

Re-examination of Privatization in Post-authoritarian Times

後威權下再論「民營化」

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The Taiwan Social Analysis Quarterly 50th anniversary commemorative issue is specially holding an academic symposium that takes “moving toward democracy and away from authoritarianism” as the main topic. The symposium gives a diagnosis of Taiwan’s political changes, social justice, racial equality and the possibility of peace across the Taiwan Strait through the feasibility of a democratic objective. The Taiwan News has recorded the contents of a symposium entitled “The Changing Role of Women’s NGOs in Taiwan”, between National Central University Associate Professor of English, Josephine Ho and Soochow University Associate Professor of Sociology Chu Yuan-hong for the elucidation of our readership.

台灣社會研究季刊為紀念創刊十五週年，特別舉辦學術研討會，以「邁向公共化、超克後權威」為題，診斷台灣在政治公共化、社會正義、多種身分認同的平等承認，以及兩岸和平等四個領域的現況，並指出一個可行的民主目標。本報特別整理由中央大學英文系副教授何春蕤主講的「台灣婦幼團體角色的演變」、東海大學社會學系副教授朱元鴻所做的評論與觀眾回應的部分精采內容以饗讀者。主持人：黃德北，副教授，政治大學政治系

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Wan-Wen Chu, Research Fellow, Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica Huang Te-pei (Moderator):

Today’s symposium focuses primarily on critique of and reflection on mainstream theories which have become prevalent throughout the world over past two decades—namely conservative privatization and market-economy theories. First, let’s ask Prof. Chu to deliver her report

“Re-examination of Privatization in Post-authoritarian Times.

” 主持人黃德北：今天這個研討會主要是針對過去二十年來的全球主流論述，也就是強調私有化以及市場經濟的新右派論述，做一批判與反思。我們先請瞿教授為我們報告「後威權下再論民營化」。

Wan-Wen Chu (Research Fellow, Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica) : First, let us recall the history of privatization of state-owned enterprises. In the early 1990s, anti-authoritarian rhetoric in Taiwanese society was at high tide and, at the same time, was mixed together with calls for economic liberalization and for privatization of state-owned enterprises. The great majority of economists in Taiwan at that time adhered to the free-market theory.

瞿宛文(中研院中山人文社會科學研究所研究員)：我先請大家回顧一下公營事業民營化的歷史。1990年代初，台灣社會中反威權的聲浪非常高，同時，反威權與「經濟自由化、公營事業民營化」的訴求結合在一起。當時台灣絕大部分經濟學家服膺自由市場理論為主。

In 1990, a number of leading scholars published a representative book titled “Deconstructing One-Party State Capitalism,” in which they advocated privatization of all state-owned enterprises. Their reason for this was that, according to free-market theory, state-owned enterprises were inefficient, and governments would do best not to be involved in economic activity.

其中居於領導的幾位學者在1990年出版了一本具代表性的著作《解構黨國資本主義》，提出公營事業全面民營化的主張。他們的理由是，依據自由市場理論，公營是沒有效率的，政府最好不要干預。

They argued that Taiwan's problem was that state-owned enterprises constituted too high a proportion of the economy, and various industries were monopolized by its one-party government. At about that time, the Taiwan Economics Association also made a solemn declaration opposing the involvement of political parties in economic activity. What we witnessed then was the convergence of economic liberalism and political liberalism.

他們認為台灣的問題是公營事業的比率太高了，同時又是黨國的禁臠。差不多在那個時候，台灣經濟學會也提出了一個很嚴正的聲明，反對政黨介

入經濟活動。我們看到的是一個經濟自由主義與政治自由主義結合的現象。

The “people” in “people-ization” is not all the people 民營化裡的「民」不是「全民」 Under Kuomintang rule after the war, there at first most definitely existed a clear distinction between the ruler and the people. But over the course of development of capitalism, one-party state capitalism became a capitalist system in which public officials and private entrepreneurs had formed a symbiotic bond. Consequently, the process of “people-ization” [the literal meaning of the Chinese term for privatization] has been one of transfer of ownership to such entrepreneurs, not to the people. We should not be advocating privatization on behalf of entrepreneurs but should demand the transformation of state-owned enterprises into enterprises run for the public.

