The Principle, Estab

文 | 歐育誠 Article | Ou Yu-cheng

the R.O.C.

壹、前言

18世紀的「啟蒙運動」不僅帶來歐美民主思潮及政 治體制的改變,在第一次世界大戰後,更影響了亞非地區 民主共和國的建立。此一民主政治的特色,主要表現在政 黨推薦代理人的「政黨政治」,也就是人民透過「選舉」 決定政黨推薦的統治者,但也另由其他選用方式,組成治 理的文官體系,並使代表民意的政務官與代表專業的事務 官概念漸趨成形;而文官效忠及服務的對象,也由「君 主」轉移至「國家」及「人民」。

政黨政治在歷經美國分贓制度的政治酬庸,以及功 績制度的專業要求階段,逐漸產生「政治」與「行政」兩 元問題;1887年美國威爾遜總統在其「行政的研究」一 文中首度提出政治與行政分立的觀念;雖然到了21世紀 的今天,這種區分仍有爭論,但因民主政治的運作,使 「行政中立」確實成為民主時代探討政治與行政關係的核 心議題,西方國家也一直從理念面、制度面及實務面,致 力於行政中立的建制與落實,因此,基本上「行政中立」 就是民主政治的產物。

政府播遷來台後,雖推展民主選舉制度,但因長期 由一個政黨主導政局,一直沒有真正的民主政治文化與 行政中立理念,直到民國76年解嚴後政治環境的急劇變 化,這個西方民主代議國家發展下專屬的「行政中立」, 才從學術討論層次,轉而成為我國民主政治與文官制度 間,必須真正面對處理的課題^{註1}。於是從民國80年代起, 開始進行行政中立法制的研究,經過十幾年的努力,終於 在民國98年5月制定公布「公務人員行政中立法」,這一 部有關我國公務人員行政中立的首部統一法典,非僅為世 界各國的創舉,也為我國行政中立開啟了新的里程碑。

Part I. Preface

The enlightenment of the eighteenth century not only brought about crucial changes in the democratic ideology and political system of Europe and America, but also greatly affected the establishment of democratic republics in Asia after World War I. The main characteristic of democratic politics is the existence of "party politics" (a party makes recommendations to its representatives), which means that the people determine who rules the party, this ruler being who are recommended by parties by the process of election. This party leadership should form the governance public functionary system by means of other selection procedures, whilst gradually developing and shaping the concepts of political appointee (public opinion) and civil servants (professional). Furthermore, during this political transformation, the object of public functionary's service and loyalty changed from a "monarchy" to a "nation" and a "people".

Having progressed through the spoils system with its political rewards in America as well as the professional-required stage of the merit system, the development of party politics gradually posed questions related to two political fields: "politics" itself and "administration." In 1887, the American president, Woodrow Wilson, first devised the concept of a politics/administration dichotomy, a concept which he aired in his article "The Study of Administration", and which remains disputable (controversial) in the 21st century. Due to the functioning of democratic politics, "administrative neutrality" became virtually the core issue in the relationship between politics and administration since the dawning of democratic times, whilst western countries have devoted enormous energy to establishing and implementing administrative neutrality in all aspects of its principle, establishment and praxis. Therefore, administrative neutrality is a fundamental product of democratic politics.

After relocating to Taiwan, the government have continuously nurtured and developed a democratic electoral system. Because the political situation in Taiwan before this point had been led by a single ruling party for a considerably long period, a real democratic political 貳、行政中立的必要性

在介紹我國行政中立的主要內容前,有必要從民主 政治發展及行政有效運作的面向,説明行政中立的必要 性,以便之後討論落實行政中立目標的作法:

一、確立民主政治的鞏固與發展:

民主政治的行政運作,必須體現民主的本質與精 神,而民主政治的精神,在於政府的運作必須以民意為依 歸,合乎主權在民、機會均等及反對權力宰制的基本原 則。基於民意政治的基本理念,民主政治要避免文官成為 特定階級、政黨或團體的服務工具,首先必須確立的就是 「中立性」,否則分贓式的假民主,將使民意政治淪為空 談,而無法獲得真正的實現。

二、維持政府行政運作的基本穩定:

國家的行政經驗是累積來的,經過長期運作的結 果,至少都有一個基本的依循模式及方向,縱有因為執政 者的更替而產生政策上的調整,但基本的運作卻不能因為 行政的不中立,讓政務官過度的干預,或讓事務官過度的 討好,而時常處於變動不確定的狀態,使政府的公信力逐 漸流失,終至無法獲得人民的信賴,進而可能導致政權不 斷更替,而使國家處於紛亂不定的狀態。



// 2010.vol.43

Part II. The necessity of administrative neutrality

Before introducing the main content of administrative neutrality in Taiwan, it is necessary to point out the importance of administrative neutrality in terms of both democratic political development and administrative effective operation, in order to then discuss the approaches of implementing measures to realize the goal of administrative neutrality.

