# 行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

### 技術標準設定的新制度分析-中國推動 WAPI 的個案研究(第 2年)

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# 從「中國製造」到「中國創造」: 官僚政治、標準化知識社群與國際參與

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#### 摘 要

本論文以 WAPI 和閃聯兩項中國自主標準的制定為研究個案,從網絡經濟、官僚政治、標準化技術專家網絡、國際組織等制度層次剖析中國追求自主標準的制度學習過程。本文的基本假設認為官僚政治與技術專家網絡是影響自主標準與國際參與的兩個主要因素,個案分析比較了 WAPI 與閃聯兩項自主標準所採取的不同發展路徑。前者因著部門利益彼此衝突導致 WAPI 自主標準的推動並不順利,反之,後者則充分掌握網絡經濟外部效應與技術專家網絡順利地完成自主標準國際化的過程。本文透過個案分析檢視網絡經濟,如何透過國際標準化的制度環境,導引中國尋求自主創新的制度學習之路。

關鍵詞:WAPI、閃聯、國際標準化組織、官僚政治、知識社群、新制度 分析途徑、網絡經濟

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#### 壹、前 言

長久以來,技術標準一直被視為技術與經濟的議題,也較不易引起社會與政治學者的關注。即便有也是局限在較常見的技術貿易障礙協定(Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade,以下簡稱 TBT)之相關實踐與因應對策以及國際貿易糾紛的研究課題。這類研究將技術標準視為市場既定的國際貿易規範,至於技術標準本身如何形成的過程不是這些研究所關心的重點。相對而言,政治經濟學者所關心的則傾向於規則的訂定過程?由誰訂定?對誰有利?以及其中的權力分配與制度調適等的問題。處在一個科技普遍發展的資訊社會,技術標準的壟斷已經不是單純的商業行為,它也與國家利益密切相關,尤其是在全球產業分工的市場結構下,科技競爭力已經成為新興經濟體國家總體競爭力的重要指標。尤其是在全球產業分工的市場結構下,後進工業國

家的製造能力也獲得跨越式的提升,但是關鍵技術或技術標準的核心價值和主導權上仍然依附在先進工業國家的主要跨國企業手中。使得科技全球化所發展出來的國際經濟秩序,出現了「世界體系理論」的核心邊陲關係①。同時也引起「科技民族主義」與「科技全球主義」的論戰②。而此一發展趨勢同時也帶進了政治學或是政治經濟學者的觀察視角。

對新興經濟體而言,長期處於全球產業分工的邊陲地位,主要以產品代工或低階 產品的製造地區或國家而言,開放雖然帶來政府財政稅收的增加與地方經濟的發展, 但是市場的開放並未因此而帶來科技產業競爭能力的提升,反而是在全球產業分工結 構下加速技術依賴的深化。以改革開放 30 年的中國爲例,暫且不論以市場換技術的策 略尚未獲得顯著的成效,面對 2002 年入世之後市場開放的承諾以及 TBT 對標準一致 化 (harmonization) 的要求,使得中國的「市場換技術」的籌碼相對弱化。同時又因 爲改革開放之後,長期仰賴進口技術,使得研發與技術商品化能力不足,自主知識產 權技術標準(以下簡稱,自主標準)能力的相對落後,使得技術標準的結構性邊陲地 位將更難有所突破。爲此,中國政府積極推動標準制定相關的中長期國家戰略。在策 略上,中國科技部首先在 2002 年推動的「技術標準發展戰略」,並在 2006 年全國科技 大會中正式通過的「國家中長期科學和技術發展規劃綱要」,展現了中國將從「中國製 造」走向「中國創造」的強烈企圖心。其中最重要的工作重點就是發展自主標準,在 制定國家標準以及標準國際化過程中有失敗也有成功的經驗③。其中屬於無線區域網路 認證相關的 WAPI 標準的挫敗經驗與數位家庭影音標準(以下簡稱閃聯標準)的成功 經驗呈現了完全不同的運作模式,對於檢視中國發展自主標準的制度因素提供了重要 的參考和比較案例。

本論文將以 WAPI 和閃聯兩項國家標準的制定爲研究個案④,從網絡經濟、官僚政治、標準化技術專家網絡、國際組織等制度層次進一步剖析中國追求自主標準的制度崛起過程。本文的基本假設認爲官僚政治與技術專家網絡是影響自主標準與國際參與

註① Thomas A. Loya and John Boli, "Standardization in the World Polity: Technical Rationality over Power," in Thomas A. Loya and John Boli eds., Constructing World Culture (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999) p. 185

註② 互聯網實驗室,「新全球主義:中國高科技標準戰略研究報告」,中華人民共和國知識產權局,2004 年 7月,http://big5.sipo.gov.cn/www/sipo/ztxx/zscqbft/zgipzlyj/200605/t20060531\_101294.htm。

註③ 依據全美亞洲研究所在 2006 年 6 月發表的第 10 期特別報告內容中提到了 TD-SCDMA (第三代行動通 訊標準)、AVS (數位影音編碼技術標準)、EVD (高密度光碟系統標準)、RFID (無線射頻識別技術標準)和閃聯 (數位家庭影音編碼標準)等重點項目的。

註④ 所謂 WAPI 就是 WLAN Authentication and Privacy Infrastructure 的英文縮寫,中文名稱是「無線區域網鑒別和保密基礎結構」,也就是無線區域網(WLAN)的新加密標準。無線區域網(WLAN)的傳輸協議有很多種,其中以802.11b 最為普及,目前包括迅馳(centrio)在內的筆記電腦無線產品採用這種協議。而中國所推出的WAPI是針對802.11b在安全方面的缺陷而開發的新技術,其目的一方面是透過中國標準的無線區域網路通訊提供更大的安全保障。另一方面有助於跨越工業先進國家以專利與智慧財產權結合壟斷技術標準所設置的進入門檻,加速中國大陸從「中國製造」轉向「中國創造」。

的兩個主要因素,WAPI 與閃聯兩項自主標準所採取的不同發展路徑。前者因著部門利益彼此衝突導致 WAPI 自主標準的推動並不順利,反之,後者充分掌握網絡經濟外部效應與技術專家網絡則順利地完成自主標準國際化的過程。本文透過個案分析檢視網絡經濟,如何透過國際標準化的制度環境,導引中國尋求自主創新的制度學習之路。

本文將分爲以下六個子題進一步闡釋。(一)文獻分析:(二)技術標準制定的政治經濟分析:(三)WAPI與閃聯工作組的自主標準化過程:(四)中國標準化戰略的制度結構與官僚政治:(五)自主標準國際化與技術專家社群網絡:(六)中國自主標準制定模式。

#### 貳、文獻分析

社會學科領域有關技術標準相關論著並不多見,多半偏重在科技管理層面的探 討,較少專注在標準化相關行爲者之間的互動與政治運作過程。從宏觀面來看,科學 技術的跨領域社會學研究開始於 1984 年由 Pinch 和 Bijker 首次將社會建構觀點,引介 到科學技術研究領域,並稱之爲「科技的社會建構」(social construction of technology) ⑤。MacKenzie 在 1990 年提到了「科技的新社會學」(new sociology of technology) ⑥,之後發展出「行爲者網絡途徑」(actor-network approach)。這些學者試 圖跨越科技與社會兩個領域的鴻溝, Woolgar 則進一步說明科技本身必須透過由行爲者 的界定才有意義,因此科技與社會之間不應該劃分界線(⑦。例如,在 Callon 的定義之 中,行爲者網絡是經由研究人員、製造商、主管部門和相關技術本身所建構的網絡關 係。另外,Schmidt 和 Werle 認為傳統工藝是由社會所形塑,必然也會影響社會的行 爲®。這些學者特別重視技術與社會行爲者之間的網絡關係。另外,科技史學家 Hughes 則專注在科技體系建制過程中的經濟、政治與組織的互動。他認爲在科技體系 建制初期利益相關者透過彼此的協調完成體系的建構,即使在體系正式運轉之後,相 關行爲者仍然繼續維持緊密的網絡關係 (seamless web)。易言之,從社會建構的角度 看人類的科技發展應該將科技視爲社會的依變項,而不是自變項。而技術標準制定本 身代表了高度的規範性科技發展體系,透過不同利益與價值取向的社會行爲者之間相

註⑤ Trevor J. Pinch and Wiebe E. Bijker, "The Social Construction of Facts and Artifacts: or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit Each Other," *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 14, No.3 (August 1984), P. 400.

註⑤ Donald MacKenzie, Inventing Accuracy: A Historical Sociology of Nuclear Missile Guidance (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001).

註① Steve Woolgar, "Reconstructing Man and Machine: A Note on Sociological Critiques of Cognitivism," in W. Bijker et al eds., *The Social Construction of Technological Systems* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), np. 311~328

註⑧ Susanne K. Schmidt and Raymund Werle, Coordinating Technology: Studies in the International Standardization of Telecommunications (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), p. 12.

互整合的過程。它一方面提供廠商達到經濟規模;同時促成技術系統的不斷地創新精進®。因此也有學者從網絡經濟學(network economy)的角度分析網絡經濟與技術標準的相關性®,以及技術標準設定引起的反托拉斯法的適用問題®。近年來更有政治經濟學者從市場、組織、政府三個層面探討技術標準相關的政策問題®。在市場層面主要探討消費者與生產者的角色對技術標準設定之影響。在組織方面則分析大企業如何聯合壟斷技術標準。在政府層面部分則較多在探討政府如何介入技術標準設定。同時東亞國家當中韓國和日本政府主導科技產業發展的經驗也一直是發展研究學者所關注的焦點,例如,韓國政府介入行動通信標準設定的個案分析提供了政治經濟分析觀點的技術標準制定研究®。

至於有關於中國技術標準的相關研究主要是受到 2002 年以後,中國政府推動技術標準戰略之影響才逐漸引起重視。對於中國技術標準制定的學術研究比較多是從權力競爭的角度分析,例如楊劍認爲中國的技術標準戰略面臨市場與權力制定體系兩方面權力結構限制®。西方學者關注此一議題的角度則偏向制度分析,例如有學者從「行爲者網絡理論」(Actor Network Theory)解釋中國 WAPI 戰略不成功的原因,在於忽略了標準應用上相關行爲者之間網絡連結是標準化成功的要件®。同時也有學者指出中國大陸發展技術標準過程中,由於官僚政治因素造成標準設定進程中制度限制,並借以反駁中國科技民族主義的論點®。例如 Zhou 的主要論點認爲,中國推動技術標準戰略是被動因應跨國公司以全球主義之名行技術與標準壟斷之實,而中國本身科技產業發展的落差以及行政部門利益無法整合的事實,才是限制中國政府以科技民族主義爲訴求推動強制國家標準失敗的主因。除此之外,美國亞洲研究中心(The National Bureau of Asian Research, NBR)從 2004 年開始進行系列性觀察中國標準戰略的發展®。此系列

註 ⑨ Ibid., P. 41

註① Neil Gandal, "Compatibility, Standardization, and Network Effects: Some Policy Implication," Oxford Review of Economic Policy, Vol.18, No. 1 (Spring 2002), pp. 80~90.

註⑪ Dennis W Carlton, "Intellectual Property, Antitrust and Strategic Behavior," NBER Working Paper Series, 2002, pp. 29~60.

註② Shane Greenstein and Victor Stango, Standards and Public Policy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2007)

註③ Whasun Jho, "Global Political Economy of Technology Standardization: A Case of the Korean Mobil Telecommunications Market," *Telecommunications Policy*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (March 2007), pp. 124~138.

註⑪ 楊劍,「技術標準競爭的權力結構限制與中國技術標準戰略」,WTO 經濟導刊(北京),第 6 期 (2007年),頁 66~68。

註⑤ Heejin Lee and Sangjo Oh, "A Standards War Waged by a Developing Country: Understanding International Standard Setting From the Actor-Network Perspective," *Journal of Strategic Information Systems*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 2006), pp. 177~195.

註⑥ Zhou Yu, "State and Commercial Enterprises in China's Technical Standard Strategies," *The China Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 2006), pp. 37~65.

註⑪ Richard P. Suttmeier and Xiangkui Yao, China's Post-WTO Technology Policy: Standards, Software and the Changing Nature of Technonationalism (Seattle, WA: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2004); Richard P. Suttmeier and Xiangkui Yao, Standards of Power? Technology, Institutions, and Politics in the

性研究相當詳盡地分析了中國技術標準戰略發起的背景、內容以及執行的成效。同時對於一些挫敗的經驗也提出了研究分析。基本上和 Zhou 的觀點大致相符,也呼應了中國政治體制中普遍存在官僚政治問題。

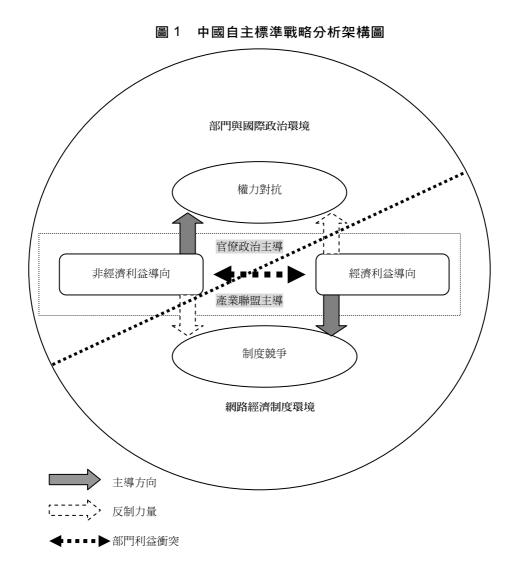
綜觀研究文獻,有關中國技術標準的研究者大致傾向於從經濟民族主義觀點、網絡經濟和官僚政治分別進行個案分析。三種分析角度都有其重要貢獻,但是研究者未能將三種分析角度同時納入個案進行比較研究,也就無法呈現中國透過標準戰略的自主創新的制度調識與學習過程。本研究的基本假設認為,中國政府不同部門因應國際與國內政治經濟環境,往往會出現不同的政策偏好。不同的部門的利益成為國家發展戰略的最大挑戰。反之,透過民間企業主導的標準聯盟進行跨國或區域合作以及技術專家網絡的聯結,創造網絡經濟的市場效應與知識社群的建立是標準化戰略致勝的重要關鍵。本研究試圖深入探討官僚政治與產業聯盟的非正式制度因素,如何影響「中國製造」朝向「中國創造」轉型。圖 1 的分析架構中,將標準化戰略分爲官僚政治主導與產業聯盟主導兩個途徑,官僚政治主導的標準化戰略,基於部門偏好非經濟因素考量的政策選擇,傾向於透過部門之間乃至於國際政治權力競爭的方式取得優勢:反之,產業聯盟主導的標準化戰略選擇在網絡產業的市場上建立共識,再將共識的基礎轉換成制度優勢。前者是建立在部門與國際政治環境中的 WAPI 經驗,而後者是建立在網絡經濟制度環境中的閃聯經驗。WAPI 的經濟說明了安全部門主導了標準的制定過程,閃聯的經驗則是產業聯盟主導的標準制定過程。

#### 參、技術標準制定的政治經濟分析

就技術標準本身而言,它是大規模工業生產時代爲了將不同系統之間建立互通兼容的共同標準體系,透過標準的制定有助於降低廠商之間、消費者和廠商之間的資訊成本,以利產品的進一步研發,並提供消費者使用上的便利。因此,在資訊化社會中技術產品推陳出新的速度遠非傳統工業生產時代所能及,技術標準該如何制定更顯得有其迫切性。從技術標準的發展趨勢來看,在標準化或標準設定(standard setting)過程中,雖然有所謂的「法定標準」和「事實標準」的區分,但是,市場的接受度是技術標準制定的最主要考量。然而,市場的選擇有時會受到外部因素所扭曲,形成非最佳選擇主導產品市場的普遍現象。而這些外部因素中,最主要的特色就是所謂的正回饋(positive feedback)與鎖住效應(lock-in effect)®。

Development of China's National Standards Strategy (Seattle, WA: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2006); Richard P. Suttmeier and Xiangkui Yao, Standards, Stakeholders, and Innovation: China's Evolving Role in the Global Knowledge Economy (Seattle, WA: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2008).

