

北京市共建项目专项资助

公共管理 专业英语阅读精选

王 伟 曹丽媛◎主编

Professional
English Reading
Selection
for Public
Management



中国经济出版社
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Part One Traditional Public Administration

(From the end of the 19th century to the 70s of the 20th century)

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Love of the Politicians



Unit One The Study of Administration

The science of administration is the latest fruit of that study of the science of politics which was begun some twenty-two hundred years ago. It is a birth of our own century, almost of our own generation.

Why was it so late in coming? Why did it wait till this too busy century of ours to demand attention for itself? Administration is the most obvious part of government; it is government in action; it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of government, and is of course as old as government itself. It is government in action, and one might very naturally expect to find that government in action had arrested the attention and provoked the scrutiny of writers of politics very early in the history of systematic thought.

But such was not the case. No one wrote systematically of administration as a branch of the science of government until the present century had passed its first youth and had begun to put forth its characteristic flower of the systematic knowledge. Up to our own day all the political writers whom we now read had thought, argued, dogmatized only about the constitution of government; about the nature of the state, the essence and seat of sovereignty, popular power and kingly prerogative; about the greatest meanings lying at the heart of government, and the high ends set before the purpose of government by man's nature and man's aims. The central field of controversy was that great field of theory in which monarchy rode tilt against democracy, in which oligarchy would have built for itself strongholds of privilege, and in which tyranny sought opportunity to make good its claim to receive submission from all competitors. Amidst this high warfare of principles, administration could command no pause for its own consideration. The question was always: Who shall make law, and what shall that law be? The other

question, how law should be administered with enlightenment, with equity, with speed, and without friction, was put aside as "practical detail" which clerks could arrange after doctors had agreed upon principles.

That political philosophy took this direction was of course no accident, no chance preference or perverse whim of political philosophers. The philosophy of any time is, as Hegel says, "nothing but the spirit of that time expressed in abstract thought"; and political philosophy, like philosophy of every other kind, has only held up the mirror to contemporary affairs. The trouble in early times was almost altogether about the constitution of government; and consequently that was what engrossed men's thoughts. There was little or no trouble about administration—at least little that was heeded by administrators. The functions of government were simple, because life itself was simple. Government went about imperatively and compelled men, without thought of consulting their wishes. There was no complex system of public revenues and public debts to puzzle financiers; there were, consequently, no financiers to be puzzled. No one who possessed power was long at a loss how to use it. The great and only question was: Who shall possess it? Populations were of manageable numbers; property was of simple sorts. There were plenty of farms, but no stocks and bonds; more cattle than vested interests.

I have said that all this was true of "early times"; but it was substantially true also of comparatively late times. One does not have to look back of the last century for the beginnings of the present complexities of trade and perplexities of commercial speculation, nor for the portentous birth of national debts. Good Queen Bess, doubtless, thought that the monopolies of the sixteenth century were hard enough to handle without burning her hands; but they are not remembered in the presence of the giant monopolies of the nineteenth century. When Blackstone lamented that corporations had no bodies to be kicked and no souls to be damned, he was anticipating the proper time for such regrets by a full century. The perennial discords between master and workmen which now so often disturb

industrial society began before the Black Death and the Statute of Laborers; but never before our own day did they assume such ominous proportions as they wear now. In brief, if difficulties of governmental action are to be seen gathering in other centuries, they are to be seen culminating in our own.

This is the reason why administrative tasks have nowadays to be so studiously and systematically adjusted to carefully tested standards of policy, the reason why we are having now what we never had before, a science of administration. The weightier debates of constitutional principle are even yet by no means concluded; but they are no longer of more immediate practical moment than questions of administration. It is getting to be harder to run a constitution than to frame one.

Here is Mr. Bagehot's graphic, whimsical way of depicting the difference between the old and the new in administration:

In early times, when a despot wishes to govern a distant province, he sends down a satrap on a grand horse, and other people on little horses; and very little is heard of the satrap again unless he send back some of the little people to tell what he has been doing. No great labour of superintendence is possible. Common rumour and casual report are the sources of intelligence. If it seems certain that the province is in a bad state, satrap No. 1 is recalled, and satrap No. 2 sent out in his stead. In civilized countries the process is different. You erect a bureau in the province you want to govern; you make it write letters and copy letters; it sends home eight reports per diem to the head bureau in St. Petersburg. Nobody does a sum in the province without some one doing the same sum in the capital, to "check" him, and see that he does it correctly. The consequence of this is, to throw on the heads of departments an amount of reading and labour which can only be accomplished by the greatest natural aptitude, the most efficient training, the most firm and regular industry.