國民黨在戰後治理台灣，剛開始絕對是官民對立，但是在發展資本主義的過程中，其實黨國資本主義已經成為官商合為一體的官商資本主義。因此，在這個「民營化」裡的「民」是「商人」，不是全民，我們不應該代表商人去提出所謂的民營化，而是要求公營事業的公共化。

Looking back again, what political power was driving privatization? During the 1980s era of reforming authoritarianism, while calls for liberalization came from pressures applied by the United States and the pressure of joining the World Trade Organization, as a matter of fact, an even stronger force was the domestic demand for opening up of restricted, officially controlled markets, including tobacco and liquor, petroleum products, electricity generation, telecommunications, banks, insurance and even cram schools and travel agencies. Licenses for such businesses were all restricted and had long been tightly regulated. After the lifting of martial law in July 1987, opening-up of these restricted markets began in September. Opening up these markets and the lifting of martial law were closely interlinked.

我們再回顧一下，當初推動民營化的政治力量是什麼？在 1980 那個改革威權的時代中，要求自由化的聲浪有來自美國的壓力、加入世界貿易組織的壓力，但是其實更強的力量是國內針對開放特許市場的要求，包括菸酒、油品、電力、電信、銀行、金融、保險，甚至補習班、旅行社。這些單位的執照都是被限制而且長期受到管制。1987 年七月解嚴之後，九月

就開始了特許市場的開放，特許市場的開放與政治解嚴是環環相扣的。

During the first month after Lee Huan became premier in 1989, he set up a task force for privatizing state-owned enterprises. One reason for this was an abundance of floating capital of underground investment companies, which could be absorbed by opening state-owned enterprises to private investment. But the true, behind-the-scenes reasons are yet to be explained. From that time up till present, a total of 31 state-owned enterprises have undergone privatization, 17 have closed shop, and there still remain 18 whose privatization is being pushed forward, including the three largest—Chunghwa Telecom, China Petroleum and Taiwan Power. Their total assets perhaps exceed one-fifth to one-fourth of the value of all stocks sold on the Taiwan Stock Exchange. And among the 31 so-called privatized companies, the government still owns shares in 21 and has a stake of more than 30 percent in 15 of them.

1989年李煥接任行政院長，頭一個月就成立了公營事業民營化推動小組，理由之一是地下投資公司游資充斥，所以開放公營事業來吸收游資，但是背後真正的因素仍有待了解。從那個時候開始到現在，總共有三十一家公營事業完成民營化，十七家結束營業，仍在推動中的有十八家，包括最大的三家：中華電信、中油跟台電，它們的資產總額可能超過股市的五分之一甚至四分之一。而通過所謂民營化的三十一家中，二十一家仍有官股，十五家官股超過三成。

After the lifting of martial law we can see that liberalization and privatization became established policy goals. However, the private sector's concern definitely was the opening of new business opportunities and the elimination of state-owned enterprise monopolies. Liberalization and transforming state-owned enterprises into enterprises run for the public are two different matters.

解嚴之後，我們可以看到自由化與公營事業私有化的政策目標非常的明確，然而私部門關切的畢竟是商機的開放以及公營事業的獨占權的消除。自由化跟公共化是兩個不同的議題。

Some questionable motives for the privatization of state-owned enterprises

公營事業民營化幾個可議的動機

Money-Power Trade-off

?錢、權交換

There are several possible motives for the government's push for privatization. The first is a "Money-power trade-off." Politicians can apparently control state-owned enterprises, so why should they carry out privatization if this means relinquishing their control? In fact, this is not the case, because there have been a few cases where the government-held stake was lowered below 50% to declare privatization as successful, while in reality politicians still hold controlling rights without having to accept supervision by the people.

