

CHAPTER VIII

ATMOSPHERE AND MANNERS

THE DETAILS OF how people in a profession behave make them more real and comprehensible. They become life-size. These small habits vary a bit from one department to another, and what I have to say will not be true of everyone or everybody. Indeed one of the things one notices if one changes one's department is the number of small differences of atmosphere and style. When a new department is formed by drafting in civil servants from perhaps two or three older ones, the streams of habit tend to run side by side for a year or so, until one of them gradually predominates. Some departments, for instance, such as the Treasury, file each paper about a given subject below the last so that the file can be read continuously like a book. Others file letters and memoranda on the right of the folder, and on the left the minutes commenting on each. Others again arrange their files so that the latest paper is always on top, which means that the history has to be read in the reverse order of a book. This chapter is about civil service habits. Some, but not all of these apply more in the London Ministries.

Civil servants are great abbreviators. It used to be the custom—still perhaps is—in some departments, to write 'Lay by' on a file that was no longer needed; but the more usual symbol for this is 'P.A.', standing for 'put away'. 'B.F.', followed by a date or period signifies that the file is to be brought forward to be looked at again, and can be elaborated into such a minute as 'B.F. one month to Mr So and So'. Other

hieroglyphics are 'K.I.V.' for 'keep in view', 'O.R.' meaning 'on return' and 'N.F.A.' meaning 'no further action'. So that one can get a minute which is almost in code :

Mr Jenkins (O.R.)

We sp. N.F.A. now but pl. K.I.V.

A.B. 29.4.65

In some Departments there are scores of contractions for longish words and phrases in common use, such as ⊙ for a circular, 'i.p.' for 'insured person'. As a result many minutes on case-files would be virtually unintelligible to a stranger, though the language is pretty quickly acquired, and by using it an officer can get through perhaps half as many routine files again than if he wrote at length on each one. But although 'please' is often contracted, as in my example above, it is rarely omitted, and the one-word minute 'Thankyou' is a very common acknowledgment by a senior for a report on completed action or a piece of information from lower down the line. This is not mere formality. It means the senior has read and agrees with it. In fact these minutes are not unlike the well-known communication between the two Quakers, one writing to the other from America for news about England. His letter ran :

Friend,

?

and the reply was,

Friend,

o

A minute may be a direction or an expression of view, but the choice of language in it is for the civil servant who signs it. The minuting on a file is thus the internal discussion of the problem, and is distinct from the memoranda, notes, and

letters which represent the department's corporate efforts at each stage. With a memorandum the draft will be opened and then passed round and up the office. Successive alterations and corrections and amplifications and deletions get made until it emerges in a fair copy as the expression of the whole department's views and experience. The scanning of drafts, and the ability to make the minimum alteration required to bring them more exactly into line with the wider horizon of a more senior official without wasting work already done, is an art learned by seeing how a file has developed after it has returned to the man who opened the original draft.

The deletion of words 'put up' by a subordinate, and the substitution of others is an accepted part of civil service life. But it is very rare for a whole draft to be discarded, if the writer has any experience. An experienced and courteous superior who finds himself in total disagreement will more commonly write what he describes as an alternative draft and send it forward saying he prefers it.

Another labour-saving habit is to mark significant passages in the margin of a long document—often with capital letters—and then use these as pegs for comment which will then run, perhaps, 'I agree with X, but doubt if we should proceed now with Y'; or 'Mr So and So, I should be grateful if you would act as at Z of your minute'.

Although there is no offence in simply deleting or altering material put up by one grade to the one above it in a direct chain of responsibility, there is a great deal where a draft is sent by one official to another in a separate area of responsibility for comment from a different point of view. In such cases the comments will either be written out as a separate letter or minute, or, at the very most, pencilled in as tentative changes. This may seem a rather elaborate distinction, but it reflects one of the most important aspects of civil service life: the

separation of responsibilities. When one moves from one chain of responsibilities to another, rank and hierarchy cease to count. At a meeting a Principal from one responsibility counts as much as an Under-secretary from another. While meetings and correspondence between civil servants tend to be carried on at 'levels' (that is one rank corresponds with others of equal rank), this is far from being the inflexible rule it once was.

An immense amount of the work of the Civil Service is done by word of mouth, and the conference table in the corner of a civil servant's room is as much his workbench as his desk is. On the whole, civil servants are extremely accessible to one another, and it is unknown to knock on a door in the Civil Service, however grand the official on the other side of it. Those of Assistant Secretary rank and above have secretaries (called 'personal assistants') who usually sit in a connecting room through which visitors come. But even at the highest ranks interruption is always accepted (on the ground that it is never frivolously sought) unless there are other visitors actually in the room or the heat is really on.

'Room', rather than office is the word a civil servant uses for the space he actually occupies. 'Office' tends to be used for the whole building in which he works. He very often calls his desk a 'table', though this oddity, along with the description of a cupboard as a 'press' is gradually dying out. 'Bag' is the way he refers to his rather bulky briefcase, which is easily big enough to hold several fat volumes or the requirements of a country weekend trip.

Sometimes papers are circulated in locked briefcases, known then, for some reason as 'pouches'; but for the circulation of secret and confidential papers from one ministry to another the Civil Service employs what are called, and literally are, boxes. These are of various design, but usually coffin-shaped

and about eighteen inches long, with a brass handle set in the top. They are covered in brightly coloured leather, on which is embossed the name of the department. The personal boxes of ministers are covered in scarlet; those of the Treasury and the Cabinet Office are black. Most other departments have green boxes. Each box belongs to a 'suite' controlled by the Private Secretary of the Minister concerned, and the same key will open any box in a given suite. A box will be addressed to a key-holding official by a cardboard label which protrudes between the lid and the box, and is held there by two metal teeth set in the edge of the box, so that when the box is closed the label cannot be changed or removed (short of tearing it off and leaving a tell-tale piece inside the box). When the addressee has dealt with the contents of the box he crosses out his name on the cardboard label, and reverses it so that the other end protrudes to show the name of the office to which the box is to be returned. These boxes appear in pictures going back to the time of the Younger Pitt, and must be among the oldest-fashioned objects in everyday civil service use. Because they are so bulky and conspicuous they are exceptionally secure.

It used to be the custom, and may still be, that a box was made specially for each Royal Commission for the keeping of its confidential papers; and this ultimately became the perquisite—almost the only one in the Civil Service—of the Commission's secretary. Such boxes can still be seen on the side-tables of senior civil servants, rather like the hunting trophies of a gun-room.

