

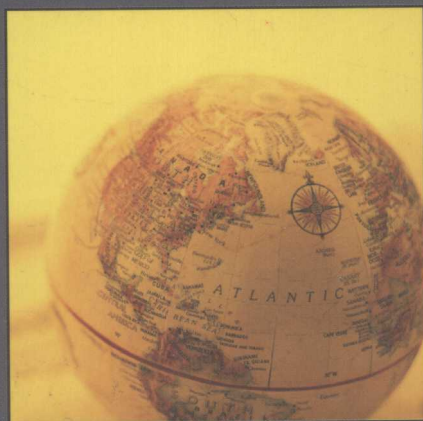
公共管理学经典教材原版影印丛书

The **Art** of **Policy Making** Tools, Techniques, and Processes in the Modern Executive Branch

政策制定的艺术： 现代行政部门中的工具、技术和过程

■ *George E. Shambaugh IV* 乔治·E. 香博四世

■ *Paul J. Weinstein Jr.* 小保罗·J. 温斯坦



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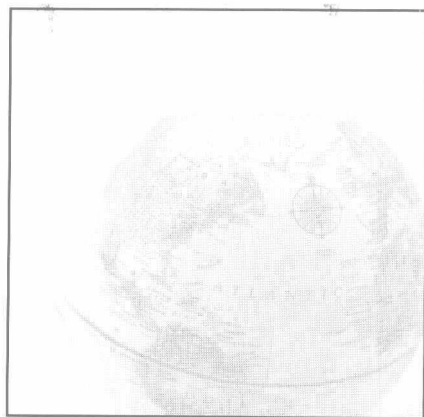
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丛书总序

周志忍

自 20 世纪 80 年代恢复以来,行政管理学在我国经历了十多年的摸索和积累期,世纪之交终于呈现出飞跃式发展的态势:行政管理学博士点相继设立,公共管理获得一级学科的地位,公共管理专业硕士学位(MPA)教育开始启动且发展迅猛,开设行政管理本科专业的大专院校达到 130 家,公共事业管理本科专业则突破了 300 家,加上党校、行政学院公共管理教研机构的大量设立,说公共管理是 21 世纪初我国发展最迅猛的学科并不夸张。

学科飞跃式发展的另一重要标志是新领域的开拓和知识的积累及其快速更新。国家自然科学基金委员会对与宏观管理相关的 117 种外文期刊进行的文献计量研究表明:“公共管理理论与方法是 1994—2004 年间国外关注最多的领域。其中,有关公共管理基本理论与方法的论文数占到了全部论文总量的 44.6%。”对中国期刊网 77 种核心期刊的文献计量学分析的结果显示,“自 1994 年至 2003 年的十年间,关于公共管理基本理论与方法方面的论文增长迅速,从 1994 年的 554 篇,上升到 2003 年的 1934 篇,增幅达到 3 倍以上”。但在总量上仅占全部论文总量的 4.59%,与国外的同类研究相比呈现出明显的差距(国家自然科学基金会管理科学部:《宏观管理与政策学科“十一五”发展战略研究报告》)。

系统了解和追踪国外的新理论和新方法,并在批判的基础上加以消化和吸收,是学科知识积累和更新的重要环节之一。进入 21 世纪后,我国对西方公共管理著作的翻译出版结束了零星分散的状态,呈现出系统化和细分化同时并进的势头。中国人民大学出版社的《公共行政与公共管理经典译丛》和《公共政策经典译丛》,华夏出版社的《政治学与行政管理学译丛》,上海三联书店的《制度分析与公共政策译丛》,中国青年出版社的《公共管理译丛》等,都对学科发展和政府管理现代化产生了积极的影响。北京大学出版社《公共管理学经典教材原版影印丛书》的出版值得庆贺!

原版书的系列化出版对学科发展的意义至少有以下方面:(1)有助于研究者外语能力的普遍提高。长期以来,阅读外文图书对我国学者来说近乎一种特权,纵有毅力和热情,但难以承受的价格、少得可怜的存本或繁琐的借阅程序令人望而却步。影印原版书无疑有助于克服这一障碍。(2)推动翻译出版的规范化和翻译质量的持续提高。许多学者谈到这样的经历:阅读译文时怎么也不明白的东西,翻阅原著就清楚了。这固然和不同语言之间的“通约度”有关,也不能否认翻译质量的参差不齐。在原版书“稀缺”的情况下,翻译质量的同行评价和监督机制会因为“信息不对称”而失灵,