政府推動私有化的動機可能有幾種，第一種是「錢、權交換」。政治人物在表面上可以控制公營事業，何必要進行私有化而放棄他的控制？其實未必，因為有些只是把官股降到百分之五十以下，就宣布私有化成功，但實際上卻還擁有控制權，而且不必受到人民的監督。

Profiteering Enterprises

?圖利財團

Another kind of motive is that politicians can use their power to influence the share release process, a situation usually dubbed as "profiteering." During the past 10, 20 years, we have seen many examples of politicians colluding with profiteering enterprises to establish their personal sphere of influence. The Core Pacific Group, for instance, bought up the Bes Engineering Corporation in a most disputable way, serving as the worst model. The privatization of these state-owned enterprises almost always took place in concert with the KMT-established mammoth conglomerate of party, government, and business with party-run enterprises at its core. In the post authoritarian era, the new government did though not have any station-owned enterprises, but the share release process(during the privatization of station-own enterprises) still couldn't escape the suspicion of profiteering.

另外一種是政治人物以其權力影響釋股的過程，也就是一般所說的「圖利財團」的情形。在過去一、二十年裡，我們看到很多政治人物圖利財團，

以建立個人的影響力的例子，譬如威京集團以極可議的方式收購中華工程，那是最壞的示範。這些公營事業的私有化，幾乎都與國民黨建立以黨營事業為核心的超大型黨、官、商集團相配合。後威權時代，新政府雖無黨營事業，但釋股過程仍難逃圖利財團的質疑。

Ideological Attitudes

?意識形態

Ideological attitudes are another very important factor in pushing for the privatization of state-owned enterprises. From the beginning of the 1980s, the whole world was under the spell of the free-market theory of the New Right. Taiwan, of course, followed suit, so privatization became a criterion for modernization.

推動公營事業民營化的另外一個很重要的因素是意識形態。從八?年代開始，全球籠罩在新右派自由市場論的影響之下，台灣當然是跟風，所以民營化已經變成一個現代化的標竿。

Raising Funds

?籌措財源

Aside from this, for the cash-strapped new government fund-raising became another important motive. But using the sale of state-owned enterprises to raise funds, is actually raising short-term funds. For instance, the government holds government stocks in the China Steel Corporation, whose stock dividends and earnings flow into government coffers every year. Selling off assets simply means forsaking future earnings.

除此之外，新政府在捉襟見肘的情況下，籌措財源也變成一個重要的動機。但是藉由變賣公營事業資產來籌措財源，其實是籌措短期財源，譬如政府擁有中鋼的官股，每年它的紅利盈餘都會繳到國庫，如果把這個資產賣掉，只是把未來長期的利益轉換為現在一時的利益。

Problems of Social Justice Implicated in the Privatization Process 民營化過程中所牽涉的社會公平性議題

During the privatization of state-owned enterprises, the government shook off two "liabilities." One is the protection of the rights of state-owned enterprise employees. The government viewed this as a

liability and consequently dropped it. The other one are government tasks including taking charge of industrial policy and public services policy.

在公營事業民營化的過程中，政府卸下了兩個「包袱」，一個是對公營事業員工權益的保護，政府把它看做是一個包袱卸掉了；還有一個是政策任務，包括產業政策的任務與公共服務政策的任務。

During the privatization of state-owned transportation businesses, for instance, many citizens living in remote areas already no longer had the Highway Bureau provide them with transportation services. Taking highway bus transportation as an example, Taiwan Motor Transport Company Ltd. had difficulties to survive after its privatization and therefore massively reduced its routes to remote areas. Incentives from the Ministry of Transportation and Communications could not convince other private operators to operate these routes. Unless there is careful planning for the new market order, private entrepreneurs definitely will only operate the profitable part of various liberalized public services. The services customers receive tend to be more and more differentiated, as people living in large cities with good incomes receive much better public services than those living in remote areas with lower incomes.