In writing to one another officially, civil servants address one another by surnames and sign themselves 'yours sincerely'. This is done even by a civil servant who has never met or dealt with his correspondent before. Titles and distinctions

of all sorts, whether earned or inherited, are ignored, except as between the sexes. Thus a woman civil servant writing to a man will begin 'Dear Mr So and So', or 'Dear Sir George', and he, in replying will write 'Dear Miss (or Mrs) So and So' or 'Dear Dame Nancy'. Most civil service correspondence is now in this informal style, and the old kind of letter, known as a 'cocked hat', which began 'Sir, I am directed by . . .' and ended 'I am, Sir, your obedient Servant' is now discontinued as between civil servants. It is also virtually obsolete between the Civil Service and the public, having been finally reduced to ridicule, perhaps, by the letter in this style drafted by a disgruntled civil servant who had been told to draw it up in words of one syllable, and took the instruction literally. He began, 'My Lords have told me', and ended (he was a Treasury Official), 'Should you doubt this you ought to get one of the works on wealth which are to be had at small cost if room can be found in the Vote to buy it.'

Since this is rather a digressive chapter I now turn to the subject of tea, which civil servants are famous for being fond of. So, I suppose, are other desk workers, though for some reason there are no jokes about it. It is undoubtedly the case that civil servants drink a great deal of tea—most of them at least twice a day, once in the middle of the morning, and once in the middle of the afternoon. If a committee is sitting at eleven in the morning or three thirty in the afternoon tea will be brought in, and usually a biscuit as well. The tea comes to be made in various ways. In some offices it is brought round on trolleys, in others it is made by messengers on a private enterprise basis. In some offices the tea in the afternoon is drunk by a branch or division together in the room of one member of the branch. Quite important discussions can take place at these 'tea-clubs', which for a quarter of an

hour or so bring together all the ranks engaged on a particular set of duties. The tea is not supplied by the government, nor is the crockery, except for meetings where visitors from outside the department are present.

West End leather arm-chair clubs also figure in civil service life, though possibly to a decreasing extent: canteens improve, the opportunities for a long lunch-break diminish, and important offices are moved away from Westminster. It is, perhaps paradoxically, the quiet rather than the company of their clubs that draws many senior civil servants to them. For a working lunch the meal is good without being grand, conversation can be heard at one's own table (but not at the next) and it is all fairly cheap—civil servants, of course, have no allowance for this sort of purpose. But the solitary luncher, away from the telephone and the pressure, looking at the weeklies, is a very common sight in the clubs most frequented by civil servants, and it is probably for this quiet interval that many of them cling to membership of the Pall Mall palaces. On the whole those who belong to clubs tend to congregate in three or four where the membership is professional rather than smart: the Social Service Departments at the Oxford and Cambridge; the Revenue Departments and the Treasury at the Reform. But it does not matter now, if it ever did, to a civil servant's prospects, whether he belongs to a club or not.

It is comparatively uncommon, indeed, for civil servants to take business lunches, either with one another or with people outside the service. Of course they often discuss business over their lunches in canteens and messes, but the more elaborate affair at which some proposition is hatched is not part of the ordinary method of work. Perhaps this is because civil servants are always wary about being talked into anything while they are accepting hospitality; perhaps it is because they have

to pay themselves for what they eat. The fact remains that when two civil servants lunch out together their object is mainly social—they may be old friends anyway, or new colleagues who want to get to know one another better. In either case they will probably talk a good deal of shop, but shop is not the same thing as business.

The office festivities of civil servants are very much like those of other office workers. They celebrate Christmas at a series of Branch and Divisional parties that start early in December. A colleague transferring elsewhere, or a woman colleague getting married, are always good for a party, and a retirement is the occasion for a solemn assembly, with speeches and a presentation. I have heard some remarkably good speeches on retirement from men I would never have imagined as orators. Speeches charged, very often, with real emotion and much wisdom.

Many are the stories told on these occasions by older civil servants about how the service has grown less formal since they first joined it; and I sometimes think that the public picture of the Civil Service, like its picture of prisons and schools, is subject to a time-lag of fifty years or so. Convicts do not wear broad arrows, schoolmasters rarely wear gowns and never mortar-boards. But they are very often drawn in these costumes. The civil servant does not wear a stick-up collar, and few pinstripes are seen in Whitehall today. It is much more likely that the newcomer will be puzzled by an informality and lack of apparent rules, than that he will be oppressed by stiffness and stuffiness. He will not, for instance, know how to address his superiors. 'Sir' is certainly not right, and although Christian names come pretty fast, they do not come at once. At meetings it is easier, because surnames are still usual, except for Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, who are addressed by the names of their jobs, like clergymen.

So far I have been trying to sketch details which are pretty well common to the service as a whole. But as I began by saying each department has a slightly different atmosphere derived partly from the sort of business it does, partly from the outlook of its most senior officers, partly from history, and partly as a result of the building it occupies. A building can be terribly important in setting the style of its inhabitants. The Treasury, with its vast corridors, some of them describing impressive circles round courtyards, and vaulted in a slightly cloistral manner, is a bit like an aquarium. The rooms are high, the furniture, much of it, Victorian. The Home Office also has high rooms and Victorian furniture, but the pavements of the book-lined corridors are tessellated, with occasional show-cases containing medals and trophies. The general effect is more that of a swimming bath. There are plans for both these interesting but obsolete and wasteful buildings to disappear. The Ministry of Defence has a huge entrance hall with elaborate light-metal doors and some modern statuary. The corridors have a sleek, efficient air about them, and the lifts (unlike those of the Treasury, which are tiny, with varnished wooden doors) are automatic, with flickering lights and chiming bells.

The Board of Inland Revenue, with some smaller partners, occupies Somerset House, which was built towards the end of the eighteenth century under an Act of Parliament, specifically to house the then baby-sized Civil Service. As a result the Registrar General, who is responsible for the census, has one of the most beautiful ceilings in London to look at; so have the Commissioners of Inland Revenue when they assemble in their Board Room. The Department of Education and Science, on the other hand, though it has a very good address in Mayfair, occupies an extremely poky building, fortified during the last war on its ground floors for some

reason, and with entrances which are very difficult to find. The Ministry of Labour, another Department with a very good address (St James's Square) is rather similar.

The Ministry of Health has a skyscraper at the Elephant and Castle, from the top of which the Permanent Secretary, in his pent-house office, can survey a new London rising from the debris of the old. A few offices—notably the Customs and the National Assistance Board—are in or very near the City. Only two other large ones, apart from the Ministry of Health, are south of the river. One is the Department responsible for all public buildings, the Ministry of Public Building and Works. It houses itself in what must be one of the ugliest blocks in England, a vast squat pile crouching just on the south side of Lambeth Bridge. The other is the Ministry of Transport.