註傷 M. L. Katz and C. Shapiro, "Network Externalities, Competition and Compatibility," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (June 1985), pp. 424~440.



資料來源:作者繪圖。

換言之,在知識經濟的網絡社會中,ICT 產品的競爭優勢會隨著使用者的增加而上升。因此,透過優惠甚至是免費手段爭取最大用戶量是相當常見的競爭策略。反之,市場保護則會阻礙網絡的「正回饋」效應。另一方面,對經營者而言,網絡經濟中的產品使用者往往會因爲不願支付轉換成本,進而讓既有廠商取得先佔市場的「鎖住效應」。因此在網絡經濟中透過掌握技術標準取得市場先佔是擴大鎖住與正回饋效應的重要關鍵。著名的技術標準戰的案例,就是 1970 年代末期日本 JVC 公司與 SONY公司之間展開的 VHS 和 Betamax 兩款錄影帶的標準爭奪戰。在爭奪戰之中,兩家公司各自壟斷其用戶而無法交互使用。最後 JVC 的 VHS 標準勝出的關鍵就是採用了「正回饋」的開放策略,亦即將專屬技術授權給競爭者,擴大其用戶網絡,最後壟斷了

95%的市場而主導了「事實標準」®。換言之,網絡經濟中的商品或服務的價值是隨著社會網絡的擴大而創造出來。而技術標準的掌握是擴大網絡外部效應的重要關鍵。

進入網際網路時代,以美商為首的 Lucent、CISCO 等網路設備業者,也是慣用以技術標準先佔市場,再以產品相容性 (interoperability) 為由擴張市場佔有率,逐漸將其產品發展成為產業的「事實標準」(de facto standard),再取得標準化領先的產業協會如美國電子電機工程師協會 (Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, IEEE) 和歐洲電信標準委員會的支持,最後發展成為所謂的「國際標準」就是典型的由企業主導「事實標準」的例子。至於 WAPI 標準所使用的「無線區域網路」是針對市場普遍使用的 Wi-Fi 標準的安全漏洞提出質疑,而另外發展的一套標準。但是 IEEE 則堅持依 WTO/TBT 的規範,中國應在既有的標準之上力求精進而不是另立新標準。儘管歐美大廠已經形成各自的標準聯盟,但是透過 IEEE 推出的 802.11i 在安全認證仍有待改進。因此如何在衆多歐美大廠壟斷的國際標準化組織的非正式制度運作中取得優勢是中國政府與廠商的共同機會與考驗愈。

再就國際標準制定過程來看,有著「技術聯合國」之稱的國際標準化組織(International Standardization Organization)成立於1947年2月23日,是各國標準化管理機構代表所組成,是制定全世界工商業國際標準的管理機構。也是世界上最重要的標準化非政府組織,在國際標準制定中占主導地位。雖然 ISO 標準沒有強制性,但是經常被視為 WTO 有關貿易技術壁壘認定是否符合標準國際化原則的主要依據。到目前為止,ISO 的正式國家會員體有106個,共同負責制定在世界通用的國際標準。由於 ISO 頒布的標準在世界上具有很強的權威性、指導性和通用性,所以 ISO 標準受到各國重視。

在 ISO/IEC 的體制下,各國技術專家、產業代表 (industry association) 透過所屬 會員體的國家標準組織向 ISO/IEC 聯合會議提案之後,ISO/IEC 再將提案送交相關技術委員會 (Technical Committee, TC) 或重新成立新的 TC,再由 TC 成立工作小組 (Working Group, WG) 進行審查。因此主要的審查工作是在 WG,而 TC 或是技術次委員會 (Subcommittee,STC) 的主要工作是負責就 WG 代表之間的不同意見進行整合,必要時也會組成特別小組進行協調。最後形成委員會草案 (Committee Draft, CD),CD 必須送交所有 TC 或 SC 會員體初審之後完成「國際標準草案」,(Draft International Standard, DIS),再將 DIS 送請所有會員體進行五個月期的審查再以通信完成投票程序,最後票數必須獲得 IEC 會員體 2/3 以及 ISO 會員體 3/4 的絕對多數才算

註① Christine Schatzl, "The Role of Standards in the Information Society," presented for the First IEEE Conference on Standards and Innovation in IT (Aachen, Germany: Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, September 15-17, 1999), p. 3.

註② 事實上,也有專家主張在全球無線區網安全標準尚未統一之前,包括日本、歐洲、美國都積極推出自已的安全解決方案。陳思,「WLAN 國家標準 12 月 1 日強制執行」,中國計算機報(北京),2003年12月17日,TMP123。

正式通過。換言之,一個標準的形成,關鍵階段是在 TC 和 WC。雖然在 ISO/IEC 的組織規範中要求所有參與審查的人員必須保持中立,但是實際上,大量技術專家在 WC 中參與意見是保障國家標準進入國際標準的必要前提②。這個因素也說明了中國標準進入 ISO 審查過程中爭取充分表達意見機會的重要性。

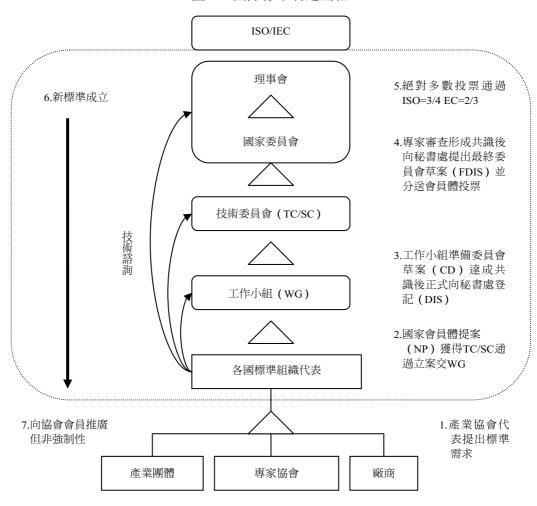


圖 2 國際標準制定流程

NP= new work item proposal (立案)

DIS= draft International Standard (草案)

FDIS= final draft International Standard (最終草案)

資料來源: Thomas A. Loya and John Boli, "Standardization in the World Polity: Technical Rationality over Power," p. 178; "How ISO Develops Standards," *ISO*, http://www.iso.org/iso/about/how\_iso\_develops\_standards.htm.

註② Thomas A. Loya and John Boli, "Standardization in the World Polity: Technical Rationality over Power," in Thomas A. Loya and John Boli eds., *Constructing World Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp.178~181.

#### 肆、WAPI 與閃聯工作組的自主標準化過程

中國政府早在 20 世紀末便開始研議自主標準的問題,但將議題提升到戰略層次積極朝向科技自主創新的方向發展則是正式成爲 WTO 會員之後。2002 年 1 月 30 日,中共國家主席江澤民在北京考察工作時首先提到「以信息化帶動工業化、現代化」的政策方向並以擁有自主知識產權爲目標,加快電子信息、軟件技術、生物醫藥、環保工程等高新技術產業的發展②。」2 月 1 日,中國總理朱鎔基在國家科學技術獎勵大會上的講話也強調要增强原始性創新能力,更多地掌握具有自主知識產權的核心技術和關鍵技術②。3 月 8 日,中國副總理李嵐清在全國政協九屆五次會議科學界、科技界委員的聯組會上則提出制定推動科技發展的人才戰略、專利戰略、標準戰略,加强知識產權的保護、重視專利的申請、保護和使用③。

#### 一、WAPI 標準制定過程

從十五計劃開始,中國政府積極展開了「技術標準發展戰略」,在國家重點支持的標準化工作中⑤,「無線區域網路認證保密基礎結構」(WLAN Authentication and Privacy Infrastructure,以下簡稱 WAPI) 爲中國自主國家標準初試啼聲⑥,並在 2003 年5 月12 日由中國國家標準化管理委員會正式頒佈,同時宣佈自 2004 年 1 月 1 日 (緩衝期到同年 6 月 1 日)起,在中國境內強制執行此一國家標準。此一政策宣示引發以美國資訊大廠英特爾爲首的「無線區域網路認證」(Wireless Fidelity,以下簡稱 Wi-Fi) 聯盟的強力反對。並透過各種途徑向中國政府施壓,進而演變成爲 2004 年中國與美國貿易談判的焦點議題,導致中國政府最終在 WAPI 強制政策上的全面退讓。

中國強制國家標準受到美國政府透過雙邊談判途徑的抵制,不得不轉向國際標準化組織(Organization for International Standardization, ISO)暨國際電工委員會(International Electronic Commission, IEC)多邊制度途徑尋求突破。ISO/IEC 爲了避免讓WLAN產品市場陷入一分爲二的困境,首先由秘書長艾倫布列敦(Alan Bryden)出面就中國WAPI與美國電子電機工程師協會支持的802.11i(Wi-Fi)爭奪國際標準產生的糾紛進入協商,並於2005年5月17日在日內瓦組織協調會斡旋未果。2005年下

註② 同前註。

註② 同前註。

註⑤ 其他重點支持的標準化工作包括 EVD (Enhanced Versatile Disc 增強型多媒體光碟系統)標準、數位影音標準 (AVS—Audio, Video Coding Standards 數位影音編解碼技術標準)、數位設備交流資訊設備資源分享協同服務標準 (IGRS—Intelligent Grouping and Resources Sharing,又稱閃聯)、新一代的網際網路協定第6版 (IPV6)、無線微波識別標籤 (RFID)標準等。

註③ 雖然在此之前已經有第三代行動通訊的 TD-SCDMA 中國標準成爲自主國際標準,但是 TD-SCDMA 是由中國大唐與德國西門子共同合作開發。而 WAPI 則是首次完全由中國人自主開發的標準。

半年 WAPI 雖然再度尋求與 802.11i 技術合併,但因利益分配問題而作罷。最終不得不將 802.11i 與 WAPI 技術同時提列國際標準化組織的快速投票流程,在 2005 年 10 月,雙方正式進入針鋒相對的競爭階段®。 2006 年 3 月 6 日,對兩個標準分開投票結果,30 個國家成員體對 WAPI 投票,其中贊成票 8 張;31 個國家成員體對 802.11i 投票,贊成票 24 張。 2006 年 6 月 6 日,在布拉格舉行的 802.11i 與 WAPI 投票分析組會議上,中國代表團不被允許闡述自己觀點,最終中國代表團憤然退出會議®,WAPI 的標準的國際化戰略基本上已經暫告失敗。

#### 二、閃聯標準制定過程

除了 WAPI 之外,其他的自主標準國際化工作也在同步進行,其中包括 2003 年 7 月 10 日,由中國信息產業部科技司指導,包括聯想、TCL、康佳、海信、長城等 5 家廠商發起成立的「信息設備資源共享協同服務」標準化工作組 (簡稱 "閃聯標準工作組")正式成立,主要工作是發展數位家庭影音編碼標準。經過近 5 年的發展,閃聯產業聯盟達到成員企業 115 家。在此同時工作組也積極進行跨國聯盟,等待時機成熟之後,2006 年 3 月 29 日,閃聯與日本的 ECHONET 和韓國的 Home Network Forum 簽署協議,正式聯合成立了亞洲第一個跨地區的家庭網絡標準組織「亞洲家庭網絡標準委員會 (Asia Home Network Council)」,加強了亞洲地區的技術標準合作。2006 年 7 月 31 日,閃聯遞交給國際標準化組織 (ISO)、國際電工委員會 (IEC) 的國際標準提案獲得了各國專家的認可,並以絕對多票通過,正式被 ISO/IEC 提案立項。另一方面,閃聯跨國合作的腳步未曾停歇。2007 年 3 月,閃聯同時與松下、三菱電子和SONY等公司建立 CEPCA (電力通信聯盟)合作,在中國合建全球第一個電力傳輸認證測試中心。2007 年 8 月閃聯產業技術聯盟首次以聯盟名義共同參與柏林國際消費電子展 (IFA),提升了閃聯標準的國際認知度。

在 ISO 的審查過程中,雖然閃聯在技術專家知識社群的聯結,區域標準聯盟的合作上已經進展得相當順利,但是 ISO 標準的高門檻審查標準,對任何一個爭取 ISO 認可的國際標準,都是一項嚴苛的考驗。因此,來自國內外的潛在競爭者也是閃聯爭取國際標準路途上必須排除的障礙。2006 年 7 月,閃聯作爲中國的一個國際標準提案,獲得 ISO/IEC 關於 3C 融合國際標準草案的正式立案。同時,來自中國的另外一種 3C 融合標準提案—E 家佳一就沒有獲得通過,主要是受到了包括西門子在內的歐洲同行的阻撓®。從 2007 年 9 月的「最終委員會草案」第一次投票中,閃聯的標準曾一度受阻:由英特爾主導的另一 3C 融合標準一數位生活網絡聯盟(DLNA)一的競爭壓力之下,來自美國和歐洲幾個國家的專家對閃聯標準投了反對票。不過,閃聯方面很快提出了第二次投票的建議,並在隨後的兩個月中與英特爾等 DLNA 主要成員,以及相關

註② 朱曄,「中國標準合理」,計算機世界(北京),2003年12月15日,第E16版。

註② 蘇娟,「成功的爲什麼是閃聯」,中國計算機報(北京),第 11 期(2008 年),頁 A16。

的專家進行了深入溝通。2007 年 11 月 14 日正式投票結束,閃聯標準在 ISO/IEC 以高票通過最終委員會草案投票,獲得了來自美國、日本、韓國、法國、英國等資訊通信領域強國的支持®。在開票當天,閃聯標準工作組在電腦前等待投票結果,統計資料第一頁的摘要中顯示,閃聯的票數沒有達到既定標準但是在第二頁記載了各個國家投票的詳情資料,工作組發現閃聯標準得到的票數完全達到了要求。工作組立即聯繫 ISO/IEC 秘書處,要求對投票結果進行核實確認。最終獲得委員會核實票數,並確認了閃聯標準通過投票的事實®。