影印原版书在这方面将大有裨益。(3)在知识发展日新月异的时代,影印原版书具有出版周期短的优势,可以把国外的最新成果及时展示给国内学界。

外文图书引进出版虽然不是一个垄断性市场,但新进入者会面临别样的风险和尴尬。这有点像一个开放的采摘果园,先入者有的图便利先摘取低枝上的果实,有的则把靓丽之果尽入囊中,也有的以口味、特色为择取标准,几轮采摘之后,选择余地就相当有限了。从目前情况看,国内外文图书的引进出版呈现出复杂状态,少量著作的中文译本和原版影印本同时发行,大量著作仅有中文译本。与此相应,北京大学出版社第一批影印丛书包括了几类:(1)仅有中文译本而没有原版影印本的图书;(2)已有中文译本但原文有新版的著作,如尼古拉斯·亨利的《公共行政与公共事务》第九版;(3)国内市场尚未引进,但同样具有影响力的著作。从涉及的领域来看,第一批影印丛书覆盖了公共行政、公共政策、公共组织管理、预算与财务管理、公共部门人力资源管理等领域。图书的选择既考虑了影响力,又给相关领域的经典文献荟萃以特别的关注。

着眼未来,期望公共管理原版书的影印出版不断开拓发展,形成品牌并最终发挥系统效应。目前国内外文图书引进出版的复杂状态,无疑为原版书的影印出版增加了困难。在避免重复的前提下形成有序的原版书系列,显然还有许多艰苦细致的工作要做。但毫无疑问,原版书影印如果没有实现系列化,所期望的对学科发展的意义就会大打折扣。更重要的是,期待北京大学出版社充分利用自己的资源优势,在原版书系列影印的基础上深度挖掘,独辟蹊径,在公共管理领域开辟出一片新天地。这不仅是一种追求,更是一份责任。

2005年10月25日

Preface

This book is designed to introduce students and practitioners to the tools, techniques, and processes needed to master the art of policy making in the Executive branch, and to explain how and why these tools, techniques, and processes affect policy development. To accomplish these objectives, we identify key individuals in the executive branch and the roles they play in the policy-making process, we introduce the tools that enable policy makers to communicate with one another, and we analyze a series of case studies based on real-world situations to demonstrate how tools are used and how individuals interact throughout the policy-making process. Our book is heavily informed by the insights and experiences of policy makers in the George H. W. Bush, William J. Clinton, and George W. Bush administrations. While presidential management styles differ and the organizational structure of policy making evolves over time, lessons learned from these administrations can shed light on the problems and successes of past administrations and help current and future policy makers succeed.

Understanding the tools, techniques, and processes of policymaking is critical because, all else equal, policy makers with competing interests or views are more likely to support the formulation, adoption, and implementation of a particular policy if they believe that a designated body is responsible and accountable for policy development, and the tools, techniques, and processes used enable them to voice their policy ideas and concerns. Although it is certainly true that the existence of an accountable and representative policy-making process does not guarantee that the final policy decision will be the best of all possible decisions, it increases the probability that the decisions made will reflect the input and evaluation of people with a variety of competing values and objectives.

The goal of this book is, thus, to complement existing studies and theories of the policy-making process by providing students and practitioners with the tools, techniques, and processes necessary to make the policy-making process function effectively. By doing so, it also seeks to demonstrate the impact of procedural legitimacy on the policy-making process and the corresponding fruitfulness of incorporating the tools, techniques, and processes of policy making into extant theories of the policy-making process.

We could not have written this book without the insights and contributions made by many individuals within the Administrations of George H. W. Bush, William J. Clinton and George W. Bush. Paul Weinstein would particularly like to thank former Vice President Albert Gore, Jr. — who gave him his first opportunity to work in government and politics — and former President William J. Clinton for giving him the opportunity to serve his country and to hone the skills that are presented in this book. In addition, the authors would like to thank all those who helped make this book possible. While it is not possible to list all those who contributed to this project, a few people deserve special recognition: Anthony Arend, Michael Bailey, Kris Balderston, Kenneth Baer, Andrew Bennett, Eric Berman, John Bruce, Brian Burke, Jose Cerda, Victor Cha, Alan Cohen, Steve Cohen, Paul

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Acronyms

AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
APA	Administrative Procedure Act
BTU	British Thermal Unit
CBO	Congressional Budget Office
CEA	Council of Economic Advisers
CENTCOM	Centralized Joint Command of the U.S. Military with jurisdiction in the Middle East
CEQ	Council on Environmental Quality
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COLA	Cost of Living Adjustment
CRA	Community Reinvestment Act
DNC	Democratic National Committee
DOD	Department of Defense
DPC	Domestic Policy Council
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan
DSCC	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EOP	Executive Office of the President
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EU	European Union
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
GAO	General Accounting Office
GSA	General Services Administration
HHS	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
KMT	Kuomintang Party of Taiwan
LRM	Legislative Referral Memorandum
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NEC	National Economic Council
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NGA	National Governors' Association
NSC	National Security Council
NSTC	National Science and Technology Council
OC	Office of Communications