The most gracious of all the Whitehall offices is undoubtedly Dover House, where the London end of the Scottish Office is established. Since the numbers are small, and there is a large proportion of ministers and senior officials among them, this former town house of the Earls of Dover, backing on to the House Guards parade from Whitehall is exactly right though unusual. But the oddest building in the Whitehall complex is probably the ramshackle but rather charming row known as Richmond Terrace, whose eight former town houses have been knocked into a single labyrinth of twisting passages and oddly shaped rooms. These have housed all sorts of offices in their time—the Reconstruction Secretariat that worked on the Beveridge Social Security Scheme, various parts of the Treasury, the Office of the Minister for Science, and now portions of the Department of Education and Science.

A civil servant will have many removals in his career. His effects will be packed up (some departments use hampers,

others cardboard boxes) and for a day or two he will exist in chaos, unable to find files or colleagues, cut off from the telephone, dusty and unhappy. But the interruption is brief. Very quickly the basic tools of his trade—table, chair, pen, paper, and phone, take shape and he is transacting public business again. The real atmosphere in the air of all public offices is one of continuity, of a ceaseless flow which will not end with an individual or a building.

CHAPTER IX

OUT OF THE OFFICE

GOING ABROAD AND going home are two things that everyone who works likes to do. For the civil servant there is a strong contrast between the two. When he goes abroad on a job he is on duty pretty well all the time, whether he is at the conference table or an evening party. When he goes home from the office—allowing for the fact that he may take a bag of work or a headful of revolving ideas away with him—he can if he wishes close the doors of his private life completely behind him.

Even in the home-based Civil Service there is now a good deal of work abroad. Some departments have a network of overseas posts. The Board of Trade maintains Trade Commissioner offices in most major countries in the world, to foster British commerce. Most administrative officials in that department can expect to serve a three-year 'tour' at one of these posts, where some executives and clericals are also required. The Ministry of Labour has a number of Labour Attachés abroad who report on industrial relations in the countries where they are stationed, and the Department of Education and Science has a similar corps of Scientific Attachés, who are drawn from the Scientific Civil Service. The Treasury also has several permanent stations abroad.

Often the overseas work of home ministries is concerned with the various international agencies: the Treasury men abroad, for instance, are delegates to standing international finance bodies such as the International Monetary Fund. The

Ministry of Labour is concerned with the International Labour Organization; the Ministry of Overseas Development with U.N.E.S.C.O. and the Food and Agriculture Organization; the Ministry of Health with the World Health Organization. These bodies, of course, need temporary delegations on particular subjects, as well as permanent delegates.

For as a permanent delegate, during a tour of, say, three years, life is not unlike life in the Diplomatic Service, with which, of course, one works closely. One sets up house, brings one's family, and becomes generally established in the British community wherever one happens to be. The temporary visit overseas is rather different. There are some specialists even in visiting, but often an expert has to sandwich one visit lasting two or three days into a year of home-based work.

There are a great many reasons for sending officials abroad, and I doubt if there is a single major department that does not sometimes need to do so. I will give some examples in a moment. But I have never come across a case where a great deal of work was not expected in return for the fare. Travel broadens experience, and one of the reasons for sending an official abroad may be to enable him to learn how other people tackle a problem he is faced with in England. We are much more conscious than we used to be that we can learn from foreigners. There are even a certain number of overseas fellowships for which civil servants can compete, giving a year's study leave in the United States or some other countries. But on the whole, although civil servants usually go abroad with a slight feeling of guilt at being away from their desks, and the words 'swanning about' are heard from time to time, the day abroad is packed fuller than the day at the office. Even more to the point, as I have said above, is the fact that when one is abroad officially one is never completely off duty.

A very common reason for a foreign visit is to find out facts at first hand. This is probably the most satisfying kind of visit. It may be in Scandinavia, or it may be in Italy: one is making contact with people doing a similar job and finding out how they tackle it in its different context. Difficulties that seem enormous in England may seem quite trivial to one's overseas opposite number, and things we find easy may seem to him impossible. This fact-finding work is not merely educational. Often it is combined with another reason for going abroad: negotiation. Before one can negotiate between two systems, the representatives of each must understand the situation of the other.

At any moment of time there are hundreds of international negotiations going on in Europe alone. Most of them are not about peace and war, but concern much more commonplace things such as the terms on which visitors from one country can rely on another country's welfare services; or international telephone wires; or the control of infectious diseases; or collaboration in science and technology; or customs duties; or how far one country is willing to forego taxing someone on income already taxed in another country. All negotiations of this kind must be carried on by administrators who really know the system in their own countries, whether it be National Insurance, the Telephone Service, Port Health, Government Science, Customs, or Income Tax. The time has long passed when this sort of work could be done by professional diplomatists. They are now primarily concerned with what such negotiations mean for international relationships in general, and they come in at the end if there is an agreement to be signed by the Governments of the countries involved. But the actual contents and text of an agreement is for the experts from the ministry that understand the subject.

So there are in Europe, and in the world as a whole, gradually growing up, international groups of specialist officials on nearly every governmental subject. They know one another and one another's systems. Just as there is a republic of music and a republic of letters, there are smaller, less picturesque republics of telecommunications, police, pest control, and the suppression of drug trafficking.

Many of these contacts are what is called in the jargon 'bilateral': that is, two sided. Many more are multilateral, bringing in a number of nations. Multilateral agreements are settled at conferences which are either specially convened or sponsored by one of the international organizations, which cover a great many subjects, from refrigeration to whale hunting and the exploration of space.

The typical conference does not last long—perhaps three or four days. It may or may not aim at producing a new international agreement in a formal sense, but readiness even to go on studying a question is very often a form of agreement. If the conference is a large gathering, like the annual conference of the I.L.O. at Geneva, or of U.N.E.S.C.O. in Paris, the full body may meet only for an opening and a closing session. The main work will be done by committees, whose resolutions will be put to the full conference for adoption. Outside the Committees informal discussions will be going on, and these will often be carried into the evening parties which are usually given. A good deal of the actual writing has to be done in hotel bedrooms late at night. This illustrates what I mean in saying that one is rarely off duty on these occasions.