There is scarcely a single duty of government which was once simple which is not now complex; government once had but a few masters; it now has scores of masters. Majorities formerly only underwent government; they now conduct gov-

ernment. Where government once might follow the whims of a court, it must now follow the views of a nation.

And those views are steadily widening to new conceptions of state duty; so that, at the same time that the functions of government are everyday becoming more complex and difficult, they are also vastly multiplying in number. Administration is everywhere putting its hands to new undertakings. The utility, cheapness, and success of the government's postal service, for instance, point towards the early establishment of governmental control of the telegraph system. Or, even if our government is not to follow the lead of the governments of Europe in buying or building both telegraph and railroad lines, no one can doubt that in some way it must make itself master of masterful corporations. The creation of national commissioners of railroads, in addition to the older state commissions, involves a very important and delicate extension of administrative functions. Whatever hold of authority state or federal governments are to take upon corporations, there must follow cares and responsibilities which will require not a little wisdom, knowledge, and experience. Such things must be studied in order to be well done. And these, as I have said, are only a few of the doors which are being opened to offices of government. The idea of the state and the consequent ideal of its duty are undergoing noteworthy change; and "the idea of the state is the conscience of administration." Seeing every day new things which the state ought to do, the next thing is to see clearly how it ought to do them.

This is why there should be a science of administration which shall seek to straighten the paths of government, to make its business less unbusinesslike, to strengthen and purify its organization, and to crown its duties with dutifulness. This is one reason why there is such a science. But where has this science grown up? Surely not on this side the sea. Not much impartial scientific method is to be discerned in our administrative practices. The poisonous atmosphere of city government, the crooked secrets of state administration, the confusion, sinecurist, and corruption ever and again discovered in the bureaux at Washington forbid us

to believe that any clear conceptions of what constitutes good administration are as yet very widely current in the United States. No; American writers have hitherto taken no very important part in the advancement of this science. It has found its doctors in Europe. It is not of our making; it is a foreign science, speaking very little of the language of English or American principle. It employs only foreign tongues; it utters none but what are to our minds alien ideas. Its aims, its examples, its conditions, are almost exclusively grounded in the histories of foreign races, in the precedents of foreign systems, in the lessons of foreign revolutions. It has been developed by French and German professors, and is consequently in all parts adapted to the needs of a compact state, and made to fit highly centralized forms of government; whereas, to answer our purposes, it must be adapted, not to a simple and compact, but to a complex and multiform state, and made to fit highly decentralized forms of government. If we would employ it, we must Americanize it, and that not formally, in language merely, but radically, in thought, principle, and aim as well. It must learn our constitutions by heart; must get the bureaucratic fever out of its veins; must inhale much free American air.

Key Words and Terms

- executive *adj.* 执行的, 管理的, 政府部门的
- operative *adj.* 手术的; (计划、法律等) 实施中的, 起作用的
- dogmatize *v.* 武断地提出
- prerogative *n.* 特权, 君权, 天赋的特权(能力等); 特性, 特点
- oligarchy *n.* 寡头统治的政府; 寡头统治的国家
- stronghold *n.* 要塞, 据点, 根据地
- tyranny *n.* 暴虐, 专横, 暴行
- enlightenment *n.* 启迪, 启发, 教化, 启蒙运动
- whim *n.* 一时的兴致; 突然的念头; 怪念头, 奇想; 幻想
- engross *v.* 使……全神贯注