譬如在公營交通事業自由化的過程中，很多偏遠地區的民眾已經沒有公路局去提供他們交通服務。以公路客運為例，民營化之後的台汽自身難保，已經大幅縮減偏遠地區的服務路線，交通部的鼓勵措施也無法誘使其他私營業者去經營。許多公共服務業自由化之後，如果新的市場秩序規範沒有比較好的規劃，則私營廠商必然只經營獲利大的部分，消費者所得到的服務會越趨分化，大都市的居民以及經濟條件好的人所得到的公共服務會遠優於偏遠地區與低所得的人。

The problems of social justice implicated in the privatization of state-owned enterprises have not at all received the attention in public policy discourse they deserve.

公營事業私有化所牽涉到的社會公平之議題，在公共政策相關論述中並沒有得到應有的關注。

Establishing a New Policy Discourse on Transforming State-owned

Enterprises into Enterprises Run for the public 重新建立公共化的政策 論述

I would like to propose a few simple demands with regard to establishing a new discourse on transforming state-owned enterprises into enterprises run for the public 針對公共化政策論述的重建，我簡單提出一些訴求。

Firstly, opposing any further privatization. The goal of privatizing state-owned enterprises should be to reestablish the "public character" of these enterprises and not to dismember interests that go back to the authoritarian system. It is difficult for us to monitor the money-power trade-off between government and business, therefore we should oppose any further privatization of state-owned enterprises. We should demand that the government use other methods to provide state-owned enterprises with a new business model and policy tasks.

第一，反對進一步私有化。公營事業民營化的目標應該是重新建立其「公共性」，而不是原本威權體制利益的解體瓜分。我們難以監督官商錢、權交易的過程，因此應該反對公營事業進一步的私有化，要求政府以其他方式來賦予公營事業新的經營方式與政策任務。

Secondly, opposing privatization for the sake of short-term fund-raising. Using such funds to finance social welfare, in particular, is extremely irresponsible, since social welfare is a long-term system that requires long-term funding. Selling off the shares of state-owned enterprises is nothing more but selling assets and forsaking future fiscal resources.

第二，反對為了籌措短期財源而私有化。尤其是利用這種財源來開辦社會福利，這是一個非常不負責任的作法，因為社會福利是長期的制度，需要長期的財源，賣公營事業的股票只不過是賣財產，並且失掉了未來的財源。

Thirdly, opposing unconditional, complete liberalization. If we reconsider the outcome of past liberalization, we can see many market oligopolies and monopolies. Therefore, the presently most important problem is not the privatization of state-owned enterprises, but how to establish new rules of the game, and how to create more complete

control measures. All these problems should be the subject of open public policy discussion.

第三，反對無條件全面自由化。檢討過去自由化的成果，我們可以看到很多市場寡佔、壟斷的情形，所以現在最重要的問題不是公營事業的自由化，而是怎麼樣重新建立遊戲規則，怎麼樣有比較完善的管制措施，這些都應該要做公開政策的討論。

We need to give state-owned enterprises a new mission, which means assessing their performance with regard to social justice and efficiency. In the future, we need to advocate making transparent state-owned enterprises' professionalism, policy tasks, and supervision mechanism, and freeing them from the influences of political parties and politics. State-owned enterprises still shoulder many social justice-oriented policy goals, including responsibilities toward their employees and public services. We need to reassert these values and goals.

我們必須賦予公營事業使命，就其公平與效率方面的表現做出評估。未來，應倡議公營事業的專業、政策任務與監督機制的透明化、去黨派化、去政治化。公營事業仍然擔負了很多社會公平正義的政策目標，包括對於員工以及公共服務性的任務，我們必須要重新去肯定這些價值跟目標。

However, state-owned enterprises do not just belong to their employees, in fact they belong to the entire people. If we manage to come up with a new image and prospect for state-owned enterprises and public services, while expanding our demands and establishing a broad social democratic alliance, then this could probably be a more feasible proposal in a Taiwan that severely lacks leftist discourse.

不過，公營事業不只屬於員工，其實應屬於全民，若能對公營事業與公共服務提出新的形象與前景，並將訴求擴大，建立廣泛的社會民主連線，或許是在台灣這非常缺乏左派論述的地方，比較可行的方案。

The end 全文完

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