I. Confirming the consolidation and development of democratic politics

The administrative operation of democratic politics must embody the nature and spirit of democracy. The spirit of democratic politics is defined by the fact that the operation of government has to be based on public opinion, and be in compliance with the basic principles of people's sovereignty, equal opportunities and stand firm against domination and monopolization of power. Being found on the basic principle of public opinion politics, democratic politics must prevent public functionaries from being manipulated as a tool to serve the self-interest of any specific rank, party or group. First of all, "neutrality" must be openly confirmed. Otherwise, spoilstyle false democracy will cause politics based on public opinion to become nothing more than impracticable and hollow words.

II. Maintaining the basic stability of administrative operations of the government

The administrative experience accumulated by a government is an outcome of a long-term continuous operation. A basic pattern is established and a direction is followed. Although policies can be adjusted by means of executive alternations, the basic operations of administration must avoid being uncertain or unstable due to situations involving administrative partiality, excessive intervention of a political appointee or ingratiation of civil servant; each of these cases may gradually lead to the 's loss of government creditability or the public's reliance, or even worse, to constant and abrupt shifts in executive power which allow the nation to lapse into a confused political environment.

三、實現以公共利益為導向的行政:

政府既為公共事務的治理機器,自應以公共利益的促進 為基本的運作理念,再進一步進行政策規劃及執行,而落實 在施政成果。文官為行政運作的主體,要確保其能以公共利 益為服務宗旨,則必須要求中立性,也就是能夠本於專業、 事實,並思考適當、公平、合理、有效的處理方式,來進行 公共事務的處理,以免整體資源的配置偏向於特定群體,導 致資源運用的扭曲與無效率。

四、維持合乎正義原則的政策執行:

政府是由代表民意的政務官,以及代表專業的事務官 所共同組成;政務官決定政策方向,為政策成敗擔負政治責 任,事務官基於專業,尋求將政策付諸實現的最佳途徑及方 式,在此相對關係下,文官的中立性自為維持政務官與事務 官間既分工又合作互動的關鍵機制;也就是政務官對於事務 官從公共利益角度,基於專業所表現的中立性必須尊重,事 務官基於對中立性的體認,應依法行政,並以合乎程序正義 及實質正義的方式,執行政策。

五、獲致民主與效能雙目標的平衡:

理想的行政,在於致力達成「民主」與「效能」兩 大目標,並求其平衡;單方面強調民主價值,將使施政理 念化、空洞化,民意難以落實為實際的施政成效;另一方 面,如僅講求效能,則容易變成專斷的專業主義,施政將 會偏離民眾的意向及立意。在行政中立的要求下,代表民 意的政務官僅能指引文官政策方向,但不能過度影響文官 的專業發揮,也就是行政中立能確保文官以專業的考量, 決定執行民意政策的最佳方法與途徑,使民主與效能獲得 雙贏結果的實現。

III. Implementing a public benefit-oriented administration

Bearing in mind that government is the ruling mechanism of public affairs, it's appropriate that it should regard the promotion of public benefit as a basic principle of operation, and further, plan and execute policies as part of its implement of governance. The public functionary is the main body of administrative operation. It is necessary to ensure that public benefit is the aim of service, and to realize that neutrality is essential. Using professional ethics and basing all operations on facts, the public functionary must adopt appropriate, equitable, reasonable and effective methods for managing all public affairs, never abusing his/her position by distributing resources to specific groups partially nor unfairly affecting a biased and ineffective application of resources.