OIRA	Office of Information and Regulatory Review
OIA	Office of Intergovernmental Affairs
OLA	Office of Legislative Affairs
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
ONDCP	Office of National Drug Control Policy
OPA	Office of Political Affairs
OPD	Office of Policy Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPL	Office of Public Liaison
OSTP	Office of Science and Technology Policy
PCAST	President's Committee of Advisers on Science and Technology
PO	Press Office
PRC	People's Republic of China
Q&As	Question and Answer Sheets
RNC	Republican National Committee
SAP	Statement of Administrative Policy
SBA	Small Business Administration
SSA	Social Security Administration
SSI	Supplemental Security Income
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WTO	World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Why the Policy-making Process Matters

Overview of This Book

During the first six months of the Clinton administration in 1993, disorganization, disarray, confusion, and general chaos were the rules, not the exceptions. For 12 years Democrats had been absent from the halls of power in the executive branch. A young president and an even younger staff were unfamiliar with the decision procedures and systems within the Executive Office of the President. Faced with a large agenda – which included an economic stimulus package, universal healthcare coverage, welfare reform, anticrime legislation, and national service – the White House became bogged down, incapable of setting priorities and developing coherent policies. It took almost a year for the president's staff to become proficient in using the tools, techniques, and processes available to decision makers within the administration. In 2001 and 2002, the George W. Bush administration was trying to master the same tools, techniques, and processes in order to successfully promote its tax, energy, education, and security policies in the face of opposition from within and outside of the executive branch. The tragic events of September 11, 2001 gave the George W. Bush administration a unifying purpose and wide support for its counter-terrorism policies. The experiences of his father's administration, however, suggest that this support could be fleeting and unlikely to transfer to his other policy agendas. Consequently, President George W. Bush will need to master the art of policy making.

The primary objective of this book is to provide students and practitioners with an introduction to the tools, techniques, and processes used to make policy in the executive branch of the U.S. government. On a pragmatic level, a basic understanding of the policy-making trade – including how to write and when to use decision memoranda, how and when to use polling during the policy-making process, how to place an issue on the legislative agenda, how to get policies through the legislative clearance and coordination processes, and how and when to communicate and market policies – is necessary to function effectively within the executive

branch. These tools, techniques, and processes are the primary means through which the policy-making process is initiated, the ideas and concerns of policy **stake holders** are expressed and debated, and policy options are presented, made, and implemented. Policy stake holders include individuals, agencies, departments, and interest groups in the policy-making community with vested interests in the issues or policies at hand. Given time and experience, practitioners and students of policy making who have an opportunity to work in the White House will become familiar with these groups and the tools, techniques, and processes they use. This book is intended to facilitate that process and accelerate the learning curve of those who are entering the executive branch from other arenas.¹ It is also intended to further understanding of how stake holders in the executive branch interact throughout the policy-making process and the impact that their behavior has on the process itself.

To accomplish the objective of explaining how various tools, techniques, and processes affect policy development, we

- Identify key individuals in the executive branch and the roles they play in the policy-making process
- Introduce the tools that enable policy makers to communicate with one another
- Analyze a series of case studies based on real-world situations to demonstrate how these tools are used and how these individuals interact throughout the policy-making process

Our book is heavily informed by the insights and experiences of policy makers in the George H. W. Bush (1989–1993), William J. Clinton (1993–2001) and George W. Bush (2001–present) administrations. Although presidential management styles differ and the organizational structure of policy making evolves over time, lessons learned from these administrations can shed light on the problems and successes they experienced and help current and future policy makers avoid pitfalls.

The book is divided into four parts following this introductory chapter. Part I (Chapters 2–4) focuses on key actors in the policy-making apparatus. Chapter 2 focuses on the policy councils. Over the years, control of policy development has become increasingly centered in the White House and in the policy councils in particular. We will discuss the role of the three White House policy councils—the National Security, National Economic, and Domestic Policy councils—and describe their chief responsibilities: (1) honest broker, (2) protector of the president's agenda, and (3) incubator for new ideas. Chapter 3 focuses on the White House staff and describes the roles of the various offices in the White House and their relationship to one another. It also explains the flow and control of information within the White House. Chapter 4 focuses on the roles and responsibilities of agencies in the policy-making process. It also discusses the role of agencies and the White House in implementing policy decisions—by drafting regulations, filling in the details on legislation submitted by the president to Congress, carrying out presidential decisions presented in Executive Orders, and other means.

¹ This is particularly important in the White House because few, if any, of the core staff or records from the previous administration remain when a new president enters office. For a discussion of the difficulties of organizing the White House in a new administration, see Martha Joynt Kumar, "The White House as City Hall: A Tough Place to Organize," *Political Studies Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (March 2001): 44–55.