從比較的觀點來看,WAPI 和閃聯的國際標準化工作的結果,一個是失敗的經驗而另一個成功的案例。兩者都是國家重點支持的國家標準,但是導致不同的結果背後有何制度結構因素,將是以下分析的重點。

#### 伍、中國標準化戰略的制度結構與官僚政治

有關當代中國官僚政治的問題可以回溯到後毛時代中國政治體制的運作模式,Liberthal 和 Lampton 稱之爲「裂解式的威權主義」(fragmented authoritarianism) ②。近期則有學者對中國履行入世承諾的相關問題上的官僚政治進行分析,例如在 China Joins the World 一書的主編在導論中介紹了中國參與世界的經驗,其中有關於影響中國對外行爲的重要因素之一,就是國內政治利益的協調整合。作者認爲隨著世代更替,以及中國加入了國際社會,參與的國際事務越來越多,行政管理愈來愈分散,同時在財政預算的壓力之下,中共領導人已經從改革開放以前的意識形態與民族主義主導,逐漸轉向鄧小平時代與後鄧時期的實用主義掛帥,政府決策過程充滿討價還價或利益協商③。部門間利益與政策偏好的差異化至今仍然普遍存在。換言之,雖然中國改革開放之後爲了加速與國際接軌,政府體制改革的步伐也在加速進行,有關標準化體制的建制歷程本身也反應了中國對於標準化與國際接軌的重視程度。只是正式制度的建立,仍無法解決非正式制度關係所帶來的偏差行爲或是官僚政治的問題。

首先,就中國標準化體系的建制過程來看,1949 年中華人民共和國建國初期在中 共黨中央技術管理局設置了標準規格處,專門負責工業生產和工程建設標準化工作, 1956 年開始才從黨務體系轉入行政體系新成立的「國家科學技術委員會」下設立了標 準局,1963 年召開全國第一次「標準化工作會議」之後,確定了 32 個研究院、所和 設計單位共同組成國家標準化的核心機構。但是受到文化大革命的影響,標準化工作

註⑩ 「閃聯標準成爲國際標準的三大砝碼」,中國電子報(北京),2008年7月31日,第2版。

註③ 同註②。

註② Kenneth Lieberthal and David M Lampton eds., Beauracy, Politics, and Decision-Making in Post Mao China (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).

註③ 華宏勛等譯,Elizabeth Economy and Michel Oksenberg 著,中國參與世界 (北京:新華出版社,2000年),頁 28~29。

曾經一度中斷,直到 1978 年改革開放之後,才頒布了《中華人民共和國標準化管理條例》,同年成立「國家標準總局」,將標準化的管理工作正式建制化,直到 1988 年才將「國家計量局」納入,兩個單位合併成爲「國家技術監督局」,同時也正式通過《中華人民共和國標準化法》完成了立法程序。並依據標準化法在國家質檢總局下成立了「國家標準化管理委員會」的事業單位。初步完備了標準化建制與管理規範。但是真正進入國際化接軌的建制時期則是在 2000 年爲了因應入世,以及 WTO 技術貿易壁壘可能對中國自主標準的衝擊,才積極成立「中國國家質量檢驗檢疫總局(簡稱質檢局,AQSIQ)」,下設「中國國家標準化管理委員會(SAC)」,作爲國務院授權統一管理全國標準化工作的主管機構。同時 SAC 也是中國參與國際標準化組織的代表®。

依據《中華人民共和國標準化法》的規定,中國大陸的標準分四級,依序爲國家標準、行業標準(或稱協會標準)、地方標準和企業標準⑤。國家標準是由國家標準化機構通過並公開發布的標準。而行業標準的形成,是因爲不存在國家標準又需要在特定行業發展全國統一技術時所制定的標準。地方標準則強調依據各地特殊需要卻又欠缺可依循的全國或行業標準時由地方政府部門所制定的標準。不同於大部分工業先進國家的慣例,在中國所進行的行業標準化工作,基本上還是由國務院各部、委的司、局級機構下設的「標準化處」或類似的標準處的機構來負責。同時,每個工業部、委都先後成立了行業的標準化研究所。這些標準化研究所協助國務院各工業部、委的司、局級的標準化處推展標準化工作。就標準制定的程序而言,首先由各專業領域逐步成立的專業標準化技術委員會,開展該領域的標準化工作。最後仍是由國務院的各部、委的司、局級機構下設標準化處統一管理,包括由標準化處負責計劃下達、標準審批、安排出版印刷⑥。因此,不同部委有其標準化處負責相關產業標準的制定管理。然而不可諱言地,正式的制度結構無法反應標準制定過程中官僚政治的非正式制度關係。技術標準制定過程之中利益相關政府部門之間難免出現部門利益杆格的窘境。

就信息產業的發展趨勢來看,隨著廣電、電信和網路的數位匯流 (三網融合),傳統單一產業主管部門之間的「條塊分割」成爲中國因應網絡經濟最大的障礙。其中又以信產部和國家廣電總局之間的業務重疊最爲明顯。原本負責媒體內容審批的廣電總局與強調經濟收益的信產部同時介入數位影音編碼技術標準的制定過程時,部門利益衝突便無法避免。例如,數位影音編碼 AVS 標準雖然已經獲得信產部、科技部和中科院及中國工程等政府部門及專家的審定和認可,但是廣電總局所屬的中央電視台卻放棄 AVS 系統而選擇了 MPEG-2 系統。導致中國內部標準無法整合的窘境。使得 AVS 的國家標準化之路就成爲官僚政治下的祭品®。

註 3 劉振剛主編,技術創新、技術標準與經濟發展(北京:中國標準出版社,2005年)。

註⑤ 「標準體制」,中國國家標準化管理委員會,http://www.sac.gov.cn/templet/default/ShowArticle.jsp?id=2207。

註颂 Scott Kennedy, The Political Economy of Standards Coalitions: Explaining China's Involvement in High-

同樣地,以 WAPI 爲例,制定 WAPI 標準中,最重要的兩家單位,正是國家密碼 管理委員辦公室和中國寬帶無線 IP 標準工作組。WAPI 聯盟的主導廠商捷通通信的另 一重身分是,中國寬帶無線 IP 標準工作組的 10 家創始會員單位之一,同爲創始會員 之一的還有國家商用密碼研究中心,後者是國家密碼管理委員的下屬單位。依據 WAPI 聯盟秘書長曹軍的說法,中國頒布 WAPI 國家標準的諸多因素之中,安全問題是最主 要的因素。因此,2002年12月26日由國家密碼管理委員會辦公室主持並組織相關專 家對 WAPI 標準進行了審查,參加審定的有包括中國工程院院士在內的 10 位專家,評 審結果爲一致通過骤。就行政組織結構來看,國家密碼管理委員會隸屬於國務院系統, 但國家密碼管理局同時也隸屬於中共中央直屬機關的下屬中央密碼工作領導小組辦公 室,是由中共中央指導的安全部門,又稱爲一個機構兩塊牌子的機構®。在以黨領政的 歷史制度結構下,對於黨中央安全部門所主導的標準化工作,其他部門即便有不同的 政策偏好也只能配合。例如,在 2003 年 9 月,信息產業部下屬權威調研機構「計算機 與微電子發展研究中心」(CCID,簡稱賽迪顧問)曾舉辦過一次移動通信大會,當時 曾大力推薦與 WAPI 競爭 Wi-Fi 標準,英特爾還因推廣使用 Wi-Fi 標準的迅馳而大受褒 獎。但僅僅兩個月,Wi-Fi 技術標準和迅馳晶片成了不符合國家標準的典型,且被要求 限期修正⑩。政策的轉折立即引起國際關切和美國國務院的介入,最終在國際壓力之下 無限期延後 WAPI 強制標準的實施日期。

#### 陸、自主標準國際化與技術專家社群網絡

依據 Hass 的定義,所謂知識社群是指「一群由專家構成的人際網絡,這些專家在某一特定領域中有聲譽和專長,並且能夠對該領域所涉及的政策,發表權威性的評論⑪」。Haas 同時認爲「知識社群」有時可以成爲打破制度慣例(habit-driven institution)的一種途徑⑩。尤其在技術專業領域的國際建制中更爲明顯。但是,由技術專家所組成的知識社群,在國際標準化競爭中仍會面臨主導標準的歐美區域產業聯

Tech Standards Wars (Seattle, WA: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2006).

註③ 中科院計算所表示,政策上國家推薦標準遲遲不能批複,讓很多 AVS 產業鏈上的企業不敢投資,而沒有更多的企業來參與應用的話,AVS 就缺乏一個可以拿出來共同接受的說法,導致產業鏈上的企業各自爲政,最終喪失了國產自主技術標準做大的機會。曹增光,「AVS 面臨生死抉擇時刻中國標準應走出死循環」,中國經濟時報(北京),2005年12月21日,第12版。

註③ 「國務院部委管理的國家局」,中華人民共和國中央人民政府,http://big5.gov.cn:80/gate/big5/www.gov.cn/gjjg/2008-04/25/content\_2399.htm。

註⑩ 「誰謀殺了英特爾的中國生意」,財經時報(北京),2004年4月10日,第14版。

註① Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 1. (Winter 1992), p.3:郭承天,國際建制與國際組織(台北:時英出版社,1996年),百29。

註⑫ Peter M. Haas, When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organization,
(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 40~46.

盟的杯葛和阻擋,因此,溝通和動員能力就成爲打破慣例不可或缺的策略選擇母。

首先,在參與 ISO/IEC 制度運作部分,中國雖然早在 1939 年就加入 ISO 的前身國 際電工委員會 (IEC),中國也是 ISO 始創成員國以及最初的五個常任理事國之一44。 由於當時中華民國政府未按規章繳納會費,1950年被 ISO 停止會籍。1978年9月中國 以中國標準化協會名義重新參加 ISO。但是 1985 之前中國與 ISO/IEC 的互動僅止於被 動的參與。直到「七五計畫」(1986-1990) 開始重視與國際標準接軌,除了 1988 年通 過《中華人民共和國標準化法》成立「中國國家技術監督局」之外,同年中國首次獲 選爲國際標準化組織理事國並成爲技術委員會成員、國際電工委員會 (IEC) 執委會成 員和副主席。之後中國每年派出大量的各方專家參加國際標準的制訂、諮詢、提案、 投票工作,與許多國家的標準化組織和區域性標準化組織建立合作關係。1990 年並首 次在北京承辦 IEC 會員大會,也開始承擔部分國際標準的起草工作®,爲日後積極參 與國際標準化組織工作累積經驗與人脈。具體的成果展現在 2002 年再次主辦 IEC 年會 之後,中國正式獲選爲 IEC 理事會和標準化管理委員會成員,顯示中國在爭取 IEC 的 決策和管理階層的參與不遺餘力。中國國家標準管理委員會甚至將爭取 ISO 的常任理 事國列爲 2006 年到 2020 年中國標準化工作發展重點工作之一屬。也就是必須提升中國 在 ISO 的貢獻率,包括承擔 ISO 技術委員會、分技術委員會、工作組的數量和以該成 員爲主起草國際標準的數量⑩。

雖然中國積極參與國際標準化組織相關活動,WAPI 與閃聯也都先後進入 ISO/IEC 的標準化審查過程,但是兩者的際遇完全不同。其中最大的差別是對於 ISO/IEC 非正式制度運作模式的掌握程度不同。WAPI 原先的構想只是運用世界貿易組織中「貿易技術壁壘協定」(WTO/TBT) 規定 WTO 各成員國可以爲本國安全、健康、環保等正當目標,發展中國自主標準,卻因爲忽略網絡產業生態與特性,引起跨國公司母國政府的介入,在不得已情況下轉向 ISO 尋求解套。但是,事實說明,中國在 ISO/IEC 的正式制度關係仍不足以爲 WAPI 取得最後的勝利。反之,在數位家庭影音標準(英文簡稱 IGRS 或俗稱的「閃聯」)則以超過 96%的高支持率順利獲得通過,正式成爲第一個來自中國的 ISO 國際標準概。

就比較觀點來看,雖然兩個標準工作組都是政府重點支持的自主標準,閃聯是由

註④ 郭承天,國際建制與國際組織,頁31。

註④ John Boli and George M. Thomas, Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 173.

註⑤ 「加速採用 IEC 標準打破國際技術壁壘-訪第 66 屆 IEC 大會組委會秘書長、IEC 中國國家委員會主席」,國際商報(北京),2002年10月19日,第 001版。

註働 Thomas A. Loya and John Boli, op. cit., pp.178~181.

註⑩ 依據 SAC 的新聞稿內容,ISO 貢獻率排名第六的中國已經正式成為了 ISO 的常任理事國。也就是提早提前 12 年實現成為 ISO 常任理事國的目標。為中國取得在國際標準化組織高層的話語權展開新的一頁。「我國成為國際標準化組織常任理事國 」,科技日報(北京),2008 年 10 月 22 日,http://www.nxkjt.gov.cn/detail.asp?n\_id=10886。

聯想企業主導,而聯想是從企業經營模式進行市場整合與推廣,以聯想本身的企業規模選擇其相對熟悉的「事實標準」制定路徑:反之,捷通西電是一個相對規模小的企業,本身就知名度不高也不具備市場先佔優勢,由一家本土企業出面配合政府部門的合作對抗由 Wintel 聯盟⑩主導的 Wi-Fi 標準市場,是 WAPI 標準化工作策略選擇,只是,在安全考量優先的前提下,它忽略了中國無線區域網路設備市場早已形成 Wi-Fi 先佔的網絡效應,所受到的阻力正是來自以 Wi-Fi 為核心的產業聯盟和與產業鍊相關的網絡行為者。相對而言,閃聯的策略正是擴大其標準使用的「正回饋」,以建立「鎖住效應」為最終目標。更重要的是與專家社群網絡的互動,依據閃聯標準工作組組長的說法,有資格參與投票的成員國有二十多個,中國閃聯標準工作組的專家必須與每個國家的投票代表去闡述溝通,爭取得到各國專家的認可,從而獲投贊成票。不定期邀請這些標準組織的人到中國來參觀瞭解技術方案。同時,通過電話等方式進行有效溝通。在 2004~2006 年這幾年間,閃聯標準工作組的專家和這些組織間一直保持大概兩周一次的電話會議⑩。透過持續地與標準化組織中的技術專家社群溝通建立共識是後者成功的關鍵。

#### 柒、中國自主標準制定模式

中國的自主創新最大的考驗就是社會主義市場經濟面向網絡市場經濟的制度調適問題。正如中國標準化研究院副院長鄭衛華所稱:

「協會標準化工作是……市場經濟運作中很重要的手段之一。……工業發達國家有著幾十年,有的甚至上百年的協會標準化工作經驗……(但是在中國)技術標準被天經地義地認為是政府的事情,企業只需要也只能依據國家制定的統一的技術標準組織生產。……我國行業標準化原有結構與管理,基本上是在計劃經濟環境中誕生,在計劃經濟環境下運行,……我國原有行業標準化工作,基本都是由國務院各部、委的司、局級機構下設的標準化處或類似的標準處的機構來開展管理。……」即