For a major negotiation, such as the negotiation for the British entry into the Common Market a few years ago, a special organization may well be created, both in the field (in the case of the Common Market this was at Brussels) and

in Whitehall. This strong 'home' committee of officials, served by an ad hoc secretariat will keep all the government departments concerned in touch with one another and with the delegation abroad. The people concerned, from the senior officials down to the clerical officers and typists, will be specially detached from their normal jobs for the purpose, and the detachment may last several months.

Another, rather different reason for travelling is to give expert advice to a foreign or commonwealth government. This is a major part of the work of the Ministry of Overseas Development, whose advice is on many different topics—locusts, bilharzia, how to set up a civil service commission, a post office savings bank, or an old age pensions scheme. The expert operates here on his own as a professional man. He may be a scientist, or a doctor, or a general administrator. He is not negotiating or selling anything, but offers his experience and skill as a British official to the overseas government. I knew a silver-haired deputy accountant general once who completely overhauled the financial system of a South American republic.

Private office staff are often called on to travel with their minister abroad. The reason why they go is often not fully understood. The private secretary who goes with a minister is, of course, responsible for the travel arrangements themselves, for the cars meeting trains or aircraft, for the minister's engagement book while on tour, for contact with British officials on the spot. But he is also the link by which the minister, if he is to be away for any length of time, keeps in touch with urgent affairs at home. The work of the office must go on, and it is sometimes necessary to run what amounts to a small travelling office—an extension of the minister's private office in London, to deal with this.

It seems to me likely that in coming years the sorts of

international work I have been describing will develop further. Just as the Whitehall Ministries have been drawn together by the way their problems overlap, and the different kinds of specialists find themselves sitting side by side, so the nations are drawn together by the complex problems that affect them all. This does not mean that every civil servant can expect to go abroad in future, but rather more will do so than in the past.

Most countries use their diplomatic and international contacts as a kind of shop window, and there is still a certain amount of tinsel in international meetings. It is rather like air travel. One is treated more formally than if one were travelling by bus. So men who at home lead quiet and even modest lives may temporarily find themselves in surroundings which are traditional for ambassadors and their staffs. There is still a floweriness and formality between nations that is absent from ordinary civil service work. But the experienced negotiator will often get beneath these skins. The less experienced should be careful not to be carried away by it. There are two useful rules: never try to negotiate in a foreign language, however well you think you speak it; and never enter into competition with Bulgarians in the drinking of vodka, however genially the offer is made.

Most civil servants have left their offices by six in the evening. Some stay till seven. The silence of the telephone and the absence of visitors may tempt a few to tackle a piece of work needing real concentration and stay till eight. A good deal of work—most of it reading matter—is taken home by the more senior. But the office does not reach out into the domestic and private lives of civil servants, as some private companies in America are said to do. And although the atmosphere varies from department to department, there is on the whole

none of that enforced 'togetherness' which some occupations have. There is much to take part in, but failure to take part is no sin. Social life—even the organized social life of the office—has very little to do with office life.

All Departments have what is called a Social and Sports Council, in which the innumerable 'club' activities of the staff are organized. With so many people it is possible to have a tremendous range of these, from rugby football and ju-jitsu to chess and madrigals. Many Departments have an elaborate sports day, with cups and shields run and jumped and even shot for; and there is interdepartmental sport as well. The interdepartmental chess championship is, as might be expected, of a high standard. But a great many civil servants take their pleasures quite independently, and come across colleagues with surprise when off duty.

Among the many recreations of civil servants there are two which, somehow, are characteristic. One is music. Choral and instrumental music seems to make a great appeal to officials, especially those of the Treasury and the Board of Trade, who both have notable choirs. But I knew a man in the Ministry of Pensions who was an oracle on the subject of insurability by day, and one of the leading English experts on the madrigal by night. There is something in music which at the same time contrasts with the work civil servants have to do, and satisfies the kind of mind that is able to do civil service work. It brings both relief and satisfaction.

The other is gardening. In spring the sombre porches of the Treasury in Great George Street are ablaze with oblong boxes of bedding plants. This is the stock of the Treasury Horticultural Society for sale, and in the lunch-hour the place resembles a market. In June and July many ministry basements are filled with prize beans and delicate arrangements of herbs in tiny vases, for the annual competition. One

civil servant I know has written a best-seller about roses; another used to grow his own tobacco and bury his worn-out clothes to improve the texture of his soil. Five acres was the area cultivated by the Permanent Secretary of a department in which I once served. He specialized in sweet peas and kept himself in vegetables. He was seen at least once slipping into the office with a sack of seed potatoes over his shoulder.

There are, of course, civil servants who see a lot of each other out of the office; and it is a feature of these friendships that friends can have been on two opposite sides of an official argument in which one has been worsted, and yet display no scars of wounded pride or pique. Departmental arguments can be heated and bitterly prolonged, but they are professional. It is not often that one contestant bears the other a grudge. They know that fate may have them fighting from opposite corners in the next match.

But on the whole civil servants do not talk much about business, even to one another, when they meet out of the office. It is part of the detachment which goes with the profession. This does not mean that a civil servant does not sometimes have warm views on all kinds of issues—political, social, and moral. Quite the opposite. He is able to do so by confining them to his private life, and excluding them from his official acts. Those acts do not, of course, necessarily conform with what he thinks his superiors would like to hear—the advice he gives must be the product of his own judgment; but equally they must not be biased by his personal inclinations, feelings, or prejudices. This, much more than any rules imposed from above, is the discipline of the Civil Service.

A few words should be said about honours. The subject is often misunderstood. Until fairly recent times honours were given primarily for service to the state—whether this service was political, military, or official. A tradition grew up that in

the public services a certain seniority in a certain rank carried a certain honour. Gradually the principle on which honours are given has changed and the emphasis is now on service to society as a whole, not just to the apparatus of the state. The two are different, though perhaps not so clearly separate as they once were. But the practical effect is that since honours must be limited if they are to be valued, and the limited number must be spread over a far wider field, the honours for the domestic civil service are far fewer. They are in consequence more highly valued.

The more modest honours—I.S.O., M.B.E., B.E.M.—especially are now marks either of some piece of outstanding work or of exceptionally long meritorious service. I do not suppose that anyone today is tempted to join the Civil Service by the prospect of letters after his name. But if there are any such, they are under a wholly false impression, which should at once be discarded.

I have tried to show that it is not easy to follow the civil servant into private life. He is not gregarious in any very obvious way. There are no local civil service circles as there are miners' lodges or branches of the B.M.A. His private world is very much what he wishes to make of it in his own neighbourhood; and even his wife is unlikely to be troubled with accounts of what old so and so said in the office or how her husband triumphed or would have triumphed if things had gone just a little differently. A wise civil servant has something in his life besides his official work on which to engage himself.