- heed *v.* 注意,留心
- imperatively *adv.* 命令式的
- substantially *adv.* 本质上,实质上,大体上
- perplexity *n.* 困惑,混乱,复杂,困难
- portentous *adj.* 预兆的;凶兆的;自命不凡的;装腔作势的
- perennial *adj.* 终年的,长久的;多年生的;不断生长的
- ominous *adj.* 不祥的,坏兆头的;预兆的,预示的
- studiously *adv.* 故意地;好学地;注意地;细心计划地
- culminate *v.* 达到极点
- graphic *adj.* 图解的,用图表示的;用文字表示的;形象的,生动的
- whimsical *adj.* 异想天开的;反复无常的;古怪的,奇形怪状的
- despot *n.* 专制君主,专制者;暴君
- satrap *n.* 太守;总督;有最后决定权的人;主管人
- erect *vt.* 使……直立,使……竖起;建立,创立;安装
- aptitude *n.* (学习方面的)才能,资质,天资;适合性;倾向
- conscience *n.* 良心;道德心
- conception *n.* 受精,怀孕;胚胎;概念;设想,构想
- sinecurist *n.* 担任闲职的人员
- bureau *n.* 办公室
- hitherto *adv.* 到目前为止;迄今;至今
- tongue *n.* 语言;舌头;舌状物;鞋舌
- utter *v.* 发出声音;说,讲;出版(书籍)等
- alien *adj.* 外国的;相异的;异己的;不相容的
- precedent *adj.* 在前的,在先的
- inhale *v.* 吸入
- Americanize *v.* 美国化

NOTES

1. Why did it wait till this too busy century of ours to demand attention for it-

self?

为什么它(行政科学)要等到我们这个忙得几乎都注意不到它的世纪才出现?

2.in action 在运转;在行动;在操作

3.put forth 放出;发表;颁布;提出

4.rode tilt against 英国中世纪的骑士骑在马背上用长枪进行比武,这里是一种比喻的用法,指 A 对 B 的攻击。

5.as Hegel says, "nothing but the spirit of that time expressed in abstract thought".

正如黑格尔所说的,任何时代的哲学“都只不过是抽象思维所表现的那个时代的精神”。

6.vested interests 既得利益集团,政治学术语,是在现有的社会结构中,凭借不合理的制度或社会整合错位而形成的比较稳定的合法的或不合法的特定利益群体,即所说的既得利益者。

7.Good Queen Bess 英明女王,是指伊丽莎白一世(Elizabeth I),1533年9月7日出生于格林尼治,1603年3月24日逝世于萨里,于1558年11月17日至1603年3月24日任英格兰和爱尔兰女王,是都铎王朝的第五位也是最后一位君主。她也是名义上的法国女王。她终身未嫁,因此被称为“童贞女王”,也被称为“荣光女王”(Gloriana)、“英明女王”(Good Queen Bess)。

8.Blackstone(1723—1780) 人名,译名为布莱克斯通,是英国18世纪的托利党人,法官,法学家,其代表作是《英国法释义》(Commentaries on the Laws of England)。

9.the Black Death 黑死病,是一种古老的烈性传染病,在全球已经流行了近两千年,曾经有过三次大的流行,夺走了全球大约3亿人的生命。目前,黑死病仍然是全球重点控制的烈性传染病之一。

10.the Statute of Laborers 《劳工法》,是1340年英国为解决贫困问题而制定的第一部法律。

Comprehensive Exercises

I .Questions about the text

1. Why did not the science of administration come out as an individual science until the late of 19th century?
2. Why did the science of administration come out as an individual science at the late of 19th century?
3. Why the government need a science of administration?
4. Where did the science of administration grow up and why?

II .Discussion

1. In what way do you think that our government introduces the science of administration from Western countries?
2. What do you think the relationship between the science of administration and the science of politics is?

III .Translation the following paragraph into Chinese

Our own politics must be the touchstone for all theories. The principles on which to base a science of administration for America must be principles which have democratic policy very much at heart. And, to suit American habit, all general theories must, as theories, keep modestly in the background, not in open argument only, but even in our own minds, lest opinions satisfactory only to the standards of the library should be dogmatically used, as if they must be quite as satisfactory to the standards of practical politics as well. Doctrinaire devices must be postponed to tested practices. Arrangements not only sanctioned by conclusive experience elsewhere but also congenial to American habit must be preferred without hesitation to theoretical perfection. In a word, steady, practical statesmanship must come first, closet doctrine second. The cosmopolitan what-to-do

must always be commanded by the American how-to-do-it.