依據鄭衛華的說法,在行業協會自主能力不足的前提上,中國發展自主標準會受 到先天性的制約,也就是很難在網絡經濟中取得市場先佔優勢。易言之,政府領導企

註⑩ 「Wintel」, Microsoft 與 Intel 所組成的商業聯盟(Wintel 聯盟)。依據維基百科的解釋 Wintel 即 Wintel 架構。字面上是指由 Microsoft Windows 作業系統與 Intel CPU 所組成的個人電腦。實際上是指 Microsoft 與 Intel 的商業聯盟,該聯盟意圖並成功地取代了 IBM 公司在個人電腦市場上的主導地位。 所以也稱為 Wintel 聯盟。這是一種通俗的非官方說法。「Wintel」,維基百科, http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wintel。

註 50 同註 20。

註⑤ 同註‰。

業的產業發展模式仍制約著中國的科技產業發展與自主標準化的發展。WAPI 與閃聯兩個自主標準的發展路徑則進一步證實了中國標準發展戰略無法迴避的制度調適問題。以下將就兩個標準化個案歸納出「官僚政治主導的標準制定模式」與「產業聯盟主導的標準制定模式」。

#### 一、官僚政治主導的標準制定模式

WAPI 的經驗說明了,安全部門偏好主導了標準制定過程。就 WAPI 標準工作組成員來看,除了中國電子技術標準化研究所、西安郵電學院等單位之外,其核心成員包括西安西電捷通無線網路公司以及國家商用密碼研究中心。西電捷通是西安電子科大出資 25%股份,民間出資 75%,總資產 1000 萬人民幣所衍生的捷通無線網路公司。而西安電子科技大學的前身又是中央軍委無線電學校。另外一方面商用密碼研究中心則直屬國家密碼管理委員會辦公室。這些部委的所屬單位的參與,已經說明了安全利益導向的標準制定模式將主導 WAPI 的標準化。但是由於受到 Wi-Fi 標準在中國市場「鎖住效應」的影響,WAPI 很難在中國市場中取得的產業鍊上、中、下游業者的信心,標準工作組只能選擇安全與民族標準為訴求,為強制國家標準的政策背書®。

WAPI 標準化工作組一開始就是以安全考量強制國家標準為最高指導原則,因此網 絡效應不在評估之內。首先就企業規模而言,標準工作組選擇了企業規模只有 1000 萬 人民幣的衍生公司作爲企業代表,後者除了技術開發能力的考量之外,基本上西電捷 通並不具備獨自開展市場網絡效應的條件,也因此對政府政策性支持的依賴程度相對 較高; 弔詭的是政府政策性介入本身, 又容易落入 WTO/TBT 的貿易障礙的指控, 為 WAPI 自主標準留下了制度上的障礙。另一方面,在以黨領政安全掛帥的制度結構中, 有時部門間的利益衝突,無法經由內部解決時,反而加速提升為國際經貿糾紛以求解 套,例如在信產部所屬部門被要求從支持英特爾的 Wi-Fi 標準中轉向為不得採用的政 策矛盾中,提供了外商和貿易談判部門得以介入影響政策過程的借口®。雖然,WAPI 一度尋求 ISO/IEC 的支持,但是受到美國電子電機工程師協會 (IEEE) 和英國在 ISO 會員體代表的阻擋,包括要求中方先向 IEEE 提交標準修正案,也不接受中方的評論意 見的偏頗作法,最終仍不敵 Wi-Fi 標準聯盟在 ISO 投票過程中的政治運作而宣告失 敗。圖 3 說明了 WAPI 標準工作組以安全利益為訴求,並與其他區域標準組織對抗的 標準制定過程,過程中的主要的障礙來自 Wi-Fi 聯盟或與 IEEE 的非正式制度關係。在 網絡經濟外部效應的制約下,WAPI 無法在國內市場形成共識是它最後向美方退讓的重 要原因。

註② 依據 WAPI 聯盟秘書長曹軍的說法,中國頒布 WAPI 國家標準的諸多因素之中,安全問題是最主要的 因素。同註③。

註③ 筆者參加 2009 年 2 月在重慶舉辦的「第五屆海峽兩岸信息產業技術標準論壇」時,訪問 AVS 標準組工作同仁對此一事件的觀察分析,將 WAPI 送上貿易談判桌本身也是部門之間借力使力的解決彼此矛盾的一種方法。

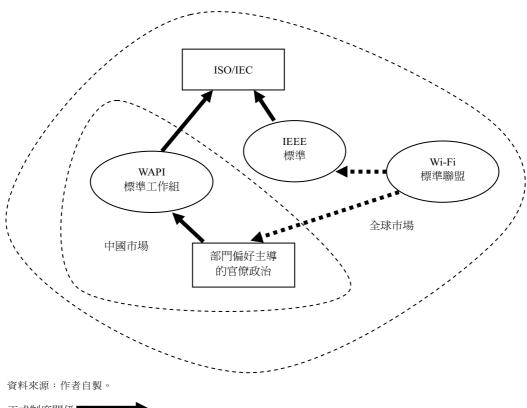


圖 3 官僚政治主導的標準制定模式

正式制度關係 → ▶

ISO=國際標準化組織 (International Standard Organization)

IEC=國際電工技術委員會 (International Electro-technical Commission)

IEEE=美國電機電子工程師學會 (Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers)

#### 二、產業聯盟主導的標準制定模式

有了 WAPI 的經驗,閃聯標準工作組採取建立知識社群與加強溝通的途徑。圖 4 的虛線部分說明了閃聯順利成爲國際標準的相關行爲者之間非正式制度的網絡連結,主要包括了國際標準組織中的技術專家建立了定期交流的社群關係,以及亞太區域標準協會間建立的聯盟關係。透過產業聯盟主導的標準化工作,比較能適時掌握市場脈動,以鄉村包圍都市的策略,在直接面對競爭者之前,先建立自主標準的區域優勢與同盟關係,在進入 ISO/IEC 主戰場之後,則透過知識社群的建立,加強不同立場者之間,尤其對於潛在的競爭對手進行深度溝通,直到所有阻力完全排除之後,成功也就在咫尺之間。

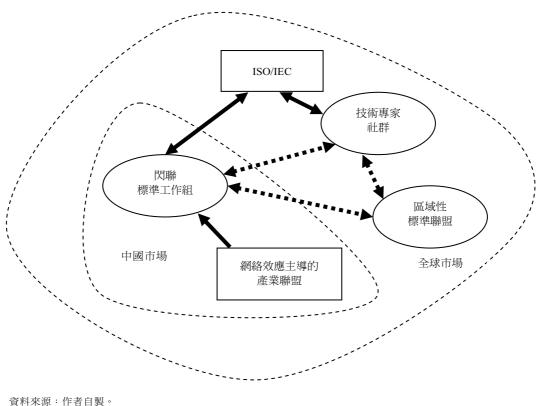


圖 4 產業聯盟主導的標準制定模式

正式制度途徑 非正式制度途徑

ISO=國際標準化組織 (International Standard Organization)

IEC=國際電工技術委員會 (International Electro-technical Commission)

IEEE=美國電機電子工程師學會 (Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers)

#### 三、從「製造」到「創造」的制度學習之路

對於中國而言,從鄧小平的務實主義開始,制度調適就是一條不歸路。其中最大 的挑戰就是全球化所帶來的改革壓力。而入世對中國而言則是改革的最大動力來源。 中國爲了加入WTO所作的自由化承諾,一方面將中國帶進全球市場,成爲主要的經貿 伙伴,另一方面將自由化的經貿體制帶入中國,引導著中國一步一步與國際接軌。「製 造的中國」基本上是透過地方政府主導,透過資源與政策的優勢配置,帶動高速擴增 的產能。而「創造的中國」則必須面對網絡經濟的市場選擇,擴大跨國產業合作取代 政府主導的標準發展模式。技術創新的價值既然是在於市場的肯定,則社會主義市場 經濟當中所講究的和諧也必須在同一基礎上協調國家與社會的關係。也就是更多由下 而上的發展模式需要被政府接受。例如,更多重視知識社群對中國在創新發展以及國 際接軌中的參與。

WAPI 與閃聯標準的經驗顯示,「製造的中國」傾向於政府主導的發展模式在網絡經濟時代有其發展的局限性,即使是訴諸民族標準也無法突破中國已經在全球化的市場結構之下完成的國際接軌。換言之,WAPI 之所以失敗,主要是受限於「製造中國」發展經驗的制度依賴,西電捷通的政治正確反而成為 WAPI 自主標準最大的障礙。閃聯的自主標準工作一開始即朝向擴大網絡效應的方向發展,並與主要競爭對手加強溝通,以知識社群網絡的建立取得國際標準組織審批的最終勝利,為「創造的中國」提供了重要的參考典範。

反觀 WAPI 的後續發展,在 ISO 投票表決挫敗的第二天,WAPI 正式在北京成立中國無線區域網標準產業聯盟與,並重新調整政府部門的角色,透過政府採購案政策性支持作誘因,由信產部和發改委出面邀請無線區域網路產業鏈上中下游廠商參與 WAPI 標準聯盟,爲 WAPI 在中國市場的先佔地位預作準備與。有計畫的引導 WAPI 從政府主導的「強制標準」轉向企業主導的「事實標準」。因著中國政府撤銷強制標準的結果,聯想、方正、新力等設備商採用的 WAPI 技術與英特爾的迅馳移動技術 (Wi-Fi)內置在同一台筆記本電腦中,以「和平共處」取代排他性的強制標準,爲 WAPI 標準開拓市場空間與。所謂安全的訴求不再具有實質意義,反而是市場選擇成爲最後贏家。

#### 捌、結語

學界對於中國的崛起有過各樣不同的分析途徑,無論是從何角度研究,中國崛起已經是一個事實,只是如何崛起以及崛起對國際或人類社會有何影響才是進一步探討的問題。權力結構論者偏好從國際政治角度探討中國的崛起,以及崛起的中國如何威脅現狀的問題。而新制度論者則更關注中國如何在制度中學習並崛起的過程。本研究選擇技術標準化議題探討中國在科技創新領域如何透過國際參與,展開制度學習之旅,透過實踐進行制度調適朝向創新大國的崛起之路。

就中國的標準化經驗來看,從計畫經濟轉型爲社會主義市場經濟以來,中國的標準化工作一直是由政府主導,直到加入WTO成立國家標準管理委員會之後才進入所謂「行政指導」階段,但是,在國際化接軌過程中,面對有關安全問題時,政府乃至於政黨的間接介入主導取代了「行政指導」的原則。WAPI以安全爲政策訴求,並演變成爲以自主標準獨佔中國市場的思維模式,儘管有其政治正當性,但是它忽略了中國的信息服務與設備產業早已納入了全球化的網絡市場經濟,中國的無線網絡設備市場被國際標準先佔的實事,反而採取直接對抗推動強制WAPI國家標準的結果,一方面直

註⑤ 邀請的廠商包括中國移動、中國電信、中國聯通、中國網通、方正、聯想、華爲、海爾、海信、大唐等實力企業進入 WAPI 聯盟。辛苑薇,「WAPI 聯盟怒訴 IEEE 不道德標準仍有最後機會」,通信世界(北京),2006 年 5 月 30 日,http://www.cww.net.cn/article/article.asp?id=43975&bid=2559。

註56 同前註。

接衝擊到早已被標準鎖住的既有用戶的利益,進而無法在國內市場創造「正回饋」效應,另一方面,在 WTO/TBT 與對美貿易談判中的國際壓力,也就不容易發展出普遍接受的「事實標準」。反之在閃聯的案例中,標準化工作組的發展策略正是遵循網路經濟的市場先佔思維,先建立產業聯盟,擴大標準在國內、區域與國際市場的網絡效應,透過技術專家社群之間的互動建立合作關係,進而推動國際標準化。從 WAPI 到閃聯的制度調適,正是中國朝向「中國創造」科技大國所必經的制度學習過程。

中國發展自主國際標準化戰略的研究,除了有助了解中國的自主創新能力與意圖之外,但更重要的是一方面將官僚政治的制度結構放在網絡經濟環境中檢驗,另一方面為技術專家知識社群在中國國際參與的貢獻開拓出一條新的觀察角度。本研究一方面透過 WAPI 經驗再次證明了部門利益導向的標準制定模式是中國國際參與中的制度性障礙。另一方面,特別選擇閃聯經驗進行比較,並以網絡經濟環境爲中介變項說明,技術專家知識社群也是影響中國國際參與不可或缺的制度行爲者,它對於專業化導向的國際關係的影響力,值得關注。

\* \* \*

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# China Rising in International Standardization: Bureaucratic Politics, Standardization Epistemic Community and International Participation

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#### **Abstract**

PRC government has set a target to make China an innovative state in 2020. Strategic planning on internationalization of standardization has also been inaugurated since the entry of WTO. In this paper, a comparative case study is conducted on China's developmental path in global war of standardization. In the case of WAPI standard setting, bureaucratic politics has constrained China from adapting to network economy. However, in the case of IGRS standard setting, networking of technical professionals in standardization epistemic community has smoothed the way toward internationalization of Chinese standard. The divergent results of two cases have demonstrated the learning process of Chinese rising in international standardization.