IV. Maintaining an implement of policy which is in accordance with the principle of justice

The government consists of political appointees and civil servants who uphold both public opinion and professional ethics. All political appointees who undertake political responsibilities and determine the directions of political policy must exercise professional ethics, whilst civil servants must strive for the best methods and manners in which to implement political policies. Bearing in mind the relation of various appointees and civil servants which can develop, the neutrality of all public functionaries becomes an important mechanism which maintains the division of resources as well as cooperative interaction between political appointees and civil servants. All political appointees must respect the professional neutrality of civil servant with special regard to of public benefit. Equally, civil servants must execute their duties in accordance with the law, whilst recognizing of neutrality, practicing correct policy procedures and practical forms of justice.

V. Striking a balance between democracy and efficiency

An ideal administration must engage in striking a balance between democracy and efficiency. Unilateral emphasis of the value of democracy may idealize and hollow out governance, making it difficult to implement public opinions and achieve actual efficient governance. On the other hand, if efficiency is the only guiding principle, it becomes easy to arbitrate, and thereby compromise, professionalism. Moreover, governance may regress, unable to guarantee or uphold public opinion and people's determination. In line with the requirement of administrative neutrality, political appointees who aim to represent public opinion can only facilitate the policy direction of public functionaries, but not unduly influence public functionaries' professional judgement or practice; this means that administrative neutrality protects the interests of public functionaries' professions and ensures the best methods and manners of implementing policies guided by public opinion to achieve a win-win situation on the way to realize the practice of democracy and efficiency.



參、我國行政中立法的主體內容

新制定的「公務人員行政中立法」共20個條文,其 內容主要體現在文官公正執法、文官身分保障、政治活動 限制及選舉活動限制等四個面向;本文試著簡要歸納,以 便讀者有一個基本的認識:

一、依法及忠實原則:

- (一)公務人員應依據法令執行職務,忠實推行政府政策,公正執行職務,不得對任何團體或個人有差別待遇。
- (二)公務人員掌管的行政資源,對於政黨、其他政治團 體或公職候選人依法申請的事項,應秉公裁量, 不得有差別待遇。

二、政治活動的限制:

- (一)公務人員不可兼任黨職或其他政治團體職務;不可 利用職務,使他人加入或不加入政黨或其他政治 團體。
- (二)公務人員除因業務性質有其必要外,不可在上班或 勤務時間,從事政黨或其他政治團體的活動。
- (三)公務人員不可利用職務,為政黨或其他政治團體 進行捐助、募款或期約。
- (四)公務人員不可為支持或反對的政黨或其他政治團體,進行有關政治活動或行為。

三、選舉活動的限制:

- (一) 公務人員不可兼任公職候選人競選辦事處職務。
- (二)公務人員不可利用職務,要求他人參加或不參加政 黨有關的選舉活動、不可要求他人不行使投票權或 為一定的行使。
- (三)選舉期間,各機關應禁止政黨、公職候選人或其支持者的造訪活動,並張貼禁止競選活動的告示。
- (四)公務人員不可利用職務,為公職候選人進行捐助、 募款或期約。不可為支持或反對的公職候選人,進 行有關政治活動或行為。

Part III. The main body content of The Civil Servant Administrative Neutrality Act of the R.O.C.

There are 20 articles in the new promulgated The Civil Servant Administrative Neutrality Act, consisting of four aspects that include equal execution of public functionary, identification security of public functionary, limitation of political activity and limitation of election activity. This article attempts to summarize the Act for readers in order for them to have a basic understanding of its content.

I. The principles of compliance and loyalty

- All public officials shall execute their professional duties in accordance with laws, promote government's policies faithfully, execute their duties impartially, and not discriminate against any group or individual.
- All public officials shall impartially distribute administrative resources, which they have at hand to the political parties, other political groups or public official candidates who apply for assistance without any discrimination.

II. Limitations of political activity

- All public officials are forbidden to serve any positions concurrently within any political party or other political groups. Furthermore, they shall not compel others to join or not join any political party or other political group by taking advantage of or abusing their job positions.
- 2. All public officials are forbidden to engage in activities of any political party or other political group unless it is necessary.
- All public officials are forbidden to engage in sponsoring, funding or vote-buying for any political party or other political group by taking advantage of or abusing their job positions.
- All public officials are forbidden to engage in politically related activities or behavior with the intention of supporting or opposing any political party or other political group.