作者简介与经典导读

《行政学之研究》是美国杰出的政治学家、行政学家、历史学家、教育学家、改革家和政治家托马斯·伍德罗·威尔逊(1856—1924)于1887年发表在美国《政治科学》季刊上的一篇短文。虽然篇幅简短,但是也难以磨灭其在行政学学科诞生及发展史上的重要地位。因为《行政学之研究》对行政学科产生的原因、研究对象、研究方法等内容进行的开创性阐述,标志着行政学作为一门独立的学科从政治学中脱离出来,因此被视为行政学的开山之作。

托马斯·伍德罗·威尔逊,1856年12月28日出生于弗吉尼亚州斯汤顿一个充满宗教氛围的家庭,他的父亲作为当地第一长老会的牧师,其对宗教的虔诚、布道时抑扬顿挫的优美声调等都深深吸引并感染着威尔逊。这种幸福宁静的生活后来被美国内战打破,年幼的威尔逊对战争导致的家庭的分化、社会的混乱以及给民众生活带来的巨大灾难影响深刻,这也为威尔逊在一战时作为美国总统致力于建立维护世界和平的国际联盟埋下了伏笔。因为家庭缘故,威尔逊在成年后很自然地进入了戴维森学院——一所长老会学校学习,但是他很快发现宗教学校封闭的教育、保守落后的教育方法、压抑的氛围与自己的天性是格格不入的,最终他选择退学并进入新泽西学院(后来的普林斯顿大学)学习,并在这所学院里发现了自己真正的兴趣不是做牧师,而是政治,他在学校宿舍墙上贴上了“弗吉尼亚州参议员伍德罗·威尔逊”的字条,并开始为这个目标而努力。

威尔逊在1886年获得霍尔金斯大学博士学位之后,先后在不莱恩茂尔学院和威克利岩大学任教,在此期间,威尔逊发表和出版了包括《行政学之研究》在内的众多非常有影响力的论文和著作,奠定了他在政治学、法学等学科领域的显著地位。在取得这些成就之后,威尔逊于1902年当选为普林斯顿大学校长。在做校长的八年时间里,威尔逊进行了一系列的改革,使普林斯顿大学跻身美国乃至世界一流大学。他最终因为改革和校董会发生的冲突而离开自己工作了20年的普林斯顿,但赢得了进步教育家的美誉,成为

全国瞩目的人物,并因此吸引了民主党人的关注,他们认为只有威尔逊这样的进步人士才是带领民主党结束共和党十几年统治的最佳总统候选人。1910年,威尔逊当选为新泽西州州长,并在做州长期间也树立了一个锐意创新的进步州长形象。在仅仅从政两年之后的1912年,威尔逊当选为美国第28届总统,并在1916年成功连任。在他的总统生涯里,威尔逊也同样大胆创新,推进童工保护法、缩短铁路工人的工作时间、建立了联邦储备系统,并在第二任期内带领美国人民赢得一战,等等。因为威尔逊作为总统所取得的成就,在美国总统评选中多次被评为美国最伟大的总统之一。

正如威尔逊在《行政学之研究》中所说的,“这门科学(行政学)并不是我们创造的,它是一门外来的科学。”但是,相对于威尔逊对行政学系统的阐述,德国、法国学者提出的更多的是一种行政思想,而不是科学。威尔逊成为明确提出行政学可以作为一门独立的学科的学者并不是偶然的,这与威尔逊本人的家庭出身以及他所处的整个时代的背景是分不开的。19世纪末20世纪初,资本主义由自由竞争进入垄断阶段,美国作为资本主义头号强国,其垄断资本主义的发展速度更加迅猛,卡特尔、辛迪加、托拉斯和康采恩等垄断组织大量出现。这些垄断组织中的大资本家的野心也不再仅局限于经济领域,开始通过扶持或者直接参选两院议员进而控制整个国会。美国作为世界上第一个实行三权分立体制的国家,立法权、行政权和司法权之间相互制衡、相互监督的组织结构出现了立法权(国会)一权独大的局面,其本质是垄断资本在政治上的集中体现。在此背景下,中小资产阶级出身的威尔逊提出建立行政学科并强调政治——行政二分法原则等,以此来加强行政权力,明确政府的职责并提高政府的效率,这不仅是威尔逊代表其阶级利益并通过加强行政权以制衡立法权的体现,更是垄断资本主义对效率的要求在政府层面的体现。

《行政学之研究》虽然篇幅短,但是内容丰富,主要包括三个部分:第一部分是行政研究的历史,回答了为什么行政学在本世纪(19世纪末)、在美国产生以及在美国发展行政学的阻碍因素是什么,本书这一节所摘取的内容正是属于第一部分,不仅涉及行政学产生的历史、原因,也涉及了行政学的研究方法,内容丰富具有代表性;第二部分是最重要的内容,通过与政治学