Keywords: WAPI (WLAN Authentication and Privacy Infrastructure);
IGRS (Intelligent Grouping and Resource Sharing);
International Organization for Standardization;
bureaucratic politics; epistemic community; new
institutionalism; network economy

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# 國科會補助專題研究計畫項下赴國外(或大陸地區)出差或 研習心得報告

日期:99年10月25日

| 計畫編 | NSC 97— 2410— H — 004 — 094 — MY2 |                |           |  |  |
|-----|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------|--|--|
| 號   |                                   |                |           |  |  |
| 計畫名 | 技術標準設定的新制度分析-中國推動 WAPI 的          |                |           |  |  |
| 稱   | 個案研究                              |                |           |  |  |
| 出國人 | 彭慧鸞                               | 服務機構及          | 國立政治大學國際關 |  |  |
| 員姓名 | <b>少</b> 志鳥                       | 職稱             | 係研究中心副研究員 |  |  |
| 出國時 | 99 年7月24日至                        | J. 13 1.L 101. | 美國紐約州阿爾巴尼 |  |  |
| 間   | 99 年7月26日                         | 出國地點           | (Albany)  |  |  |

#### 一、國外(大陸)研究過程

本次計畫訪談之對象為美國奧瑞岡大學政治系教授 pete Suttmmier。原計畫前往奧瑞岡大學校區進行訪談,但是由於該教 授暑假期間不在校區內,因此更改訪談地點到紐約州阿爾巴尼 市。Suttmmier 教授為美國政治學界少數研究中國智慧財產權與 技術標準制定的專家,也是美國政府對中國政策的重要諮詢顧

問。S 教授雖然已經退休,但是對於美中關係,尤其科技競爭問 題的關切保持高度的關切。就在本次見面訪談期間 S 教授正巧也 應邀將於次日出席國會聽證會。由於 S 教授長期研究中國科技政 策,對中國的深度了解,因此是國會聽證會的常客。2004 年應全 美亞洲研究所(National Bureau of Asian Research, NBR )之邀 請展開一系列有關中國科技創新與標準化發展的研究計畫。並於 2004 年首次完成中國入世之後的科技政策,包括標準化與軟體 自主開發的政策分析,在S 教授和 Scott Kennedv 教授的共同 主持之下 NBR 從 2004 年開始陸續完成一系列的研究報告,而 Richard P. Suttmeier 的觀點不同於一般美國政府與學界的看 法,認為美國政府應該關注的問題,除了智慧財產權保護之外, 更重要的是了解中國創新能力正快速提升。美國政府應該思考為 什麼中國吸引許多國際研發中心開始往中國移動。中國政府正在 複製當年美國高科技研發重鎮的經驗,而美國科技優勢正向中國 傾斜。訪談中,S 教授不得不承認,美國政府將對中國施壓加強 IP 保護已經是既定的立場。同時也希望更多了解中國 IP 決策的 機制。

#### 二、研究成果

本次訪問之安排得來並不容易,一方面受到距離的限制,另一方

面受到天候的影響,造成班機取消等因素的一波三折。最後如期 見面。S 教授在中國大陸已經建立良好的學術網絡,對於台灣學 界較為陌生,因此很願意了解台灣學界對中國科技發展相關政策 與決策的研究。

#### 三、建議

兩岸進入後 ECFA 時代,在智慧財產權保護議題上也達成一定的 共識。然而,正如 S 教授所言,中國的後發優勢已經在制度創新 領域正在急起直追,國內學者和政府也應該開始注重兩岸在科技 制度創新上的競爭。

# 行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫 ■ 成 果 報 告 □期中進度報告

技術標準設定的新制度分析-中國推動 WAPI 的個案研究

| 計畫類別: ■個別型計畫 □整合型計畫<br>計畫編號: NSC 97-2410-H-004-094-MY2<br>執行期間: 2008 年 8月 1日至 2010年7月31日 |
|--|
| 執行機構及系所:國立政治大學國際關係研究中心   |
| 計畫主持人:彭慧鸞<br>共同主持人:<br>計畫參與人員:   |
| 成果報告類型(依經費核定清單規定繳交):□精簡報告  |
| 本計畫除繳交成果報告外,另須繳交以下出國心得報告:  赴國外出差或研習心得報告  赴大陸地區出差或研習心得報告  出席國際學術會議心得報告  國際合作研究計畫國外研究報告    |
| 處理方式:除列管計畫及下列情形者外,得立即公開查詢<br>□涉及專利或其他智慧財產權,□一年■二年後可公開查詢                                  |
| 中 華 民 國 99 年10月21日   |

# 國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值(簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性)、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等,作一綜合評估。

| 1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估          |
|---|
| 達成目標                                      |
| □ 未達成目標(請說明,以100字為限)                      |
| □ 實驗失敗                                    |
| □ 因故實驗中斷                                  |
| □ 其他原因                                    |
| 說明:                                       |
|   |
|   |
|   |
| 2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形:                   |
| 論文: ■已發表 □未發表之文稿 □撰寫中 □無                  |
| 專利:□已獲得 □申請中 □無                           |
| 技轉:□已技轉 □洽談中 □無                           |
| 其他:(以100字為限)                              |
|   |
| 已發表期刊論文「從「中國製造」到「中國創造」: 官僚政治、標準化知識社群與國際參與 |
| 中國大陸研究, 2009 年 Vol.52, No.12. (TSSCI) 」   |
|   |

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面,評估研究成果之學術或應用價值(簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性)(以500字為限)

本研究主要目的在於掌握中國崛起的制度結構面向,特別選擇與知識經濟產權競爭力息息相關的技術標準制定之個案研究。中國從「中國製造」向「中國創造」轉型時必須面對的國內與國際制度結構的障礙。從官僚政治與社會建構論的兩個層面,檢視中國在全球知識權力結構下的正式與非正式制度性參與。研究發現,中國政府在WAPI的失敗經驗中學習到國際標準制定的遊戲規則,同時更明白全球知識權力結構是以「西方中心」所建構的制度規範,尤其是在貿易相關智慧財產權保護的規範下,標準自主化被視為一種技術貿易障礙而喪失其正當性。因此,中國政府一方面由主導轉為輔導產業標準,並透過政策工具協助標準的開發與國際化,另一方面也積極參與制度規範的法制建構,從國內層面到國際層面。試圖導正過渡扭曲的全球知權力結構,為開發中國家爭取更多發言權。

有鑑於兩岸知識產業皆依附在「西方中心」全球知識權力結構之下,在參與制度規範的法制建構上實有其雙贏互利之共同需求。如何共同參與國際規範法制建構將是未來重要的合作議題,值得有關部門深思。同時本研究成果也可以進一步延伸為國際關係與國際法的跨學門研究議題。將全球知識標準結構架構在規範的建制與遵循層面去探討。

# 國科會補助專題研究計畫項下出席國際學術會議心得報告

日期:99年10月20日

| 計畫編號       | NSC 97 — 2410 — H — 004 — 094 — MY2                                      |             |                |  |  |
|------------|--|-------------|----------------|--|--|
| 計畫名稱       | 技術標準設定的新制度分析-中國推動 WAPI 的個案研究   |             |                |  |  |
| 出國人員<br>姓名 | 彭慧鸞  | 服務機構<br>及職稱 | 國立政治大學國際關係研究中心 |  |  |
| 會議時間       | 98年9月3日至<br>98年9月6日  | 會議地點        | 加拿大多倫多         |  |  |
| 會議名稱       | (中文)   |             |                |  |  |
|            | (英文)105 <sup>th</sup> APSA Annual Meeting on "Politics in Motion: Change |             |                |  |  |
|            | and Complexity in the Contemporary Era", Metro Toronto                   |             |                |  |  |
|            | Convention Centre, Fairmont Royal York                                   |             |                |  |  |
| 發表論文<br>題目 | (中文)   |             |                |  |  |
|            | (英文)Techno-nationalism or Techno-globalism Across the Taiwan             |             |                |  |  |
|            | Strait? A case Study of Common Technical Standard Setting                |             |                |  |  |

#### 一、參加會議經過

第104屆美國政治學會年會於2009年9月3日到6日在加拿大多倫多會議中心舉行。本次出席會議的目的主要是參加Conference Group on Taiwan Studies所主持的主題研討會並發表論文。研討會本身屬於一年一度在美國政治學會年會中的Related Group Panels。本次研討會由多倫多大學 Joseph Wong 代理 Tun-jen Cheng

主持。研討的中與會學者共發表五篇論文。會議期間除了發表論文之外也參加多場小型研討會,以及採購最新研究相關書籍。

#### 二、與會心得

研討會以 Re-considering the developmental state 的為主題,共有來自台灣和美國的學者發表五篇論文。其中包括中央研究院學者 Michelle F. Hsieh 發表「台韓自行車產業中國家權力與發展之比較」;政大王振寰教授等發表有關「台灣生技產業中發展型國家的限制」;英國倫敦大學國王學院 Douglas Fuller 教授等發表論文「評估工研院對產業聚落以及產業發展之角色」。美國加州柏克來分校的 Thomas Gold 發表「台灣解嚴後國家與社會關係之研究」。

與會學者中除了國內學者之外,在場聆聽的學者在來自韓國及中國大陸,對於台灣產業發展經驗表示高度的興趣。只可惜時間安排在最後一天的最後一場,討論的時間有限無法進行更多的意見交流,殊為可惜。

三、考察參觀活動(無是項活動者略)

#### 四、建議

由於 Conference Group on Taiwan Studies 長期關注 APSA 中有關台灣議題的討論, 但是與會的學者相當有限,如何加強議題設計,吸引更多非台灣與會學者,尤其是 重量級的學者參與發表論文或評論,應是未來主辦單位努力的方向。

#### 五、攜回資料名稱及內容

Final Program of 2009 Annual Meeting Official Program, 105<sup>th</sup> APSA Annual Meeting, Politics in Motion: Change and Complexity in the contemporary Era. 內容涵蓋各場次研討會主題、場次、作者、評論人及論文題目

# 六、會議論文

#### Techno-nationalism or Techno-globalism Across the Taiwan Strait: A Case Study of Common Technical Standard Cooperation

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Draft: Please do not copy, circulate, or quote without permission

A paper to be presented at The 2009 American Political Science Association Conference Group on Taiwan Studies

> September 3 – 6, 2009, Toronto, Canada

#### **Abstract**

The purpose of this paper is to examine the institutional dimension of cross-strait ICT industrial competition and cooperation. The basic inquiry of this research is to look at the dual tracks of party-led and state-led talk in cross-strait relations with special focus on common technical standards for the high-tech industry. How would the various actors intervene in the joint effort across the Taiwan Strait? How would techno-nationalism or techno-globalism play into this tug of war in technical standard setting?

#### Introduction

After the economic reform and open up policy of Teng Xiaoping, economic interdependence between China and outside world has being increasing sharply. Concurrently, cross-strait interdependence has also developed and high-rocked after the WTO entrance of 2001. Global trade and production network has bound the two economies deeper and deeper. Nonetheless, cross-Strait economic relation has been evolving with its ups and downs contingent upon political atmosphere over the passing decades. And the global economic structure has also played into the dichotomy to make cross-strait economic relation even more complicated.

In retrospect of Taiwanese history, the dichotomy of Chinese identity vs. Taiwanese identity has been ubiquitous in its policy toward Mainland China. Both of DPP and KMT government were and will continue to be captured by the divided society in its policy toward Mainland China. By the same token, China has also been captured into this dichotomy of economic-nationalism and globalism in its cross-strait economic relations. The challenge for China turns out to be resource allocation across the strait with ruling DPP vis-à-vis KMT government. Namely, Beijing needs to calculate its stick and carrot contingent upon the public support of two political parties and their mainland China policy orientation.

After the campaign show down of 2008 presidential election, for the first time, alternative agenda of Mainland China policy was available for Taiwanese people. More constructive mainland policy was adopted after Ma Yin-jeou sworn into office in 2009. Concurrently, Chinese leader also embarked on series conciliatory policies toward Taiwan, mainly focusing economic interaction. Especially in the information Communication Technology (ICT) industry sector, techno-nationalism and techno-globalism are two contending policy alternatives for government confronting global competition. The ICT industry is the most sensitive sector that both sides depend profoundly for economic growth. More importantly, both sides are competing and complimenting each other within a global production network.

From the studies of East Asian economies, techno-nationalism has been identifies as a popular option for semi peripherals in world system. Japan and Korea are two cases in point. China was also scrutinized accordingly after she set off the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> five year national project on technology development since 2000. What does this dichotomy mean to cross-Strait relations is the major concern of this paper. How would Taiwanese state and society react to the growing collaboration of Taiwanese and Chinese business sector? How does Taiwan sustain its ICT competitive advantage against the growing dependency on China? The questions envision the fundamental division in Taiwanese Society that guides Taipei's policy of cross-Strait technological exchange.

Cross-strait relations have been studied widely among social scientists for the passing decades. Literature on history, economics and trade relations, political confrontation and even regional security are abundant except party-to-party relations, especially on its implication for economic development. This paper tries to look at cross-strait relations from an institutional perspective with major focus on party apparatus, technocrats and business association. After the political turnover in 2000, some Kuomintang (KMT) technocrats were looking for their second career in Mainland China. They were most welcomed by Chinese state and local government to travel and share first hand experience or even provide policy recommendation in economic development with their counterparts in private capacity. It was not until 2005, after the DPP government won its second term, the CCP and KMT make peace through Lien-Hu meeting for the first time since 1945. The party-to-party networking was institutionalized before KMT return to power again in 2008.

The basic argument of this paper is to put cross-strait ICT competition and cooperation into a dichotomy of greater-China-centric techno-nationalism and Taiwan-centric techno-nationalism. When Ma Yin-jeou government pictured its mainland China policy, techno-globalization was an official language to justify a greater-China economic initiative. When Chen Shui Bien government put forward Taiwan-first policy, techno-globalization was applied with different interpretation. In a nutshell, both Ma and Chen have pursued nationalistic cross strait economic policy with comparable approach.

#### Technonationalism VS technoglobalism

Growing competition in various technology industry sectors has been prevalent among developing as well as developed countries that states are provided challenge how to coordinate resources and institution for industrial development. In the case of Japan, Richard Samuel argues that Japanese technonationalism is driven directly from the linkage of technological development with defense production and commercial economy. Alone the similar line, South Korea was identified as nationalistic in its technological development while Taiwan as a hybrid of technonational and technoglobal approaches. Most of these countries share common goal of indigenization of technology vis-à-vis external economic power in less competitive economic sector. Sometimes, the choice of technonationalism or technoglobalism was a matter of domestic politics. In many cases, technonationalism has been a convenient allegation by competitors who might be underprivileged. On the other hand, technoglobalism would always be a requisite for adjustment.

This dichotomy of Techno-nationalism and Techno-globalism was first raised by Candice Stevens in 1990. Later in 1995, Sylvia Ostry and Richard Nelson published a book of *Techno-Nationalism and Techno-Globalism: Conflict and Cooperation* to illustrate US dilemma in pursuing technological global power.<sup>3</sup> Related subject about Techno-nationalism and Techno-globalism was further elaborated by Atsushi Yamada in 2000 to examine the changing nature of nationalism in major nation's technology policies and modify the earlier conceptualization into so-called "neo-techno-nationalism". Yamada argues that "... glocalization of technology can lead to the rise of neo-techno-nationalism. In response to technological glocalization, states commit to promote technical innovation domestically; further reliance on the public-private partnerships; further openness toward foreign R&D entities; and expanded commitments for international rule-making and policy coordination." <sup>4</sup> In sum, in a glocalizing economy technological competition or cooperation rests upon the state-business relations. According to Yamada, State and business need to team-up domestically and internationally to meet the new challenge.