CONCLUSION: CREDITS AND DEBITS

THIS CHAPTER IS an attempt to list the qualities that go to make a happy, reasonably successful civil servant; and the disadvantages that one must accept, along with the many advantages, if one decides to take up civil service life. The two—credits and debits—go together, because to some kinds of personality the disadvantages of civil service life are not really disadvantages at all. To others they are, or may be frustrations, so it is just as well to take them into account in advance. Of course there is room for all kinds of character in the Civil Service, from the buccaneer to the curate, so I am not trying to describe a particular type or pattern of character in what follows. I have merely touched on some features one needs. Many of them can be acquired by habit.

I would rate companionableness very high. In the course of almost any civil service career one has to work intimately, often under conditions of difficulty and pressure, with all kinds of people. And when I say 'work with' I mean not only as a member of a team on a specific project, but with civil servants outside one's own team, whose interest in one's problem may not be at all the same as one's own. To differ amicably, while keeping to one's viewpoint and striving to find the reconciling answer, is most important. Whatever kind of work is in hand, it often has to be carried forward in ways which formal and stiff people find troublesome; the professional techniques often are, and must be, brought to bear in short meetings of a few people—hardly more than

conversations—or in brief notes, rather than in elaborate committees and long, solemn memoranda.

Equal in importance with companionableness I would put adaptability of mind. This comes in in many ways. Civil servants with a broad span of responsibility very rarely have a day free from interruptions, during which they can concentrate on one particular problem. The file for next week has to be laid aside in favour of the file for tomorrow; and that in turn for the file demanded before lunch. Colleagues will come in unheralded and expect to have their business attended to—for it is understood that except for very senior officials indeed formal appointments do not need to be made if there is something urgent to discuss. If it is not visitors, it is the telephone. So for many officials, the mind must be capable of constant switching from one subject to another, and going into top gear at once.

There is another, deeper reason, for saying flexibility of mind is important for civil servants. Very often, whether he likes it or not, a civil servant has to change his way of thinking about a problem. After long effort and study he may have arrived at what he regards as a correct solution: it fits in every respect; he has convinced his senior colleagues and his opposite numbers in other departments; he sees in his mind's eye exactly how the thing should be done. Then something happens—a political change, a financial crisis, a decision on some totally different question—which has the unexpected effect of blocking his favoured plan. He is back at his desk with orders to find another solution.

The experienced civil servant will therefore avoid deep personal commitment to one particular solution, however good it seems. He will always foresee, in supporting the solution he thinks best, that some other possibilities are also there. Circumstances change suddenly, the gentlemen in Whitehall

and public opinion do not always see eye to eye, what seems second best to the expert may none the less seem better to other people because it is more easily understood, because it can be done more quickly, or for a thousand other reasons: and it is with other people's business, not his own, that the civil servant is always concerned. Decisions cannot be put off until all obstacles to perfection have been removed, and the temporary, the transitional, the highest common factor of agreement at any one time, is something the civil servant often has to work with. As we all know, the highest common factor of a set of large figures is often a very small quantity indeed.

This does not mean that intellectual convictions have to be changed; but that the mind must be capable of detaching itself from them, and working out how best to do what may well seem second best. The only consolation is that since there is almost never finality in any serious question, the wheel may once again turn towards the solution that had to be discarded for the time being. But just because there is finality so rarely, the civil servant should beware of getting into a position that depends on it.

Flexibility of mind, I suppose, is very close to patience, which is another of the civil service virtues. Impatience, of course, is also a virtue when it is directed against abuses, inefficiency, or wrongdoing. But patience—in the sense I am using the word—does not mean simply putting up with the undesirable. It is willingness to look at all sides of a thing, and not just at one of them; to try to worry some kind of sense out of an ill-written letter from an obscure old-age pensioner; to make sure that the arrangements he is making for members of the public to do something deal not only with the obvious cases, but are really watertight, so that someone born of stateless parents on a Japanese ship in Panamanian territorial waters knows how they apply to him. Above all patience is

putting up with inevitable frustrations and not losing nerve, temper, or sense of purpose.

Which brings one, naturally, to persistence. It is, if you like, the other side of the medal from the flexibility just discussed. But not its opposite. The two go together, and can always be combined. The civil servant needs to be able to keep up pressure on himself, his subordinates if he has any, his colleagues and his superiors; and in trying to reconcile the various bits of each puzzle he is set, he must judge, and then observe, whatever limits of discretion that have been given to him. Sometimes these are not laid down from above, but are only implied, so that judgment on one's sticking point—the point one cannot concede without authority from above—becomes very important. It may well be that a civil servant, in a tough negotiation, will feel that a concession to the other man's point of view ought to be made, but he must not be flattered or pressurized into making it if he judges that it would affect others, not so far consulted, besides himself. He will break off the negotiation, and then, perhaps advise his superior or the colleague who is affected that the point ought to be given away.

Persistence counts in another way too. Whatever parcel of work or 'seat' has been given him, he should be constantly exploring its possibilities and its frontiers. If possible he should read round it, keep abreast of the current pamphlet literature about it, slant the reading of his newspaper with his particular subject in mind. This goes a good deal further than just noting items on one's subject directly. Take a civil servant concerned with the control of the school building programme. He will probably not be interested in newspaper accounts of the actual programme when it is announced. He knew that already, and his main interest in this will be its treatment in the press, and in any inaccuracies and misunderstandings

that creep in. He is much more interested, say, in a financial article which forecasts that there is going to be a change in the price of cement, or a well worked out attack on the current birth-rate forecasts by a professor of demography.

The pedestrian virtues of accuracy and orderliness are also very necessary for civil servants. Most new recruits to the service get a kind of hardening course in accuracy from their first superiors, who point out slips and mistakes which do not, perhaps, matter much in themselves, with the same kind of purpose as a drill-sergeant, though not in the same manner. But it is a very common practice for more senior civil servants, when they have written something, to ask a subordinate who knows the subject in greater detail than they do, to read it through and comment 'on correctness' before it is sent forward. Thus a Principal may find himself going bail for the accuracy, though not the judgments, in a submission made by his Permanent Secretary to the Minister.