III. Limitations of election activity

- All public officials are forbidden to serve any positions concurrently in the election offices of public official candidates.
- All public officials are forbidden to obligate others to join or not join politics-related election activities by taking advantage of or abusing their positions, and are forbidden to obligate others not to execute their voting rights or execute specific duties.
- During election campaigns, the organizations shall prohibit any visit conducted by political parties, public official candidates or other supporters', and shall not broadcast an announcement in order to forbid campaign activities.
- 4. All public officials are forbidden to engage in sponsoring, funding or vote-buying for public official candidates by taking advantage of or abusing their official positions. Furthermore, they are forbidden to engage in any political activities or behavior on behalf of public official candidates they support or do not support.

(一)公務人員不可因拒絕從事本法禁止的行為而遭受不 公平對待或不利處分。否則可依公務人員保障法及 其他有關法令的規定,請求救濟。

海洋論壇 | Maritime Forum

(二)長官要求公務人員從事本法禁止的行為,公務人員可向該長官的上級長官請求處理,並得向監察院檢舉。違反行政中立事項,可依公務員懲戒法、公務人員考績法或其他相關法規予以懲戒或懲處。

肆、行政中立的落實

行政中立除了在理念上的強調及法制上的整備外, 最重要的,還是必須要在行政實務運作上予以落實;而落 實的關鍵,必須在政治面、行政面,以及政治與行政的交 界面,以多元機制確保行政中立的實現:

一、基於依法行政,必須尊重並落實執行行政中立法:

行政中立的本質是一種理念,但如僅停留在理念階 段,僅能從宣導、教化的角度求其落實,對於實務上政府 運作的規範力及強制力,仍然相當有限。如今「公務人員 行政中立法」的制定,將行政中立從理念層次具體化為行 政法制體系的一環,使今後公務人員面對政治運作及活動 的行為分際、權利義務等事項,有了明確的法律依據可資 遵循,未來在執法面的貫徹,自為落實之要。

二、健全文官體制,貫徹能力導向及功績主義的管理:

公務人員行政中立落實的前提,在於公務人員的管 理,必須建立在可讓文官免於因維持中立,而導致不公平 或不利對待的工作環境,而要做到這一點,最基本的就是 要堅持並健全能力導向的功績制文官制度;也就是讓公務 人員在一個以工作績效及貢獻度為取向的文官制度中,獲 得一個可以適度保障能力發揮的公務環境,而不受政黨更 替的影響。

IV. The mechanisms of protection and accountability

- No public official shall be discriminated against or suffer punishment because they refuse to engage in the behavior or action that is prohibited by the law. Otherwise they shall seek assistance in accordance with the Public Functionaries Protection Act or other related regulations.
- 2. If any public official are required by their supervisors to engage in behavior or action prohibited by the law, they shall seek assistance from their senior management team and may also report to the Control Yuan. Any public official who violates the principles of administrative neutrality or any related regulations shall be punished in accordance with the Public Functionaries Discipline Act, the Civil Service Performance Evaluation Act or other related regulations.

Part IV. Praxis of administrative neutrality

In addition to upholding principles and preparing regulations, it is of primary importance for administrative neutrality to guide practical administrative operations. The key point of praxis is to ensure the accomplishment of administrative neutrality with regard to politics, administration as well as the interface of both.

I. Respecting and Implementing The Civil Servant Administrative Neutrality Act in accordance with the law

The safeguarding of administrative neutrality is a guiding principle. However, remaining in phase of principle can only ensure implementation of administrative neutrality in terms of propagation and education, whilst, in the practical sense, both the scale and enforcement of the government's operation will be limited. The establishment of The Civil Servant Administrative Neutrality Act embodies the principle of administrative neutrality, integrating it within legal system of administration, and providing references to public officials in the execution of their duties when they encounter the boundary, or demarcation line, between political operation and political activity.

II. An integrated system of public functionary, the orientation of fulfilling ability, and the management of triumphalism

The hypothesis of implementing civil servant administrative neutrality is that the management of civil servants must be based on complete equality in the workplace, which involves the nurturing of an atmosphere where civil servants never feel discriminated against or adversely treated for adopting a politically neutral stance. Therefore, it is necessary to insist on integrating the abilityoriented triumphalism public functionary system, which means that the public official can work in a protected environment which implements the principles of the public functionary system, valuing performance and contribution, whilst remaining unaffected by shifting in party political power.

