

李登輝

與臺灣民主元年

# 關鍵 THE ESSENTIAL 1991

Andante con anima

LEE TENG-HUI

and the first year of the Taiwan democracy era

展示地點：國史館（臺北市中正區長沙街一段2號）  
開放時間：週一至週五及特別開館日9:30至16:30

1991 年對臺灣民主而言是很關鍵的一年，為了讓您有深刻的觀展感受，我們設定了展覽的角色「甄民囑」（小甄）。現在就讓小甄帶大家一起重回 1991 吧！

1991 was a critical year for Taiwan's democracy. To help you experience this journey in a meaningful way, we created a fictional character Zhen Min-zhu (Zhenny), who will take you back to 1991.



我叫甄民囑，出生於1991年，邁向30歲的我，從小被認為是「國家未來的主人翁」，雖然投過票，也曾參與幾次社會運動，但出生於民主世代的我，對於能決定的、能擁有的，常深感迷惘。為了解惑，我展開一趟特殊的時空之旅，請跟隨我的腳步，一同來聆聽這屬於臺灣的民主樂章。

My name is Zhen Min-zhu. Born in 1991, I turn 30 this year. Our generation has been called "the future backbone of the country." However, I've always felt a sense of cluelessness, even though I have voted a few times and took part in several social movements—clueless about what I can decide and what I am a backbone of. To answer this question, I embarked on a meaningful journey back in time. Please follow me and experience Taiwan's journey to democracy.

## 世界風起雲湧，讓高牆倒下吧！ An Age of Geopolitical Change: Tear down This Wall!

聽爸爸說，在我出生前，世界主要由美國及蘇聯兩大集團各自結盟、彼此競爭。二戰後，象徵著共產勢力的鐵幕高牆，將東、西德分隔開。這道牆在80年代末期開始鬆動，歐洲展開一連串政治運動、中國天安門廣場群眾聚集要求政治改革、臺灣社會運動也如雨後春筍，不斷衝擊威權體制。1991年隨著蘇聯解體，民主化的國際潮流席捲而來，臺灣也在李登輝總統領導下，展開自由民主的改革歷程。

Before I was born, dad told me, the world was divided into two rivaling blocs, one led by the the United States (US), while the other rallied under the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). After the second world war, a wall cut Germany in half, dividing the East from the West. In the 1980s, however, the Iron Curtain that symbolized the Communist bloc began to fall apart. A series of political movements shook Europe, while protestors in China gathered in Tiananmen Square demanding political reform. In Taiwan, multiple waves of social movements challenged the authoritarian institution. As the disintegration of the USSR in 1991 led to a global wave of democratization, Taiwan began its journey to freedom and democracy under the leadership of President Lee Teng-hui.

柏林圍牆水泥塊  
冷戰時期柏林被美、蘇兩國以圍牆分割為東西德，直至 1990 年圍牆才被拆除並統一。

入藏登錄號：08000001066C（馬英九總統文物）

A piece of Berlin Wall  
During the Cold War, Germany was divided into the East and the West by the US and USSR, with a wall separating East Berlin from West Berlin. The wall was demolished as Germany reunified in 1990.



1991年8月蘇聯政變未遂，郝柏村於行政院第2245次會議表示：「民主自由是全世界潮流趨勢，深信在李總統的領導下，能順利完成憲改，提早實現民主自由。」

典藏號：014-000205-00691-001

In the 2245<sup>th</sup> meeting of Executive Yuan held in August 1991 after a failed coup USSR, premier Hau Pei-tsun stated, "The

whole world is gravitating toward democracy and freedom. I believe if we rally under the leadership of president Lee and complete the constitutional reform, we can bring about democracy and freedom sooner than expected."

## 第一位臺灣人總統的誕生：李登輝 The First Taiwan-born President: Lee Teng-hui

小甄：「你怎麼看李登輝？」

父親：「他是一個必要的人，並完成時代賦予他的任務。」

蔣經國總統解嚴促使「自由化」的發展；李登輝總統終止動員戡亂，使得「民主化」成為可能。李登輝總統上任後，面對黨內、外各種挑戰，推動許多民主化的政策，如終止動員戡亂、全面改選中央民意代表，並開始改變臺海情勢的態度。多方籌謀下，終於贏得黨的領導權，並以總統直選，確立成為第一位臺灣人總統。

Chiang Ching-kuo facilitated Taiwan's liberalization by lifting the Martial Law, while Lee Teng-hui set Taiwan on the path to democracy by terminating the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion. After assuming office, President Lee navigated challenges from within and without the party and enforced a number of policies to democratize Taiwan, including the termination of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion, elections of new congresspersons, and a change in mindset toward Cross-Strait issues. With shrewd diplomacy and skillful maneuvers, Lee secured power within the party and became the first Taiwan-born president through a direct election.