It is difficult to think of a profession in which accuracy is not important; but in the Civil Service an error can only be put right, quite often, by a public correction and apology, which is very rightly taken as a reflection on the efficiency of the whole organization. A wrong figure, a mistaken fact, or even a misfiled paper, can have results out of all proportion to the size of the mistake or the rank of the person who actually made it. One need not be a particularly precise person if one is considering a civil service career; but one has to be willing to accept the habit of checking every way. It is built into the civil service system at every stage to correct the slips that even the most careful commit, before they can do any harm.

Incorruptibility is not really a virtue at all, but something needs to be said about it. Most organizations expect their employees to be honest and to serve them faithfully. But the

public service goes rather further than this. It expects not only that its employees should be honest and faithful, but that they should avoid putting themselves into any situation where their private interest and their public duty might conflict. Many civil servants, including quite humble ones, come to know things which they could turn to advantage in their private lives by, so to speak, stealing a march on the rest of society. For a civil servant to do this would be corrupt. Another example is the chance which brings the case of a personal friend to a civil servant's desk, to be dealt with by him officially. Now there is nothing in civil service morality that prevents one telling a friend, as such, where he stands officially, whom he should see or write to, even how he should explain his case. But this is quite different from helping a friend in a way which enables him to get something other people in the same position would not get, simply because he happens to be on friendly terms with a civil servant. This is corrupt. The usual practice, when faced with an official case involving a personal friend—which may of course turn up quite innocently—is to ask that it should be dealt with by a colleague.

The personal integrity expected of a civil servant—which goes so far that it would be considered wrong to write a personal letter to a friend outside the public service on official notepaper—is demanded by the public itself, rather than the Department in which he serves. While, generally speaking, civil servants are not more moral than other men, their professional integrity has to be positive: it is not just a question of keeping within rules laid down. It is not enough for a civil servant to say 'there is no rule against my doing this, and therefore it is all right'. One has to go further and say, 'If this had to be justified to an unsympathetic audience, would they approve?' For everything a civil servant does which has any relation to

his work at all—and this extends well beyond what he does at his desk—can come before such an audience, even though it is often the department, not the individual civil servant, who has to answer.

I am emphasizing this, even though it may seem superfluous to most people, and hypocritical to some. But I make no apology, because quite apart from the fact that everyone wants to have an honest public service, the almost puritan tradition about corruption is responsible for two important features of civil service life as a whole. The first is the extent to which civil servants can rely on one another. Words given between civil servants are rarely broken (which of course makes civil servants cautious about giving their words); statements are always true—which sometimes makes them seem skimpy, tortuous, or evasive, since they must not on any account be false. But even more important, the known professional conscience of the Civil Service has great constitutional significance. Because it is known to exist, there is a whole range of activities which governments would find it difficult to undertake, even if they were inclined to them: not political acts in the ordinary sense, which many people may disagree with, but which a civil servant is professionally bound to carry out; but acts which run counter to law, financial integrity, or personal honesty.

Next in this catalogue of virtues comes discretion. Here again, I suppose discretion is a good thing in itself, and all business needs it, rather as all eggs need salt. But because the business of a civil servant is the business of the public, and not his own, there is perhaps more temptation to make an impression by talking about it, and indiscretion can do correspondingly wider damage. I am not here thinking only about great affairs of state, secret weapons, and such like, though knowledge of these has to come to lesser civil servants

as well as highly placed ones: the Budget has to be typed, the minutes of cabinets have to be duplicated and filed. But in this sort of thing the need for discretion is perfectly obvious, and there are arrangements, on which I shall touch later on, for enforcing it.

One needs more homely but less obvious examples of how discretion matters in the civil service. Take the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, which is in essence a vast organization for collecting contributions at the right rates and times from the people who ought to pay them, and paying benefits promptly to the people to whom they are due. But to do this the Ministry must maintain a complete record of the names, addresses, ages, diseases, marriages and divorces of all the people who are insured: that is, of practically everyone in this country. These simple little personal particulars matter to people, for all kinds of reasons, and they are compelled by law to let the government know them—or at least they must give them if they are to get the benefits to which they are entitled. A person's age may matter (or he may think it matters) very much in getting or keeping a job. The illness a person has may well be something they want to keep to themselves; all kinds of people, for the best of reasons, may want to know someone's address, and that someone may have equally good reasons for not wanting them to know it.

The Ministry will not, of course, let anyone know this kind of personal information without the permission of the person to whom it belongs. The fact that the civil servants employed by the Ministry will not chat or gossip about them is the ultimate guarantee of the confidence between the Ministry and its public. Obviously such chat and gossip, and still more any actual attempt to *publicize* some piece of information—say that someone is suffering from leprosy—is a breach of that

confidence. The point is that a civil servant must resign himself to talking comparatively little about the details of his work, even if it is not obviously secret, because it is likely to concern the affairs of individuals which it is necessary for the civil servant to know about, but which are not less private on that account.

Civil servants do from time to time come under pressure—which may be political, but is more usually just social—to give information or say what their view is about something. A view expressed by a civil servant about a professional matter is likely to be equally unfortunate, whether it agrees with, or differs from, his department's official attitude. If it agrees, but the department's view is not yet known, the utterance of the civil servant can turn out to be a 'leak', so that what was to be in his minister's speech on Thursday appears in Wednesday's newspaper. If the department's view is known already, and the civil servant just echoes it, he is liable to sound like a propagandist, and it is no part of his duty to preach the Government's case to his friends. The civil servant who differs from his department in private conversation is obviously put in a ridiculous and embarrassing position.

There is a story of a highly placed civil servant who was asked point blank by a journalist whether such and such a thing was going to be done. The journalist knew that the civil servant knew the answer. The reply he got was, 'Do you really think it would be a good idea to do that?'

Luckily, discretion is an easy virtue to acquire, and it becomes so much part of a civil servant's nature that there is a whole mass of things he does not know consciously except when he is working or thinking about his work—as some civil servants do while gardening or painting their fireplaces. There is a true story about the Budget. Its preparation is, of course, kept to a very small circle. By long tradition the

Principal Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer acts as editor of the Budget Statement, and this involves him in a whole series of drafts to be circulated, discussed, amended, and finally reduced to the statement made by the Chancellor in the House of Commons. During the weeks before the Budget the Private Secretary's messenger is constantly carrying round these successive drafts to the people who have to advise on them. And yet, on one occasion, when Budget Day came, this very messenger kept popping into the Private Secretary's room with the latest bulletin about what the Chancellor was saying in the House as it came over the tape, with appropriate comments, just as if it was hot news, having wholly dismissed from his mind the fact that the Private Secretary undoubtedly knew every word of it by heart.