三、落實民意政治,必須堅持確實依據法律執行職務:

法律既由民意機關所制定,在民主政治的運作下, 代表民意的法律具有其超然且不可違反的地位,無論政務 官或常任文官,政策的制訂及執行,均不能脱離法律所設 定的框架,因此,只要真正落實依法行政原則,則行政中 立即成為自然而然的結果。而依法行政的基本要求,除有 賴公務人員本身價值內化外,並要建立在一個包括行政及 刑事的有效課責機制上。

四、節制政治活動,公務人員應有自律與他律的要求:

就憲法保障而言,公務人員仍有加入政黨或其他政 治團體,以及集會結社之自由,尚不能因具有公務人員身 分,而予剝奪。然而,為使公務人員公正執行職務,避免 偏袒某一特定政黨或政治勢力,造成資源運用的扭曲,影 響民主政治的正常發展,自有必要適度限制公務人員參與 政治活動,而行政中立法具體規範政治活動限制之目的, 就是在劃定公務人員與政治活動間的合理界線。



五、基於政黨政治,政治人物應維護良性競爭的環境:

行政中立具有「脆弱性」,容易被干擾與摧折,因 為其所面對的是最具權力的政治^{#2},所以,行政中立的落 實,更需要良性政黨政治的發展,以及政治人物的自律。 執政者應體認文官並非政黨的私有財,而是為國家及全體 民眾服務的公共財,對於行政體系人員及物質的運用,應 有所節制,不可為政黨競爭,而從中謀求累積政治資本, 以獲取其政治利益。 III. Insisting on executing job duties in accordance with laws to implement public opinion politics

2010.*vol.43*

Bearing in mind laws are established by public opinion organizations, whilst upholding the functioning of democratic politics, laws, which represent public opinion have a detached, impartial and non-violated status. Even political appointees, permanent public functionaries, policy establishment figures or those who implement policy can not violate the laws; they do not enjoy exemption from these laws. Therefore, the administrative neutrality is naturally a desirable outcome if administrative principles are practically implemented in accordance with the established code of laws. In addition to the internalization of public official values, it is necessary, indeed a basic requirement, to establish an effective system of accountability including all matters of administration and crime.

IV. Restricting political activities. The public official is asked to abide by the requirements for self-control and heteronomy.

In terms of constitution protection, all public officials can exercise their freedom to join political parties or other political groups or associations, which will not lose on account of of their official status. However, in order to execute their duties impartially, and to avoid taking sides with any specific party or political force, unduly influencing the resource application, or affecting the development of democratic politics, it is necessary to limit appropriately the participation of public officials in political activities. Additionally, the purpose of limiting political activity, expressed by The Civil Servant Administrative Neutrality Act, is to draw up a reasonable boundary line separating public officials and political activity.

V. Being based on party politics, political figures shall maintain a virtuous competitive environment

With all its potential vulnerabilities, administrative neutrality can easily be compromized and destroyed. Facing the most powerful politics (Remark 2), the implementation of administrative neutrality needs a more virtuous party politics environment and increasing level of self-control of political figures. Executives should understand that public functionaries are not private possessions, which belong to a specific political party. On the contrary, they are members of the public who serve the country and its people. Executives should restrict the application of administrative staff members and material, and refrain from gaining political benefits by accumulating political capital for political competition. 六、高級文官樞紐,扮演溝通協調及捍衛維護的角色:

海洋論壇 | Maritime Forum

「政府雖會更替,但行政依然持續」(Ridley,1979), 而實際負責維續政府行政,並使其穩定進行的,乃是高級 文官^{註3}。政務官與事務官運作穩定的基礎,主要在於「信 任」,而建立信任的樞紐就是高級文官,其不但一方面要 捍衛文官體系不受政治的干擾,另一方面也要作好政治的 溝通協調,也就是行政中立的落實,高級文官居於重要的 關鍵性角色。

七、進行外圍努力,型塑社會大眾普遍的認知與支持:

行政中立要能完全落實,最根本的還是要使整個社 會大眾,都能體認文官行政中立的重要性;而對於政治人 物或文官違反中立的行為,應該要有客觀的仲裁機制,以 便接受社會公評,維護公共利益並保護文官盡忠職守為民 服務。而長期更重要的,則是運用媒體宣傳、訓練講習, 經由每一次政治活動及行政發展的歷程,形成一種共識, 以營造中立的氛圍。

VI. A high-ranking public functionary pivot that plays a role in communication and protection

"Although there is an alternation in government, the administration continues" (Ridley, 1979). The high-ranking public functionaries are responsible for maintaining the administration of government and ensuring that it works smoothly (Remark 3). The stable foundation of operations of political appointees and civil servants is the "trust" that is established by the high-ranking public functionaries who prevent the public functionary system from being interrupted or compromised by politics. On the other hand, they also have to play an important role in communicating and implementing administrative neutrality.