Suttmeier and Yao pursue Yamada's conceptualization in their research on the changing nature of *techno-nationalism of China's post-WTO technology policy* with special focus on standard setting strategy.<sup>5</sup> Yu Zhou also examines the theoretical debate on techno-nationalism and techno-globalism. To modify the nationalistic image of Chinese national standardization strategy, Zhou, in contrast, called attention of the real

<sup>1</sup> Richard J. Samuels, Rich Nation, *Strong Army: National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994) p.31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Barry Naughton and Adam Segal, "China in Search of a Workable Model: Technology Development in the New Millennium," in *Crisis and Innovation: In Asian Technology*, edited by William W. Keller and RichardJ. Samuels (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 160-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sylvia Ostry and Richard R. Nelson. 1995. *Techno-Nationalism and Techno-Globalism: Conflict and Cooperation*. The Brookings Institution.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Atsushi Yamada, 2000, Neo-techno-nationalism: How and Why it grows, http://www.cias.kyoto-u.ac.jp/jcas/nc/yamada.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Richard P. Suttmeier and Xiangkui Yao. 2004. *China's Post-WTO Technology Policy: Standards, Software and the Changing Nature of TechnoNationalism.* Seattle, WA: The National Bureau of Asian Research.

threat of "global corporatism" of western corporate dominance of Chinese market disguised in techno-globalism.<sup>6</sup> Both Suttmeier and Zhou's analysis also reveals fragmented authoritarian State in China which actually hinder the indigenization of Chinese technical standard.<sup>7</sup>

In this paper, the dichotomy will be applied to cross-strait relations basing on its ever-increasing technological competition and cooperation in the passing decades. Although, the government in Taiwan has restrictive regulations on Taiwanese people investing on high-tech industry in Mainland China, cross-Strait business and sub-state networking are growing due to personal interest of KMT technocrat in pursuing second career. The debate of technonationalism and technoglobalism became a sensitive political issue.

According to media report and interview with former KMT government official, <sup>8</sup>the establishment of Beijing Zhun Guan Cuen(北京中關村) was consulted by Shi Ziyi (石滋宜), former Director General of Hsin Chu Science Park Administration; Science Park in Chang Zhou(常州) led by former Deputy Director Ho Shi Chun(何希淳) and another one in Guang Zhou led by Lin Chue Zhou (林垂宙), former president of Industrial Technology Research Institute. <sup>9</sup> These technocrats of KMT government were invited by Chinese government to share know-how in leading ICT industrial development as a reference for coastal provinces of China.

Exempt from official capacity, these high-tech godfathers in Taiwan found their second career or high respect in mainland China. During the DPP administration, these KMT government officials were able to team-up with old-time comrade in business sector to deviate from DPP nationalistic policy by embracing more cooperative initiative. Cross-strait Common ICT standard was targeted by these techno-guru a new terrain for cross-strait cooperation. This new initiative was later on included in the 12 points consensus reached by Lien Chan and Hu Zhin Tao after the icebreaking KMT-CCP meeting in April 29, 2005. 10

To further explore this observation, the paper looks into the informal and formal institutional exchange of ICT sector across the Strait as well as the dialogue on common technical standard setting since 2005.

#### Cross-strait Common ICT Standard Initiative: Background and Framework

The collapse in technology pricing that followed the US stock market crash in 2000 has forced tech companies worldwide to slash costs. Thanks to the entry of WTO in 2001 and intensifying cross-Strait industrial networking, China quickly climbed up the value chain in technology manufacturing, taking over production that it can do more cheaply than other Asian economies. But Beijing knows that China will not become a high-tech powerhouse by churning out millions of scanners and computer parts, no matter how cheaply it can produce them. China's leadership is therefore intent on moving up the value chain, focusing especially on home grown technology. Creating new standards for the local market would allow Chinese companies to demand their own royalties. If domestic products featuring locally developed technology standards reached a critical mass, foreign companies wanting to take advantage of what is sure to become one of the world's largest markets for consumer products would have to pay for the privilege. If other economies,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Yu Zhou, 2006. State and Commercial Enterprises in China's Technical Standard Strategies. *The China Review*, 6:1. 37-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Zhou, 2006; So, Bennis Wai Yip. 2005. The Transition of the State-Business Relationship in China: A Case Study of the Private Software Industry in Beijing. *Issues & Studies*. 41:4. 175-201

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Interview was conducted on August 6, 2009. Interviewee would not identify specific government figure who had close contact with Beijing government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Jingji Ribao (Taiwan, Economic Daily News), October 1, 2001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Zhun Guo Shin Wen She, October 16, 2006.

especially developing ones, could be convinced to take up a Chinese standard, then winnings for Chinese patent-holders and manufacturers would rise still further. Therefore, Cross-Strait common technical standard was welcomed by major players in cross-Strait production network.

The Cross-Strait Common ICT Industry Technical Standard Forum (CCITSF) was initiated by Wen Sying (溫世仁), a Taiwanese entrepreneur who won national respect in China for his devotion to bridge the digital divide in China through a *chien shan wan cai* (千鄉萬才) technology education plan. The "Cross-Strait Common ICT standard forum" was first proposed by Wen in a round table discussion on "Cross-strait Technology Common Standard Mechanism" at the 6th *Zhintai Kezhi Luntan* (京台科技論壇,Beijing-Taipei Technology Forum) in 2003. He passed away in his young age of 55 in 2004. However, his personal social network paved the way for a common standard initiative among industrial and para-state representatives across the Strait. In preparation for further institutionalization of common standard cooperation, Sinocon Industrial Standard Foundation (華聚產業共同標準基金會, SISF) was coordinated by KMT vice chairman Chiang Ping Kun (江丙坤) with industrial organization and major Taiwanese ICT companies. In his ice-breaking meeting with Chairman Chen Yunlin (陳雲林) of Taiwan Affairs Office, Cross-Strait industrial standard cooperation was included in the 6<sup>th</sup> of 12 consensus to be announced by Lien-Hu meeting.

Based on Lien-Hu consensus, SISF together with its Chinese counterparts, China Communications Standards Association (CCSA) and China Electronics Standardization Association (CESA), jointly organized the first round of CCITSF.

Taking advantage of the SISF-CCSA/CESA quasi-state channel, Chiang Yaoping (蔣耀平) and KMT vice chairman Chiang Ping Kun (江丙坤) were able to institutionalize cross Strait common standard initiative in 2005. A crucial political support came from Vice Premier Wu Yi (吳儀) who coordinate a cross-department task force of state departments or agencies including Standard Administration of China (國家標準化管理委員, SAC), General Administration for Quality and Technical Supervision Bureau (國家質量標準總局, QTSB), and others, to finalize a Cross-strait Common ICT Standard Initiative which was included in the 12 point consensus reached by 2005 Lien- Hu meeting(連胡會).<sup>11</sup>

Five forums alternately co-sponsored by SISF-CCSA/CESA in Beijing and Taipei has been conducted since 2005. After the 2006 forum, consensus was reached on 7 technical standards for further collaboration, namely, IPTV, TD-SCDMA, LCD, flash memory, AVS, LED, and Green energy. According to Chiang Ping Kun, Cross-strait ICT standard cooperation could be achieved through three approaches, namely, 1) for Taiwanese manufacturers to apply matured Chinese standard; 2) for Chinese manufacturers to apply matured Taiwanese standard; 3)both sides team-up on developing new standard. <sup>12</sup>

Figure one illustrated a formal and informal institutional framework for common standard collaboration. Dotted line box stand for informal or semi-official agents for state-level interaction. Namely, SISF is an agent of KMT party apparatus and CCSA and CESA are the agents of Ministry of Industrial and Information Technology. However, according to Taiwanese business member of SISF, Taiwan Affairs Office, TAO, has been the supervisor of the proceedings of CCITF in Mainland China, while its counterpart, Mainland Affairs Office, MAC under DPP administration, was not as supportive as KMT party apparatus, especially after Lien-Hu meeting.<sup>13</sup> During the DPP administration, Bureaucratic level of contact was restricted by two

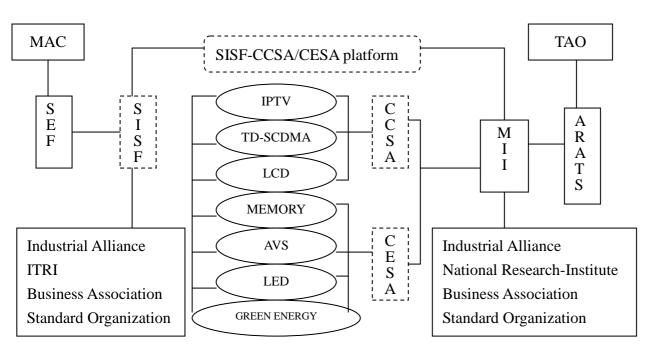
<sup>12</sup> Zhun Guo Shin Wen She, July 5, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ya Zhou Zhou Kan, May 18, 2008.

An interview conducted at The Fifth Cross-Straits IT Industrial Standards Forum opened in Chongqing, China, February 26-27, 2009.

governments. KMT party apparatus joined in after Lien-Hu meeting, making CCITF a para-state to state forum.

However, after KMT regain ruling power in 2008, Party-led negotiation became controversial in Taiwanese society. In order to institutionalize cross-Strait talk, Chiang Pin Kun change head from Chairmanship of SISF to SEF. With SISF still sustain its supporting role for cross-Strait common ICT industrial technical standard cooperation, the CCITF is now incorporated into state-led cross-strait agenda. The chairmen of the Chinese mainland's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS) and the Taiwan-based Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) on June 12 convened their first talks in nine years. 14 ITRI and its counter parts, CCSA and CESA plus standard organizations are the major players who are responsible for all the technical standard details. Business sectors on both sides sit in each forum session to provide industrial support and network with states and institutions across the strait.



MAC=Mainland Affair Council TAO=Taiwan Affairs Office SEF=Strait Exchange Foundation

ARATS=

MII=Ministry of Information Technology

CCSA=Chinese Communication Standard Association

CESA=Chinese Electronic Standard Association

ITRI=Industrial Technology Research Institute

IPTV=Internet Protocol TV

TD-SCDMA=3G standard

LCD=Liquid Crystal Display

IGRS=Intelligent Grouping and Resource

Sharing

AVS=Audio Video Standard

LED=A display and lighting technology

Figure 1: Cross-strait Common ICT Standard Exchange and collaboration Framework

The transitional role of SISF faded away with its founder join the SEF. Through this quasi-state-business platform, Taiwanese industrial association, quasi-state institutions, including ITRI research fellows were able collaborate with their counterparts in China to share know-how and political support for common standard. During 2005 to 2008, two sides were able to exchange views and work on initial plans freely which was not

http://www.china-embassv.org/eng/zt/99999999/t465133.htm

feasible when DPP was in power after 2000. Such kind of partnership with ex-government officials was based on the historical legacy of state and business relations that has been cultivated for decades alone the economic development.

#### **Cross-Strait State and business partnership**

Business associations are often crucial conduits for the exchange of information. Association can aggregate data before passing it to government and at the same time reduce firms' incentives to bias information on their individual performance. Moreover, states have ways to control information in associations that they lack in firms.<sup>15</sup> In retrospect, whether in KMT or DPP administration, state and business organization collaboration was one of the driving force of Taiwan's industrial development. Two major business associations involved deeply in cross-Strait industrial standard cooperation will be illustrated in the following session.

#### I. Chinese National Federation of Industries(CNFI)

Chinese National Association of Industries (CNAI) first established in 1942 in China was renamed Chinese National Federation of Industries (CNFI) to continue its serves to industries after KMT regime retreat to Taiwan in 1948. It has been a forum for views and opinions of the country's industrial sector that has been arms of KMT state in upgrading and promoting the economic development in Taiwan.

Before KMT step down in 2000, CNFI Chairmen still hold key position in KMT central committee. In a word, KMT party chairman always has its arms in candidate nomination of Federation's presidential election. As a matter of fact, KMT nominated candidate always won in each of the election. The institutional linkage between KMT and CNFI explained the cohesive state-business relations in Taiwan's industrial development. For instance, CNFI luncheon meeting was held once a month between board directors, leaders of industrial associations and cabinet level government officials. In the meeting, heads of relevant departments led by the cabinet level official are invited to engage in a dialogue on various issues.<sup>16</sup>

Long history of structural linkage between KMT and CNFI chairman did not dwindled after power reshuffle. They found cross-strait industrial development another stage for collaboration. In fact, close personal relationship with KMT leader upon which information exchange, credibility and reciprocity were witnessed in Cross-strait industrial cooperation. Under KMT administration, quasi-state contact between Taipei and Beijing were accepted in the later half of 1990s. China's Science and Technology Minister Zhu Lilan (朱麗蘭)led a 90- member delegation on a six-day trip in her capacity as a Peking University professor hosted by CNFI on July 20, 1998. <sup>17</sup> Her visit was high-lighted as the initiation of high-ranking official exchange across Taiwan-strait.

With the tacit endorsement of KMT government, in June 26, 2000, CNFI led a 36-member delegation for a visit to mainland China meeting high-level mainland Chinese officials, including mainland President Jiang Zemin, Beijing Mayor Liu Qi, Taiwan Affairs Office Director Chen Yunlin, Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Shi Guangsheng, and Minister of Science and Technology Zhu Lilan. The main purpose of the visit was to urge mainland authorities to pay greater heed to protect the lives and property of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Sylvia Maxfield and Ben Ross Schneider, eds. *Strong States and Business Organization in Korea and Taiwan* (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press, 1997)

Website of CNIF at http://www.cnfi.org.tw/kmportal/front/bin/ptdetail.phtml?Rcg=100020&Part=ENGLISH-Activity#1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Asiaweek, July 28, 1998

Taiwan business executives operating in mainland China. 18

However, after DPP took office, CNFI no longer enjoy the glamour of leading position in representing business/industrial interest. DPP government deliberately invited other business associations to reduce the significant role of CNFI which led to de-couple of CNFI with government. These associations include pro-KMT General Chamber of Commerce of R.O.C. (ROCCOC), Chinese National Association of Industry and Commerce Taiwan (CNAIC) and pro-DPP Taiwan Federation of Industry (TFI, 2001-), National Association of Small and Medium Enterprises R.O.C. (2002-) and Taiwan Financial Services Roundtable(TFSR, 2005-). Witnessing growing number of member's relocation in China, CNFI also extends its service to China and building close contact with Taiwan Affair Office in Mainland China.<sup>19</sup> This cross strait state-business relations was further reinforced through KMT-CCP Party Forum since 2005.

#### II. **Taiwanese Electrical and Electronics Manufacturers Association (TEEMA)**

In promoting cross-strait common standard initiative, Taiwanese Electrical and Electronics Manufacturers Association (TEEMA) stands out as a key professional actor for ICT industry in recent years. TEEMA established in 1948 and has been the leading high-tech industrial association in Taiwan. The production value of Taiwan electrical and electronic industries (including upper, mid and lower streams) occupies over 50% of Taiwan's total manufacturing. TEEMA provides services to the industry located in Taiwan as well as in China. According to TEEMA, 2,874 out of 3,797 members, account for 75 percent, are Small/Medium scale companies. Recent data shows around 75 percent of total members have invested in China. Therefore, Cross-Strait Economic and Trade Services is also regarded an important mission launched The services include electronic exhibition show; investment, environment and risks Survey; organizing seminars and Cross-strait trade Visits; as well as setting up Liaison Office in China.<sup>20</sup> Most recently in July 2008, for the first time did TEEMA started a on-site consulting program for Taiwanese firms operating in China. (To be elaborated in later section)

In view of the growing competition of Cross-strait ICT industry, CNFI, TEEMA joined annual Beijing-Taipei IT Forum (Zhin Tai Ke Zhi Lun Tan) organized by Shi Ziyi, Founder of Global Chinese Competitiveness Foundation (GCCF, 1998-), also consultant to the both governments on Science Park projects in Hsin Chu and Beijing. <sup>21</sup>The main goal for this forum was to seek for win-win solution in promoting Cross-strait collaboration between public and private sector. Based on personal reputation and experience in Taiwan, technocrats and business stake holders have jointly facilitate cross-Strait industrial cooperation..