Finally comes clarity of mind. Perhaps I should have put it first. Clarity of mind is not quite the same thing as knowing one's own mind, in other words, decisiveness. Many civil servants have to be decisive in their own spheres if they are to be efficient, but on matters of importance the responsibility for a decision will lie elsewhere. The professional skill required of the civil servant is fundamentally a complete, effective, and unbiased mind which can present issues for discussion or decision. Lack of bias does not mean lack of clarity—'waffle' in civil service slang. It does not mean even, when the analysis is reduced to writing, that it should not point to a conclusion that the writer has reached. It often does, and usually should. After all, each link in an argument is in one sense a conclusion.

But conclusions and analyses are distinguishable. 'Must,' said Queen Elizabeth I to one of her advisers who had been so mistaken as to use the word to her, 'is not a word to be used to Princes.' The Civil Service has taken this lesson very

much to heart in its relations with its democratically elected masters. However compelling he may find the arguments, a civil servant will never present his recommendation in such a way that disagreement is impossible.

Having tried to catalogue the qualities a civil servant needs or should try to develop, I shall devote the rest of this chapter to some account of the limitations which these virtues and the rules of the Service impose on him. To some kinds of character these restrictions can matter a good deal—to others hardly at all. It is like the fable of the dog and the wolf in Aesop. The wolf was enthralled by the dog's account of his comfortable well-fed life, until he noticed his collar, and asked why it was worn. When the wolf learned that the dog was sometimes tied up, he decided he preferred starvation in the forest.

What must the servant of the public accept as the price of his salary, his personal security, his pension, and the confidence of society? The restrictions, formally, are not more irksome in themselves than, say, the ethical code of a doctor or the professional etiquette of the Bar; but they may appear to be, because the Civil Service is not, and cannot be, a self-governing profession like medicine or the law. The ultimate sanctions of professional conduct in the Civil Service are imposed and administered by the government itself. There is no General Medical Council, no General Council of the Bar, as custodian of the civil servant's professional standards; nor, really, any such thing as a court martial system like those in the armed services, under which an officer can be formally tried for professional failures as well as for straightforward crimes.

The most familiar restriction, which anyone who reads the newspapers will know about, concerns security. In a sense everything a civil servant comes to know in the course of his duties can be an official secret—that is, something not to be

told without authority to anyone who has no business to know it. The Official Secrets Acts—which apply to all citizens, and not just to civil servants—catch the gossip and the sensationalist as well as the spy. But civil servants who are in touch with secrets as most people understand the term are specially investigated, and these enquiries cover their private lives as well as their official behaviour. Thus a civil servant may find that a particular post which he hopes for or expects does not come his way; or he may, because the enquiries are repeated from time to time, find that he is moved to a less sensitive post. In particular no one who is known to be a member of, or actively associated with or in sympathy with, the Communist Party or with Fascist organizations, is employed on secret work. Transfer elsewhere is usually possible: but if it is not, say in the case of a particular kind of electronics engineer, there may be dismissal. Before any such step is taken the civil servant concerned has the right to seek to clear himself before a special tribunal of three advisers who then report to the minister in charge of the department. The civil servant is provided with the evidence which has led to the conclusion that he is not suitable for the work on which he is employed, and can have the help of his Association in presenting his case to the three advisers. But the decision of the minister in charge is final.

Security is one thing, the political neutrality of the Civil Service is another. 'Political neutrality' is not quite the right phrase, because the Civil Service is professionally bound to work its utmost for whatever government is in power, and so is identified with the policy of the party which supports that government in Parliament. But a strong, though invisible line is drawn between the Civil Service and the party machines, and this takes the form of rules against civil servants taking part in party politics. The further removed a

civil servant is from the framing of policy or its execution, the smaller is the restriction, and all civil servants do, of course, vote as they please and hold their personal political opinions. A very large part of the service—all the industrials, and grades such as postmen, telephonists, and messengers—is subject only to the rule that a civil servant must resign if he proposes to stand for Parliament. A further large part, comprising the clerical and typing grades, can take part in local government, though if they are engaged in certain kinds of work individual permission from the department is required. The administrative, executive, professional, scientific, and technical grades are not allowed to take part in national political activities, though they may, with permission, take part in local government where this is not organized on national party lines. Both civil servants and politicians are very particular about this. A civil servant must on no account attend a minister at a party conference—not even the minister's private secretary. The minister's official car must not drive him to make a party speech. Still less may a civil servant make a public speech himself, or write a letter to the papers, except as the mouthpiece of his department.

These disabilities are real but accepted because they go with the whole idea of the profession as it has developed in this country. What is perhaps more irksome is that a civil servant can never answer back and justify himself against public criticism, however unreasonable he may think it to be. He may be attacked for signing a letter it was his job to write, or hear his profession or his department run down in ways he believes or knows are wholly untrue or unfair. The various Civil Service Associations do their best to defend the professional reputations of their membership in general. But apart from this the individual civil servant just has to put up with it. However hard he is tried, he must remain silent.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

<i>Name of Department</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Actuary, Office of the Government	Employs actuaries, executives and clericals allied to Treasury.
Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	Employs all Treasury classes and many specialists, notably vets.
Agriculture for Scotland	Ditto. Located at Edinburgh.
Aviation	Science-based. Employs all Treasury classes, and many scientists.
Charity Commission	Independent of ministers. Staff Administrative, Executive, Legal and Clerical.
County Courts	Executive and Legal. Widely distributed.
Customs and Excise	Administrative, Departmental and Clerical. Widely distributed.
Defence	All Treasury classes. Many scientists. Widely distributed.
Development, Scottish Economic Affairs	All Treasury classes All Treasury classes and economists.
Education and Science	All Treasury classes. Scientists. Her Majesty's Inspectors.
Education for Scotland	All Treasury classes. Her Majesty's Inspectors. Located in Edinburgh.
Exchequer and Audit	Mainly Executive.
Export Credits Guarantee	All Treasury classes. Close working with commerce.

<i>Name of Department</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Forestry Commission	Independent of ministers. Widely distributed specialist department.
General Register Office General Register Office (Scotland)	Administrative, Executive and Clerical. Subject to peaks of work. Allied to Health Departments.
Health	
Home Office	All Treasury classes, and many specialists.
Home and Health, Scottish	As two preceding. Located in Edinburgh.
Housing and Local Government	All Treasury classes, and many specialists (e.g. planning staff and auditors).
Information, Central Office of	Information Officer class, Executive and Clerical.
Inland Revenue	Administrative, Inspectorate, Executive and Clerical. Widely distributed.
Labour	Administrative, Departmental, Executive, and Clerical, with certain specialists (e.g. Inspectors of Factories). Widely distributed.
Land Registry	Mainly Executive. Widely distributed.
Law Officers Lord Chancellor	Legal and Executive. Small.
National Assistance Board	
Ordnance Survey	Specialist
Overseas Development	All Treasury classes, and many specialists.
Pensions and National Insurance	All Treasury classes. Widely distributed.