VII. IEngaging in outreach efforts and shape the public's common recognition and support

If a situation requires administrative neutrality to be implemented completely, it is fundamental that the public recognizes the importance of the administrative neutrality of the public functionary. As for the violation of administrative neutrality by political figures or public functionaries, the arbitration mechanism shall be applied objectively to maintain the benefits to the public and to ensure that public functionaries continue to perform their duties, and serve the people, well. Furthermore, of even greater importance is to utilize, on a permanent basis, resources relating to media, training, lecture and study in order to shape a common consensus and atmosphere via the progress of each political activity and administrative development.





基本上,我國的行政中立是由歐美移植而來,但制 度移植並非全盤接收,仍須斟酌我國國情特殊性,予以去 蕪存菁,並經由實務上不斷的運作,而逐步調整。至於行 政中立建制的理想目標,在於行政中立能隨著政治生態、 政治文化及文官制度的運作,從理念的型塑與學習,過度 到制度的建制與鞏固,最後進一步經由實務上的落實,化 為我國行政文化的一部分,並表現為合宜的行為。

我國民主政治發展的果實得來不易,隨著政黨輪替 成為我國政治運作的常態,在此時完成制定「公務人員行 政中立法」,具有承先啟後的歷史意義。未來在行政中立 的落實方面,除了制度本身的建構之外,也必須透過價值 型塑內化至文官體系,也就是一方面在政府體系內部型塑 行政中立的認知,另一方面經由民主社會公民意識的建立 及監督,從外在施加要求文官落實行政中立的壓力,以及 經由內外在環境長期的營造、默化、內化及轉化,我國行 政中立法所強調的促進民主政治良性發展、公共利益導向 行政運作及理想政治與行政關係的維持,才能真正實現。

(本文作者現職為考試院考試委員)

附註

- 註1:參照關中,1995,「行政中立與政黨政治」, 銓敘與公保月刊第4卷第9期。
- 註2:參照劉昊洲,2004,「論行政中立規範的特 色」,游於藝雙月刊第43期。
- 註3:參照顏秋來,2006,「政務官與事務官體制運作 之研究」,國家菁英季刊第2卷第1期。

Part V. Conclusion

Basically, the concept and models of administrative neutrality in the R.O.C. have been transplanted from Europe and America. But the transplanting of this system does not mean that all its aspects are accepted. It is necessary to evaluate the particularity of Taiwan, sift through all aspects and keep what we need, then gradually adjust those aspects through constant practice of operations. As for the ideal goal of administrative neutrality, following the operation of political ecology, political culture and public functionary system, the administrative neutrality has been transformed from the formation and learning of this principle into the establishment and consolidation of a system, and at last was practically implemented to be one part of the administration culture of Taiwan with appropriate modes of behavior.

/// 2010.**vol.43**

It was not easy to achieve the outcome of democratic politics in Taiwan. Since party alternation has become a regular situation during the political development of Taiwan, the establishment of The Civil Servant Administrative Neutrality Act lately represents the historical meaning insofar as it combines traditional heritage and contemporary contributions. In the future, in addition to the system establishment, it will be necessary to shape and heighten the recognition of administrative neutrality within the government system itself by value-shape internalizing the system of public functionary, whilst on the other hand, to impose pressure on the public functionary by the establishment and supervision of the public opinion within a democratic society, and to facilitate silent affecting, internalization and transformation of internal/external environments in order to implement administrative neutrality. As a result, the virtuous development of democratic politics promotion, the operation of public opinion-oriented administration and the maintenance of the link between ideal politics and administration that is emphasized in The Civil Servant Administrative Neutrality Act can be completely implemented.

(The author is an incumbent examiner of The Examination Yuan of the Republic of China)