#### **Industrial Standard Associations in China**

Business associations in China do not share similar historical legacy of their counterpart in Taiwan. A majority of Chinese authorities insist on a large amount of control and authority as a response to the fear that some associations might emerge as a source of political opposition. They are mostly established under the

ZhunYang Ribao (Central News Agency, Taiwan), Jun 26, 2000. p 1

Ziyio Shibao(Liberty Times, Taiwan) March 3, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> TEEMA has already set up 5 liaison offices at Shanghai, Dalien, Xiamen, Hanjou and Kunshan, to prvide service to Taiwanese firms. Jingji Ribao (Taiwan, Economic Daily News), May 25, 2008

People's Daily on Web, http://www.people.com.cn/GB/jingji/8215/28969/29867/2103225.html

authorization of respective government agencies. Therefore they take the role more of a top-down than bottom up channel between state and private sector.<sup>22</sup> To meet the needs for reform of the telecommunication industry and liberalization of the telecommunication market before WTO entry, the Ministry of Information Industry (MII) has approved the establishment a nationwide unified communications standardization organization that is compatible with international norms and Chinese situations and capable of meeting the needs in the market. Among others, China Communications Standards Association (CCSA) and China Electronics Standardization Association (CESA) are two major associations involving with cross-Strait industrial standard cooperation.

With the approval of MII and Standardization Administration of China and registered in the Ministry of Civil Affairs, China Communications Standards Association (CCSA) was established on 18 December 2002, while CESA, also approved by Ministry of Information Industry, was founded on March 31, 1993. Both are national-level public association carring out standardization activities in the field of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) across China. In 2005, CCSA and CESA were designated by MII as counterparts to collaborate with SISF in organizing "Cross-strait Information Technologies Standards Forum" for exploration of common technical standards and industrial development. TEEMA and other major IT guru were actively participating the annual meeting since 2005. Through participation of annual forum, Taiwanese firms were able to have personal contact and sometimes closed door meetings with Chinese government officials or business leaders who attended the Taipei Forum organized by SISF.

### Local politics and evolving cross-Strait party-state relations

Due to historical divide, Cross-strait economic interactions can not be deviated from domestic politics. Especially after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, Cross-strait trade has grown up until mid 1990s before the "No Haste, Be Patient"(或意用思) policy was introduced by President Lee Teng-hui which led to division of KMT and the second half of 1990s. KMT was divided in its China policy and paid the price of loosing its ruling power to DPP government. With only a small margin of winning in the presidential election but only minority in legislative branch, newly elected DPP president Chen Sui-bien called for non-partisan National Economic Advisory Conference (NEAC) in August 2001 soon after inauguration. In the end of the non-partisan national conference, a consensus was reached with somewhat relaxed Cross-strait policy proposed by NEAC, <sup>26</sup> namely, "Active Opening, Effective Management." At the same time, commitments of liberalization of WTO accession also boost up adjustment of Taipei's mainland policy in 2001. (Please refer to Table 1 for more details) However, globalization of production network hastened Taiwanese capital outflow and draining competitive advantage gradually to be in favor of Chinese ICT industrial sector. More provoking policy of "Effective Management, Active Opening" by Chen Sui-bien after reelected in 2006 was announced.

Year policy Party in power

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Interview with TEEMA advisor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> CESA website <a href="http://www.cesa.cn/Eng">http://www.cesa.cn/Eng</a> Default.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> CCSA Annual Report 2006, p. 8. http://www.ccsa.org.cn/english/report/2006Report.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> May 25, 2008, *Economic News*, p. A7.

President Chen's Remarks at the closing Ceremony of the EDAC, http://www.president.gov.tw/en/prog/news\_release/print.php?id=1105496925

| 1985 | Indirect exports channel through Hong Kong was legally recognized       | KMT                         |  |  |  |  |
|------|---|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1987 | Martial law lifted for Taiwanese people to visit Mainland China         | KMT                         |  |  |  |  |
| 1990 | Special supervision on flows of technology and capital to China;        | KMT                         |  |  |  |  |
|      | Investment over US\$1million requires registration with MOEA            |                             |  |  |  |  |
| 1992 | Cross-strait civilian relations(兩岸人民關係條例) stipulated KMT                |                             |  |  |  |  |
| 1996 | Lee Teng-hui announced "No Haste, Be Patient" policy: investment up KMT |                             |  |  |  |  |
|      | to US\$50million or high technology-sector investment to be approved    |                             |  |  |  |  |
|      | case-by-case.   |                             |  |  |  |  |
| 2001 | "Active Opening, Effective Management": investment cap lifted to        | 1 <sup>st</sup> term of DPP |  |  |  |  |
|      | 40% of a firm's total worth; direct investment was permitted; govern    |                             |  |  |  |  |
|      | investment approval cap raised to US\$20million; list of prohibited     |                             |  |  |  |  |
|      | investments narrowed (conform to recommendation of National             |                             |  |  |  |  |
|      | Economic Advisory Conference )  |                             |  |  |  |  |
| 2006 | "Effective Opening, Active Management" policy to tighten-up             | 2nd term of DPP             |  |  |  |  |
|      | Taiwanese investment to China   | government                  |  |  |  |  |
| 2008 | "Face reality, pioneer a new future, shelve controversies and pursue a  | KMT back to                 |  |  |  |  |
|      | win-win solution"; Resuming Negotiations between the SEF and            | power                       |  |  |  |  |
|      | ARATS   |                             |  |  |  |  |

Table 1: Evolution of mainland policies in KMT and DPP government from 1985-2008

When business environment was deteriorating, Taiwanese SMEs are desperate for government support. However, DPP government was handicapped in providing timely assistance due to the controversy of "1992 consensus." One the other hand, KMT technocrats and business leaders or associations found their common interest in cross-strait industrial cooperation. To engage or not to engage with China became the major debate of 2008 presidential campaign between KMT and DPP candidates. Landslide victory by Ma Ying-jeou, KMT candidate, won him legitimacy for engagement and "normalization" of cross-strait relations based on "1992 consensus", namely, both sides recognize there is only one China - both mainland China and Taiwan belong to the same China, but both sides differ on the definition of that one China.<sup>27</sup>

During the passing eight years of DPP administration, KMT acquired some "shadow-state" capacity in negotiating with Chinese government through Lien-Hu meeting on facilitating base. In shadow-state-business relations across Taiwan Strait even contributed to the fast track deal between SEF and ARATS on "weekend direct flight" (Zhoumuo Zhihan Baozhi) right after Ma sworn into office. It is only natural that the transitional role of Party-to-Party platform gradually taken over by SEF-ARATS platform. That explained why Chiang Ping Kun had to resign from his chairman position of SISF after taking office at SEF.

#### Trans-border state-business collaboration: KMT-CCP platform

In absence of consensus for reciprocal state-to-state negotiations, government officials needed private capacity for their cross-strait visit. For instance, when Zhu Li-lan(朱麗蘭), former Chinese Minister of Science and Technology, visited Taiwan in 1998, She was invited by ITRI in private capacity as professor of Beijing University. None the less, after DPP took over the administration, such high level government visits The major break through was party-to-party dialogue in 2005, when KMT party leaders, former government officials, were able to meet with Chinese government officials. Thanks to its private citizen status, KMT leaders and ex-technocrats were able to attend to the need of business sector in meeting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Taiwan's Leader Outlines His Policy Toward China. *The New York Times*, June 19, 2008. http://www.nvtimes.com/2008/06/19/world/asia/19taiwan.html?ref=asia

with Chinese leader to kick off more favorable terms of interaction or cooperation.

After the lost of the 2004 presidential election, KMT desperately needed a breakthrough in cross-Strait relations for coming election. In order to beef up KMT popularity, Chinese leaders endorsed a constructive cross-Strait policy in Lien-Hu meeting. In preparation for the meeting, KMT vice chairman was able to include, for the first time, common standard cooperation into 12 point consensus with strong support of Chinese Vice Premier Wu Yi. The collaboration itself demonstrated KMT's accountability to business's requisition through the endorsement of Chinese government. To some extend, Chinese government has facilitated trans-border state-business partnership through CCP/KMT peace talk which would have been infeasible when in power.

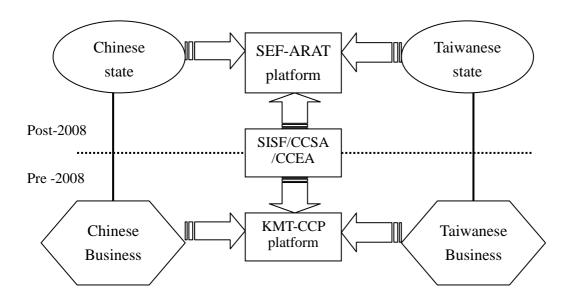
In recent years, Cross-strait state-business collaboration is growing with stringent business environment in Mainland China. The newly stipulated Labor law; income tax; environment regulations; rising energy price and appreciation of RMB, a hardship situation for Taiwanese business in China. Under Ma administration, Investment Commission of MOEA initiated a packaged project of consulting for Taiwanese firms operating in China. The program involved on-site consulting service by TEEMA representative together with know-how from Non-profit Institute associating with MOEA, including Industrial Technology and Research Institute (ITRI), Institute of Information Industry (III) as well as lawyers, accountants and Venture Capitalist.<sup>28</sup> The main purpose was to provide pertinent guidance to those Taiwanese Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) how to survive in a less friendly business environment in China. According to the project organizer, not only Taiwanese SMEs swarmed in each consulting program, local colleagues of Taiwan Affairs Office paid their interest in the same programs. <sup>29</sup> Their participation actually strengthens networking and partnership among state and business actors across the Strait.

Figure two illustrates the two level of state-business collaboration across the Strait. Before 2008 during Chen's administration, KMT-CCP dialogue provided a convenient platform for Cross-strait common standard initiative. However, after KMT took office, para-state to state dialogue was resumed. Cross-strait state and business relation has been conducted through SEF/ARATS platform with subordinating support from SISF.

<sup>29</sup> Zhongguo Shibao(Taiwan), August 6, 2008.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Lienhe Bao(United Daily, Taiwan) June 24, 2008; Zhun Guo Shibao (China Times, Taiwan) August 6, 2008



Figue 2: State-business relations before and after 2008

#### Cross-Strait Common Standard VS "Wintel" standard

Highly integrating structure of ICT industrialization across the Strait, China could be either opportunity or threat for Taiwan. In its initial stages, China's ICT industrial development relied profoundly on Taiwan in building up manufacture capacity and industrial cluster. In addition to sharing administrative know-how of ex-technocrats, Taiwanese venture capitalist contributed to China's technological development by assisting local Chinese venture capitalist in selecting promising start-ups. Usually, in contrast to their counter part from Silicon Valley who targets on technology-light but profitable service, Taiwanese VCs looked for start-ups with innovative technology. <sup>30</sup> Furthermore, significant numbers of engineers in Chinese semiconductor industry has been employed and trained in Taiwan who moved to China for second career. Take Grace and SMIC(Semiconductor Manufacturing International Cooperation) for example, both were founded by experienced Taiwanese engineers in 2000 and quickly grown up to be two of the largest semiconductor manufacturer in China. SMIC is now the third largest foundry globally.

When the biggest puzzle for Chinese and Taiwan is to balance strong economic interdependence with political rivalry, Taiwan-First has always been a convenient justification for techno-nationalism among politicians. "No Haste, Be Patient" of Lee Deng-hui and "Active Management, Effective Opening," policy of Chen Sui-bian administration are two exemplary cases. However, a developing trend of "network economy" in information age sometimes invalided nationalistic economic policy, including developmental initiative of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Douglas B. Fuller, 2008. The Cross-strait Economic Relationship's impact on Development in Taiwan and China: Adversaries and Partners. *Asian Survey*. 168:2. 239-264 p. 261.

state. Hence, Techno-globalism is more acceptable than techno-nationalism. But sometimes, techno-globalism could be cooperate-globalism in essence, as identified by Zhou, <sup>31</sup>which would lead to controversy.

In another words, the real threat to China and Taiwan is cooperate-globalism instead of techno-globalism. They have two choices to either team up to confront with "Wintel standard coalition" like the case of Wireless LAN authentication and Privacy Infrastructure (WAPI) standard solution, or join in international standard coalition on their own respectively in developing stage of new standard. Chinese Datang Telecom took the initiative in setting native 3G mobile phone standard by teaming up with Siemens, international company with leading mobile technology. In 2000, Chinese indigenous 3G standard - TD-SCDMA was accepted by International Telecommunications Union (ITU) as one of the three world standards other than CDMA 2000 and WCDMA. In contrast, another indigenous wireless standard - WAPI failed due to lack of transparency and compulsory policy against international standard. Together with their counterparts in Mainland, a handful of Taiwanese chip and system companies have been working with China to implement the standard, including Acer, BenQ, in the developing stage. Apparently, WAPI was not a successful experience for cross-Strait cooperation.

Likewise, Taiwan government also has its own agenda of ICT standardization. To team-up with leading Wireless Communication standard, Taiwan's Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA) choose to signed a cooperation agreement with Intel Corporation of the United States in mid October of 2005 to promote World Interoperability for Microwave Access (WiMAX)<sup>32</sup> wireless broadband technology and applications in Taiwan. From 2005-2008, DPP government has spent approximately US\$ 664 million on WiMAX development under the "M-Taiwan" National Plan -- the second highest investment amount in the world. <sup>33</sup>It also launches a WiMAX standard forum in 2007. <sup>34</sup> Up to November 2007, MOEA has signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with nine major telecom equipment companies to co-develop WiMAX technology and applications, including Intel, NEC, Nortel, R&S., Alcatel-Lucent, Motorola, Nokia-Siemens Networks (NSN), Sprint-Nextel, and Starent Networks Corp. 35 Nortel, Alcatel and NEC also set up WiMAX R&D Centers in Taiwan.<sup>36</sup> For the first time in July 2008, WiMAX was put on the agenda for cross-strait collaboration on the 11th Zhintai Kezhi Luntan in Taipei. However, the reaction from Chinese participants was half-hearted. The concern given by Chinese panelist was the overlapping of radio spectrum with TD-SCDMA which happens to be first home-grown ICT standard.<sup>37</sup> In a word, common standard initiative might not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Zhou, 2006.

Technically, Both wireless local area network (WLAN) and WiMAX are developed by Intel. the WLAN standard allows broadband Internet access over short distances only, while WiMAX can transmit for up to fifty kilometers. However, Intel executives have said that these two technologies will coexist, rather than WiMAX becoming the sole standard, with WLAN used for last-mile access. Therefore the two are complimentary to each other.