<i>Name of Department</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Post Office	The largest of all Departments. Employs all classes. Widely distributed.
Power	All Treasury classes.
Public Building and Works	All Treasury classes and many specialists (architects, engineers). Widely distributed.
Stationery Office	Specialist. Allied with Treasury.
Statistical Office, Central	Statisticians and Clerical.
Supreme Court	Legal and Executive.
Technology	All Treasury classes and scientists. Has a provincial network.
Trade	All Treasury classes and certain Departmental classes. Widely distributed. Has many overseas posts.
Transport	All Treasury classes and many specialists.
Treasury	All Treasury classes and some specialists (economists, statisticians, valuers).
Wales	All Treasury classes. Offices in Cardiff and London.

APPENDIX B

ENTRY TO THE CIVIL SERVICE

FULL INFORMATION ABOUT entering the many different branches of the Civil Service can be got from the Civil Service Commission, 23 Savile Row, W.1. The notes which follow are only intended to give the bare bones about entry into a selection of careers at the first rung of the ladder. But there are so many steps across from one ladder to another, or from the middle of a career outside the Civil Service to one inside it, that no tabular presentation could do justice to them. It is particularly important to

remember that many recruits to the Civil Service come in on a *temporary* basis, and that the temporary civil servant can compete alongside those who have never been in the Civil Service, for *established* (i.e. permanent) posts. Temporary posts are often, indeed more often than not, filled by the Department concerned, which advertises them. Permanency must be after test by the Civil Service Commission.

<i>Branch of the Service</i>	<i>Conditions</i>	<i>Test</i>
Administrative Class (Assistant Principal)	Age 20-27 inclusive. In effect a good honours degree or dip. tech.	Two methods: Method I: qualifying examination, academic examination, interview. Method II: qualifying examination, tests and interviews, final interview. January and April and (Method II) September each year.
Executive Class (Executive Officer)	Age 17½-23 inclusive. G.C.E. passes in five subjects, including two at Advanced level obtained at same sitting. Degree or dip. tech.	Selection by interview held at frequent intervals.
Tax Inspectorate (Inspector of Taxes)	Age 20-27 inclusive. (a) Degree (not necessarily of honours standard). (b) Good hon. degree or professional accountancy qualification.	(a) As for Administrative Class. (b) Modified version of Administrative Class (Method II) (continuous).
Scientific Officer Class (Scientific Officer)	Age under 29. Good hon. degree or dip. tech. in science, engineering or mathematics.	Selection by interview (continuous).
Experimental Officer Class (Assistant Experimental Officer)	Age 18-27 inclusive. Degree, dip. tech., H.N.C. If under 22, G.C.E. passes in five subjects including two at Advanced level (in science or mathematics) obtained at the same sitting.	Selection by interview. Held in the spring and autumn.
Statistician Class (Assistant Statistician)	Age 20-27 inclusive. Good hon. degree in or including statistics.	Selection by interview in the spring.

<i>Branch of the Service</i>	<i>Conditions</i>	<i>Test</i>
(Cadet Statistician)	Age 20-26 inclusive. Good hon. degree in economics, mathematics or other suitable subjects.	Selection by interview in the spring. Those selected go on to a one year university course leading to a higher qualification in statistics. If they obtain this they are appointed as Assistant Statisticians.
Architects (Basic grade)	Age at least 25. Registered architect.	Selection by interview (continuous).
Information Officer Class (Assistant Information Officer)	Suitable experience. No set age limits.	Selection by interview (quarterly).
Factory Inspectorate (Inspector of Factories)	Age 21-29 inclusive. Degree, dip. tech., or comparable professional qualification; or, if five years suitable experience, at least O.N.C. or Advanced levels.	Selection by interview (continuous).
Economists (Economic Assistant)	Age 20-29 inclusive. Good hon. degree or post-graduate degree in economics or closely related subject.	Selection by interview.
(Cadet Economists)	Age 20-26 inclusive. Degree in economics or any other subject.	Selection by interview. Those selected undertake a one or two year university course in economic subjects. Those who obtain a satisfactory qualification are appointed as Economic Assistants.
Lawyers (Legal Assistant)	Age 24-39 inclusive. Barrister or admitted solicitor.	Selection by interview (continuous).
Engineers (Engineering Cadet)	Age under 26. Good hon. degree or dip. tech. in engineering or physics.	Selection by interview (continuous).
(Basic Grade)	Age 23-35. Full academic requirements of a major institution.	Selection by interview.
Technical and Engineering Draughtsman Classes	Age at least 21. O.N.C. in engineering or closely allied subject.	Selection by interview.

<i>Branch of the Service</i>	<i>Conditions</i>	<i>Selection</i>
Probationer Naval Constructor	Age under 27. Good hon. degree in engineering or (with practical experience) naval architecture.	Inter-view in the morning.
Clerical Class (Clerical Officer)	Age at least 16. Five G.C.E. Ordinary levels including English language.	Selection by inter-view, written exam. for those without G.C.E. qualifications.
Scientific Assistant Class (Scientific Assistant)	Age 17-26 inclusive. Four G.C.E. Ordinary levels including English language and either mathematics or science. One year's practical experience.	Selection by inter-view (continuous).

APPENDIX C

SHORT LIST FOR FURTHER READING

G. A. Campbell (Geo. Duckworth & Son Ltd): *The Civil Service in Britain* (Second Edition 1965).
A good general work.

Civil Service Commission (Stationery Office): *Civil Service Posts for Graduates* (Fourth Edition, 1963).

The Commission also publish booklets on all the major professional people employed in the Civil Service, and on the main Treasury Classes (Administrative, Executive and Clerical).

Estimates Committee (Stationery Office): *Sixth Report, Session 1964-65: Recruitment to the Civil Service.*

The latest of many inquiries into the Civil Service (1965).

H.M. Treasury (Stationery Office): *The Organisation of the Scientific Civil Service* (1965).

A Report by Officials.

The Whitehall Series (Allen & Unwin).

Each volume gives a description of a Department by a civil servant who once presided over it as Permanent Secretary. Most Departments are now covered by this series.