brief visit following the coup of 1964. The reason I did not meet Ramos earlier, though he was a member of the Ebap faculty, was because he was a leftist member of the Labor Party and also sat in the Brazilian Parliament. The ideological lines were so drawn that people like Ramos were unwilling to have any dealings with people like me. I have to say that I respected the demarcation and found myself more comfortable with less ideological people like Lordello and Beatriz.

With the coup Guerreiro was removed from Parliament, lost his political rights for 20 years, and was forced out of his job at Ebap. But he was not completely bereft. It is a wonderful thing about Brazil, and I think relatively rare in the world, that friends do not forget friends. The Ford grant served a wonderful purpose because it enabled Lordello to award Guerreiro a stipend to do research and write a book on administrative development, with particular reference to Brazil. Lordello was not acting alone; I am sure that he had the support of both Simões Lopes and Beatriz Wahrlich. All three were behaving in accord with their culture. Friends do not forget friends. And it is also okay for people to think differently.

On my visit in the middle of 1964, I remember talking with Guerreiro about his research and becoming very excited about him as a person, as well as his research. There was a feeling of sadness, and a sense of failure, that I had not had close contact with him when I was in Brazil. Unfortunately, the ideological lines were tightly drawn, on both sides, in those days. They were silly. It turned out that Guerreiro and I had a lot in common. We liked each other.

Before Guerreiro's book had been published, a move was already under way to bring him to the University of Southern California to serve as a professor on a temporary basis. (The book, *Administracão e estratégia do desenvolvimento*, was published by the Getulio Vargas Foundation in June 1966.) With the Ford grant expiring, he was facing tough times in Brazil. The appointment in Los Angeles was originally seen as a means of giving him and his family a couple of years to get things together and to shape a new life, perhaps in the US or elsewhere. It turned out, however, that Guerreiro was such a massive intellect, with such a rich world knowledge, that he rather soon was accorded permanent faculty status. He joined the faculty in 1966 and never left. Very sadly, he died of cancer about 10 years later. I think he was 65. One of my fondest memories was his celebrating his 63rd birthday with Susie and

me in Washington, D.C. He was a thoroughly stimulating and exciting person.

The second experience also involves unpredictable contacts at Ebap. As I have noted, the ideological lines were tightly drawn. Whether they were leftists or communists, I don't know; but it was quite clear that the Ebap student body had little love for the US. That isn't to say that students were uninterested in North America; but affection for the US was another matter. That reality, plus the fact that none of us was sufficiently fluent in Portuguese to have a real classroom interaction, meant that we had virtually no association with Ebap students.

It was a surprise, then, when two Ebap undergraduates showed up in our offices and said they wanted to talk with me. We did meet; and, while I have no recollection of the conversation itself. I do remember it was reasonably animated, with one of the two functioning as leader. He had excellent command of English, as well as American slang. The other was more reserved and a little less sure of his English. We met several times after that, and I really appreciated my contact with real, live Ebap undergraduates. I did wonder, though, how typical they were of their class.

My conclusion now is that they were not typical. They were very special people. Their names were Rogério Feital Pinto and Paulo Roberto Motta. Both went on to earn doctor's degrees, Paulo Roberto at the University of North Carolina and Rogério at the University of Southern California.

As you know, Paulo Roberto returned to Ebap, where he has performed distinguished service both as director and as professor.

Rogério went on to an impressive career in international public administration, over a period of more than 30 years. He first worked with the Organization of American States. For the last decade or more, he has been a consultant with the World Bank, serving primarily in Africa.

9. Conclusion

As I conclude this recitation of earlier times at Ebap, I realize how important the association has been to me. It has always been a delight to come back to Rio, partake of a beautiful city, and see old friends. Institutions come and go, of course. One hopes they will have an immortality, but they often do not. For me, however, Ebap will always be a live, vital organization with dona Beatriz at its helm. That is the beauty of old age. Memories much more easily become the reality.

I am pleased that I will be in Rio for the 50th anniversary celebration, in part because Ebap has become a mature organization, performing services throughout Brazil, and with the capacity to facilitate the learning of major parts of the country's population. And all within the context of enabling the society better to manage its opportunities and resources, public and private. I can't think of a more important mission. Simões Lopes and Beatriz Wahrlich would have loved to witness this event. You can be sure they will be doing so through me. While I was not close to Benedicto Silva, he will also be seeing this grand occasion through my eyes. These three deserve a prominent place in Ebap's pantheon of heroes.

And I hope it goes without saying that Diogo Lordello de Mello richly deserves all the recognition he will be accorded at this anniversary celebration. He reflects the very best of the 50 years of Ebap and Ebape.