Website of MOEA (Taiwan) <a href="http://investintaiwan.nat.gov.tw/en/news/200711/2007110901.html">http://investintaiwan.nat.gov.tw/en/news/200711/2007110901.html</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> A total of 170 companies in Taiwan have joined together to form an industry association that will promote WiMAX wireless broadband technology. Lin Long-song, president and general manager of the Intel Innovation Center in Taiwan, were appointed deputy chairperson of this association. The main function of this forum is to enhance cooperation between up-, mid- and down-steam enterprises, integrate academic resources, establish a national WiMAX experimental network, and open a WiMAX testing and certification laboratory in Taiwan. Website of MOEA (Taiwan) http://investintaiwan.nat.gov.tw/en/news/200411/2004110901.html

Website of MOEA (Taiwan) http://investintaiwan.nat.gov.tw/en/news/200711/2007110901.html Website of MOEA (Taiwan) http://investintaiwan.nat.gov.tw/en/news/200804/2008041601.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> View point of professor Zhuang Zishin, a participant in the 11th Zhintai Kezhi Luntan on "Cross-strait Wireless City" organized by TEEMA Communication Industry Alliance and Beijing Information and Telecommunication Association in Taipei, on July 17, 2008.

prevail without state and business collaboration across the Strait to reach consensus.

Nonetheless, for the first time in August 2009, Beijing-based China Mobile Ltd., the world's largest mobile carrier has decided to work with Taiwan's Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI) to develop 4G technologies. Wang Jianzhou(主建宙), chairman of the state-run Chinese company, was also exploring opportunities to forge alliances with local high-tech enterprises to open up the vast mainland China market to advanced telecommunication products. Wang has signed a memorandum with Taiwan's handset maker HTC Corp. to jointly develop smart-phones and relevant technologies, and met with many local high-tech tycoons in Taipei.<sup>38</sup>

In Taiwan, the Common standardization itself can also be divided from partisan perspective. DPP legislative Lin Cho-Shui (林濱水) ridiculed the active role of Sinocon Industrial Standards Foundation (SISF) in serving as platform for Chinese counterpart to share Taiwan's cutting—edge technology with state-run ITRI. He questioned the integrity of Chiang Pin-Kung who used to be chairmen of Sinocon has now been appointed chairman of SEF by Ma's government. <sup>39</sup> From DPP's perspective, Greater China standard itself is Techno-nationalism in favor of Chinese corporation. From KMT's perspective, Greater China Standard will benefit Taiwanese industry in unlocking from "Wintelism". <sup>40</sup> Whether or not Taiwan should go for Cross-Strait common standard or team up with international leading industrial coalition might be an on going debate between the two political camps in the future.

Also in China, there were debates on the wisdom of state-led standard strategy after the WAPI episode. Much of Chinese industry and government increasingly recognize the need to be more transparent and receptive to choice of international market during the standardization process. How would cross-Strait standard cooperation be accepted as common interests to state and business? Apparently, WIMAX was Taiwan's agenda which does not appeal to Chinese counterparts. Tehno-nationalism does not necessarily lead to better chance of standard cooperation. It was the market potentiality that counts. 4G technology cooperation was the best exemplar.

Figure three illustrated two approaches of Cross-strait standard competition and cooperation. For Cross-strait Standard cooperation, state-business collaboration through state-led channel has been applied as shown on the upper half of diagram. For international standard approach, international standard coalition was chosen as shown on the bottom half of diagram. During DPP administration, these two paralleled approaches were conducted concurrently by state and business level respectively. After the turn of government when KMT is in power again, President Ma Ying-jeou announced in an interview with *The New York Times* that the specified common technical standards for the high-tech industry had been on agenda for future negotiation.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> China Mobile to work with Taiwan on 4G technology, *Taiwan News*, 2009-08-27. http://www.etaiwannews.com/etn/news\_content.php?id=1041736&lang=eng\_news

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Lin Cho-Shui, "Wang Jin-pyng's unusual move," *Taipei Times*. July 1, 2008. p.8.

Wintelism, derived from Windows and Intel, reflects the success of Microsoft's Windows in operatingsystems and Intel's CPU in the computer processor market. Wintelism argues that market competitionhas shifted away from final assembly and vertical control of markets by traditional corporations suchas IBM as well as Japanese Keiretsu trading groups. Taking the computer industry as an example, Wintelism sees that current market competition can happen anywhere in the production value-chain, including components, subsystems, system assembly, operation software, and applications software. These traditionally integrated system elements "become separate and critical competitive markets" Michael Borrus and John Zysman, Wintelism and the Changing Terms of Global Competition: Prototype of the Future? http://brie.berkeley.edu/publications/WP%2096B.pdf

Taiwan's Leader Outlines His Policy Toward China. *The New York Times*, June 19, 2008. http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/19/world/asia/19taiwan.html?ref=asia

Namely, party-led common standard initiative sooner or later would be replaced by state-led initiative. However, it takes time for state and business of both sides to reach consensus for cooperation.

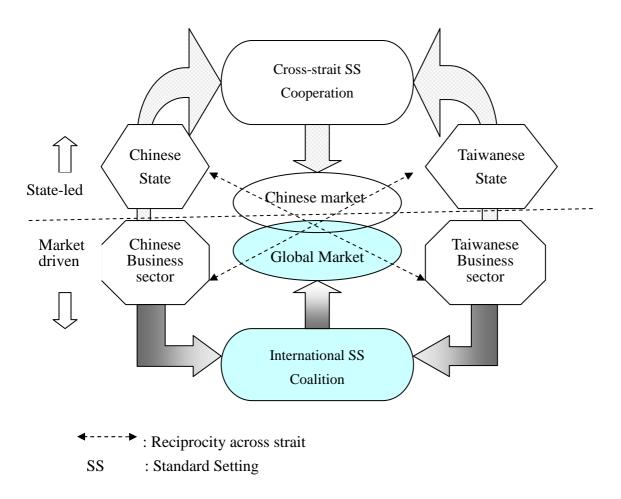


Figure 3: Cross-strait Technical Standard Coalition

#### Conclusion

The paper argues that KMT state-business collaboration was playing crucial role in trust building across the Strait for new administration. KMT has waited no time in preparation to return to power after losing the 2004 presidential election. The innovated SISF-CCSA/CESA platform has demonstrated the determination of readjusting Cross strait policy. The reason for association of SISF with Lien-Hu consensus can be traced back to political stalemate after SEF and ARATS dialogue was stalled after DPP took power. Ironically, the severe relations between DPP and Chinese government actually speeded up direct dialogue between KMT and CCP which open a window for China to extend *Hu Jin Tao*'s goodwill gesture to Taiwanese people. (*Zhi Shi Wan Yu Taiwan Renmin*)

The research wants to point out that an active quasi-state business collaboration with potential ruling party can still be credible in handicapped ruling administration. The incentive for collaboration comes from a trust relationship between business elite and ex-technocrats. The party platform for state-business collaborations should only be transitory before back to power again. If not, the inertia of ad-hoc mechanism might be self-sustaining that could lead to institutional crisis. It was such concern that party-initiated standard cooperation was temporarily ceased to function after 2008.

The future challenge for cross-strait standard cooperation will be an integrating global ICT market in which transnational business coalition may not be responsive to state's agenda. Therefore state-business

reciprocity is multi-dimensional that can happen across national border or across the Strait. Cross-Strait common standards may look promising if both Beijing and Taipei adopt greater-China approach in their standard setting strategy. Nonetheless, when they have no choice but to join the international coalition to survive in wintelism, the room for political maneuvers could be lesser and lesser.

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附件五

# 國科會補助專題研究計畫項下赴國外(或大陸地區)出差或研習心得報告

日期:99年7月31日

| 計畫編號    | NSC 97- 2410- H - 004 -094 - MY2 |             |                   |  |  |
|---------|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|--|--|
| 計畫名稱    | 技術標準設定的新制度分析-中國推動 WAPI 的個案研究     |             |                   |  |  |
| 出國人員 姓名 | 彭慧鸞                              | 服務機構<br>及職稱 | 國立政治大學國際關係研究中心    |  |  |
| 出國時間    | 99年7月24日至<br>99年7月26日            | 出國地點        | 美國紐約州阿爾巴尼(Albany) |  |  |

### 一、國外(大陸)研究過程

本次計畫訪談之對象為美國奧瑞岡大學政治系教授 pete Suttmmier。原計畫前往奧 瑞岡大學校區進行訪談,但是由於該教授暑假期間不在校區內,因此更改訪談地點 到紐約州阿爾巴尼市。Suttmmier 教授為美國政治學界少數研究中國智慧財產權與 技術標準制定的專家,也是美國政府對中國政策的重要諮詢顧問。 S 教授雖然已經退 休,但是對於美中關係,尤其科技競爭問題的關切保持高度的關切。就在本次見面 訪談期間S教授正巧也應邀將於次日出席國會聽證會。由於S教授長期研究中國科 技政策,對中國的深度了解,因此是國會聽證會的常客。2004年應全美亞洲研究所 (National Bureau of Asian Research, NBR)之邀請展開一系列有關中國科技創新 與標準化發展的研究計畫。並於 2004 年首次完成中國入世之後的科技政策, 包括標 準化與軟體自主開發的政策分析,在S教授和 Scott Kennedy 教授的共同主持之下 NBR 從 2004 年開始陸續完成一系列的研究報告,而 Richard P. Suttmeier 的觀點不 同於一般美國政府與學界的看法,認為美國政府應該關注的問題,除了智慧財產權 保護之外,更重要的是了解中國創新能力正快速提升。美國政府應該思考為什麼中 國吸引許多國際研發中心開始往中國移動。中國政府正在複製當年美國高科技研發 重鎮的經驗,而美國科技優勢正向中國傾斜。

訪談中,S教授不得不承認,美國政府將對中國施壓加強 IP 保護已經是既定的立場。同時也希望更多了解中國 IP 決策的機制。

### 二、研究成果

本次訪問之安排得來並不容易,一方面受到距離的限制,另一方面受到天候的影

響,造成班機取消等因素的一波三折。最後如期見面。S教授在中國大陸已經建立良好的學術網絡,對於台灣學界較為陌生,因此很願意了解台灣學界對中國科技發展相關政策與決策的研究。

## 三、建議

兩岸進入後 ECFA 時代,在智慧財產權保護議題上也達成一定的共識。然而,正如 S 教授所言,中國的後發優勢已經在制度創新領域正在急起直追,國內學者和政府也 應該開始注重兩岸在科技制度創新上的競爭。

# 無研發成果推廣資料

## 97年度專題研究計畫研究成果彙整表

計畫主持人:彭慧鸞 計畫編號: 97-2410-H-004-094-MY2 **計畫名稱:**技術標準設定的新制度分析-中國推動 WAPI 的個案研究 備註(質化說明:如數個計畫 量化 共同成果、成果列為該期刊 本計畫 實際已達 預期總達 單位之封面故事...等) 成果項目 成數 (被 成數(含實 實際頁 接受或已 際已達成 獻百分 數) 比 發表) 100% 期刊論文 研究報告/技術報 0 100% 1. 彭 慧 鸞 2010.06, ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' 際標準制定的國際政治經濟分 析, , , , , , , , 中華民國 國際關係學會第三屆年會, 中華 民國國際關係學會、政治大學國 際事務學院. 2. 彭慧鸞; 吳玲君, 2010.03, , , , , , , , A Structural Approach China's External Economic 論文著作 Initiative: ASEAN plus One and 研討會論文 2 200% International Standard Setting Regime, ', ', ', ', ', The Conference on 'The Multiple 國 Asymmetries: Revisiting the 內 'Fragile Super power' Thesis', Center for China Studies, College of Social Science, National Taiwan University. 專書 0 0 100% 0 0 申請中件數 100% 件 專利 0 100% 已獲得件數 0 0 100% 件數 件 技術移轉 0 0 100% 權利金 千元 碩士生 0 100% 參與計畫人 0 0 博士生 100% 力 人次 博士後研究員 1 0 100% (本國籍) 0 0 專任助理 100% 0 0 100% 期刊論文 篇 或 論文著作

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- 一、建立與美國學者 Richard P. Suttmeirer 之學術網絡,將兩岸關係在技術標準 合作部份之研究向 S 教授介紹,有助於後續之相關國際合作研究。
- 二、指導政治大學外交系碩士生顏紹純撰寫完成碩士論文,「過渡中的全球治理-中國的技術標準制定」。
- 重要國際合作、研 三、帶領博士後研究進行有關日本標準化戰略之研究,該員日前已獲國科會補助新究成果國際影響力的專題研究計畫,「新世紀日本標準化戰略之發展:政府與企業關係的途徑」

|    | 成果項目            | 量化 | 名稱或內容性質簡述 |
|----|-----------------|----|-----------|
| 科  | 測驗工具(含質性與量性)    | 0  |           |
| 教  | 課程/模組           | 0  |           |
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|    | 研討會/工作坊         | 0  |           |
| 項  | 電子報、網站          | 0  |           |
| 目  | 計畫成果推廣之參與(閱聽)人數 | 0  |           |

# 國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值(簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性)、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等,作一綜合評估。

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|    | 達成目標                                       |
|    | □未達成目標(請說明,以100字為限)                        |
|    | □實驗失敗                                      |
|    | □因故實驗中斷                                    |
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|    | 說明:  |
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|    | 專利:□已獲得 □申請中 ■無                            |
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|    | 500 字為限)                                   |
|    | 本研究主要目的在於掌握中國崛起的制度結構面向,特別選擇與知識經濟產權競爭力息息    |
|    | 相關的技術標準制定之個案研究。中國從「中國製造」向「中國創造」轉型時必須面對的    |
|    | 國內與國際制度結構的障礙。從官僚政治與社會建構論的兩個層面,檢視中國在全球知識    |
|    | 權力結構下的正式與非正式制度性參與。研究發現,中國政府在 WAPI 的失敗經驗中學習 |
|    | 到國際標準制定的遊戲規則,同時更明白全球知識權力結構是以「西方中心」所建構的制    |
|    | 度規範,尤其是在貿易相關智慧財產權保護的規範下,標準自主化被視為一種技術貿易障    |
|    | 礙而喪失其正當性。因此,中國政府一方面由主導轉為輔導產業標準,並透過政策工具協    |
|    | 助標準的開發與國際化,另一方面也積極參與制度規範的法制建構,從國內層面到國際層    |
|    | 面。試圖導正過渡扭曲的全球知權力結構,為開發中國家爭取更多發言權。          |
|    |  |
|    | 有鑑於兩岸知識產業皆依附在「西方中心」全球知識權力結構之下,在參與制度規範的法    |
|    | 制建構上實有其雙贏互利之共同需求。如何共同參與國際規範法制建構將是未來重要的合    |
|    | 作議題,值得有關部門深思。同時本研究成果也可以進一步延伸為國際關係與國際法的跨    |

學門研究議題。將全球知識標準結構架構在規範的建制與遵循層面去探討。