左 | 李登輝副總統宣誓就任中華民國第7任總統與宣讀誓詞

典藏號：007-050207-00019-023

Vice President Lee Teng-hui sworn in as the 7<sup>th</sup> term president of Republic of China



右 | 臺灣首位民選總統：1996年李登輝當選中華民國第九任總統證書

典藏號：007-050207-00025-003

Certificate of Lee's election as the 9<sup>th</sup> term president of Republic of China, the first popularly elected president of the country

## 〈關鍵1991序曲〉 Prelude to 1991

野百合學運開啟了臺灣民主化道路的契機。1990年3月，任職超過40年的第一屆國大代表，利用選舉時機，通過自肥的擴權案，並使增額代表延長任期。

大約六千名來自各大學的學生聚集於中正紀念堂，靜坐抗議並提出訴求，終使李登輝總統允諾進行國政改革。1990年6月釋字第261號解釋：「第一屆中央民意代表須於1991年12月31日以前終止行使職權。」臺灣踏上憲政改革的軌道，也揭開民主的序章。

The Wild Lily Student Movement created an opportunity for Taiwan's democratization. Taking advantage on an election in March 1990, the 1<sup>st</sup> National Assembly, which had been in office for over 40 years, passed bills for its own benefit and power, extending the terms of office for its members.

As a result, around 6000 students from various universities gathered in Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Square for a sit-in protest, leading President Lee to promise political reform. In June 1990, Judicial Yuan issued Interpretation No. 261, ruling that "those members of the First Congress who have not been re-elected shall cease exercising their powers no later than December 31, 1991." As the prologue to democratization, Taiwan's constitutional reform was finally underway.



## 〈關鍵·1991〉 演奏中

1991 in Action

自出生起，我們這一代便無須擔憂意見無法表達、權利無法行使，這一切都奠基於1991年的諸多改革。李登輝總統透過終止動員戡亂、通過憲法增修條文、全面改選中央民意代表等政策，逐步打造以民為主的政治體制。雖然其中仍有不同黨派間，對於修憲、制憲的分歧，不可否認的是，臺灣正逐漸邁向更美好、更正常化的國家。

Ever since the people of my generation were born, we never have to worry about not having a voice or not being able to exercise our rights. A series of reforms in 1991 made this possible. President Lee terminated the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion, passed Additional Articles to the Constitution, held parliamentary elections, and gradually crafted a political institution based on the people. Despite disagreements on whether to amend the existing constitution or draft a new constitution, Taiwan was on its way to becoming a better and more normalized country.



左 | 1990年民進黨成立憲政研究小組，經過三個月努力，提出「民主大憲章」草案全文。典藏號：020-141101-0089

DPP formed a research group on constitutional politics in 1990 and, after three months of tireless research and drafting, proposed the Magna Carta Democratica.

右 | 1991年4月修憲會議，制定增修條文十條，確認兩岸分治事實，並廢止動員戡亂時期臨時條款。資料來源：總統府公文書

In April 1991, a meeting on constitutional amendment was convened. Without modifying the original text and the five-power structure of the Constitution, ten additional articles were drafted to recognize the fact that Taiwan and the Mainland were governed by two separate regimes and repeal the Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression

## 不停止的樂章：取消言論叛亂

Ideas and Speech Decriminalized

「100行動聯盟」與1991年5月發生的「獨臺會事件」有關。治安單位指控被逮捕者與臺獨組織密切往來，遂以《懲治叛亂條例》配合《刑法》100條預備內亂罪，移送偵辦。

同年9月的公投大遊行訴求未獲滿足，陳師孟、林山田等教授遂計畫以抵制國慶日大閱兵來施壓政府廢除刑法第100條。在聯盟持續抗爭及各界支持下，立法院於1992年修正刑法100條，人民不再因言論內容而被政府以叛亂入罪，白色恐怖時代正式結束。

Alliance against Article 100 was founded after the Taiwan Independence Association Incident that broke out in May 1990, when law enforcements arrested several individuals for being in close contact with Taiwan Independence Association and put them under investigation for violating Paragraph 1, Article 2 of the Punishment of the Rebellion Act and Article 100 of the Criminal Code, which listed “preparing to commit rebellion” as a prosecutable felony.

After the march for referendum in September failed to secure the government’s promise, professors Chen Shih-mung and Lin Shan-tien planned to force the government to repeal Article 100 of the Criminal Code by boycotting the military parade on National Day. The continued advocacy of the Alliance gained support across society. The Legislative Yuan finally amended Article 100 of the Criminal Code. Speech and ideas no longer constituted rebellion. White Terror officially ended.



## 不停止的樂章：主權在民

Popular Sovereignty

走上街頭表達意見，或以公民投票來議決公共政策，是民主社會的日常。我喜歡參與遊行來表達對公共議題的意向，跟阿公分享時，他也會與我說說他年輕時聽到的「住民自決」的主張—是社會上存在著臺灣的前途或命運要由臺灣住民來決定的聲音，也就是透過公民投票來完成。

90年代，臺灣人民就曾提出公投訴求，並以大遊行的方式，表達以臺灣名義加入聯合國、釋放政治犯、廢除刑法100條等需求，雖不被當時政府所接受，卻因著前人的努力，才有2004年《公民投票法》的出現。

In a democratic society, taking to the streets to voice one’s opinion and deciding public matters through referenda are common activities. I like to make myself heard by taking part in parades and marches. When I talked to grandpa about this, he told me about self-determination, the proposition that the future of Taiwan can only be decided by Taiwanese people through a referendum.

