技術官僚與產業升級: 台灣 1970 年代 IC 計畫的重新檢視*

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台灣 1974 年的「IC 計畫」,被既有文獻認爲是奠定台灣 IC (Integrated Circuit) 產業發展的基礎,也常被舉爲政府產業政策的成功案例,然而卻甚少釐清這項計畫的歷史義涵與定位。

本文則試圖從「敍事」(Policy Analysis as Narrative)的角度切入,檢視這項計畫與計畫過程所涉及之財經官僚、科技官僚與科技專家等相關人士的角色,藉由呈現這些行動者的動作與結果,分析其背後的意涵,來體現政策過程的多面向複雜關係,以及「能幹的技術官僚」的重要性,藉以塡補旣有文獻所忽略的片段。

本文認爲,蔣經國政府在「科技救國」的氛圍下,藉由 1966 年開始的「近代工程技術討論會」(METS)與 1974 年成立的「電子技術顧問委員會」(TAC)的協助,來了解全球產業發展趨勢等的訊息,以及討論台灣經濟發展的出路。其中,以旅美工程師爲主的科技專家,協助財經官僚理解 IC 產業高度全球專業分工的趨勢,逐步推動 IC 計畫,利用美、日 IC 產業競爭的外部因素,透過蔣經國弭平內部反對聲浪與路線爭議,開啓台灣參與 IC 產業全球擴張、調整在全球 IC 產業分工體系中角色的「機會之窗」。

關鍵字:技術官僚、產業政策、政策過程、近代工程技術討論會、電子技術顧問委員會、工研院電子所、積體電路產業

A Review about the Technocrats in the Development of Taiwan's IC Industry

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ABSTRACT

The development of Taiwan's electronics and integrated circuit (IC) industry parallels, in many ways, the expansion of the global IC industry, the building of knowledge networks, and the sense of security crisis and globalization of political-economic elites.

The government, by virtue of the participation in the Modern Engineering Technology Seminar (METS), beginning in the mid-1970s, created the Electronics Research and Service Organization (ERSO), the most important division of Taiwan's Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI). ERSO and the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC), by compacting American-trained scholars and engineers and joining Silicon Valley, set up IC companies and assisted in the technological upgrading of the electronics industry.

In short, technocrats are a key factor in the policy process. The government needs more information and knowledge management of the technocrats to improve policy making in the context of globalization.

Key Words: technocrats, industry policy, policy process, METS, TAC, ERSO, IC industry