In the 1990s, the people of Taiwan called for referenda and marched for UN membership under the name “Taiwan,” release of political dissidents, and abolition of Article 100 of the Criminal Code. Even though their propositions were not accepted by the government, their efforts eventually led the passage of Referendum Act in 2004.



公民投票促進會名牌

成立於1990年，旨在推動立法以保障公民的直接民主權利。

典藏號：1280097910001A

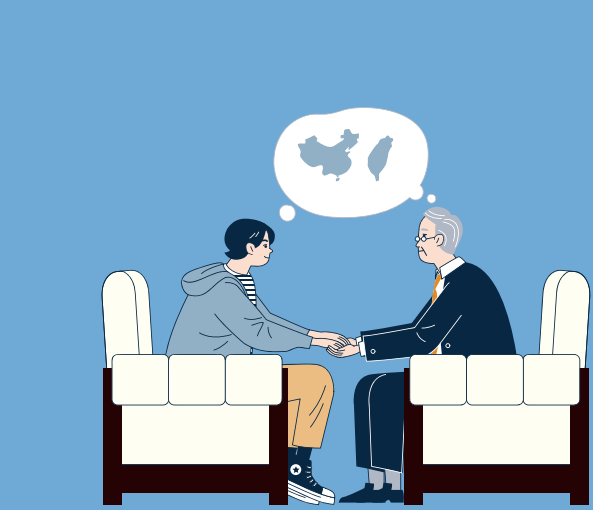
Lin Yi-hsiung’s name tag for Taiwan Referendum Initiative Founded in 1990, the initiative sought to protect the right to direct democracy by legislating referendum into law.

## 1991終曲

Finale of 1991

「投票制度」對我而言習以為常，所以很難想像1991年以前，除「增額補選」外，中央民意代表並非由臺灣人民所票選。我詢問爸媽關於1991年底第二屆國大代表改選的情形，他們說那年國會首次全面改選，社會氛圍躍躍欲試，各政黨首度以合法、平等的地位參與競選。選舉最終結果，民進黨獲得不到四分之一席次，多數席次仍是國民黨，這反映了當時制憲、臺獨主張及其行動方式，尚未獲得多數人民的認同。

Voting is such an integral part of my life that it is rather hard to imagine that before 1991, those so-called congresspersons, except for those elected in the supplementary elections, were not elected by the people of Taiwan. When I asked my parents about the 1991 election of the second National Assembly, they said it was the first full-scale parliamentary election, so the society was excited. It was also the first election in which various parties could compete legally and fairly. In the end, DPP won less than one-fourth of the seats, while KMT racked up most of the seats, suggesting that propositions for a new constitution and a Taiwanese republic and its way of expressing its voice failed to garner support from the majority of voters.



## 安可曲：中華民國在臺灣

Encore: Republic of China on Taiwan

2003年，我拿到護照，媽媽說這本護照很特別，封面「中華民國」下方加註了「TAIWAN」，我才注意到「中華民國」與我所生長的土地「臺灣」之間的關係。李登輝總統任內屢次公開提出「中華民國在臺灣」的概念，不論總統、中央民意代表等，皆已全面由臺灣人民直接選舉，這使中華民國在臺灣的政權在法理與實質上都本土化了。除了國家認同，國際外交上也須與中國大陸區別，是以李總統搭乘飛機出訪許多國家，成為人民熟悉的畫面。

When I collected my first passport in 2003, mom said the passports issued this year were special, because on the cover, the word “TAIWAN” was printed under the name REPUBLIC OF CHINA. That was when I started to notice the relationship between Republic of China and the land on which I grew up—Taiwan. President Lee had in many public occasions used the phrase “Republic of China on Taiwan.” Since members of the congress and the president were directly elected by the people of Taiwan, Republic of China has become local regime of Taiwan on both de jure and de facto bases. In addition to forging a new identity, President Lee attempted to distinguish Taiwan from Mainland China in the realm of diplomacy by visiting many countries around the world. News reports and footages of his visits were widely circulated.



1999年7月李總統接受德國之聲專訪，提及兩岸關係定位在國家與國家至少是特殊的國與國的關係。

典藏號：007-030208-00039-018

In a video-recorded interview with Deutsche Welle in July 1999, President Lee stated that ever since the constitutional reform in 1991, Cross-Strait relations had been defined as special, if not normal, state-to-state relations.

1991年，一個新時代開始了。  
這段民主旋律，有高低、或強弱、有快亦有慢，  
能量滿溢且張力十足。  
在此之前，我們都有一個問題：  
我是誰？  
在此之後，我有一個答案：  
我是你、你是我，我是你們，你也是我們。