

p 2-18

文・攝影 | 黃子明

p 19-35

Texts/Photographs by Huang Tzu-ming



文・攝影 | 黃子明



1995 年 6 月 1 日，蘭嶼達悟族人不滿核廢料貯存場遲不遷移，在卸下核廢料的龍門港發起搬巨石封港活動，族人一起推巨石入海，象徵阻絕廢料船入港卸貨的決心。



1989年11月22日，台灣舉行縣市長、立法委員、省市議員三合一選舉期間，海外台獨運動領袖、列管於「黑名單」人物郭倍宏，自海外潛回台灣，並於晚間突然現身台北縣中和運動場民進黨選舉造勢晚會。郭倍宏無法循正常途徑返台，傳聞情治單位要在現場伺機逮捕他，當他自台上演說結束後，主辦單位要所有支持者戴上黑名單面具，並突然關閉現場燈光，趁黑掩護郭倍宏安全脫離現場。

註：台灣在戒嚴時期，政府對於海外異議份子採行「黑名單」政策，除註銷護照，也禁止他們返國，直到1991年廢止懲治叛亂條例、1992年5月《中華民國刑法》第一百條修正、安全局的廢止，「黑名單」政策走入歷史。



1950 年創辦台大護校的台灣護理教育創立者陳翠玉，曾經歷 228 事件，在二次大戰後曾協助「聯合國戰後救濟總署（英文簡稱 UNRRA）」，進行在台灣的戰後重建工作，因被政府列為黑名單不得返國。1988 年手持新辦美國護照由新加坡返台，不料卻因過於勞累舊疾復發，返國後病逝於台大醫院。

1988 年 8 月 26 日，陳翠玉在台北濟南教會告別禮拜後，治喪委員會在決定讓送葬隊伍繞行總統府，向當時執政國民黨政權做抗議，並在總統府前與憲警發生推擠。



1987 年，國民黨佔多數的立法院擬定《動員戡亂時期國家安全法》，民進黨謝長廷、洪奇昌，江蓋世等發動 612 遊行抗議活動，聚集在行政院、立法院向執政黨施壓，反對制定國安法，並與警方及支持國安法立法的反共愛國陣線成員發生衝突，為戒嚴以來最大規模的政治性集會遊行活動。



1988 年 4 月 24 日，當時臺北縣貢寮鄉居民到臺電總公司抗議，反對興建核四廠，當地學童手持表語呼喊口號，與長輩共同捍衛故鄉安全與環境。

註：因政府擬興建核四廠，台灣在 1987 年開始反核運動，期間運動發展起起落落，反核力量一度沉寂。核四廠在 2000 年一度因政黨輪替而宣布停建，隔年再復工。2011 年日本福島發生核災，再度引發國人對核安的疑慮，在 2013 年的 309 廢核大遊行，參與人數是至今台灣反核遊行中最多人的一次，加上隔年民進黨前主席林義雄進行反核四禁食行動，終於迫使興建已近完工的核四廠在 2014 年 4 月 24 日又被政府宣布封存。



1987 年 12 月 25 日，在台北市中山堂舉行「行憲紀念日」，場內民進黨國大代表舉布條，要求國會全面改選；場外民進黨也發起 1225 大遊行，動員群眾呼應國會改選訴求，遊行群眾除阻斷台鐵列車運行，並試圖爬上西門町行人陸橋，穿越警方設置的蛇籠圍籬。



1987 年，中油公司與經濟部決定在高雄煉油廠，增設第五輕油裂解廠（簡稱「五輕」），後勁當地居民遂開始串聯，發起反五輕運動，四百多位居民在 10 月 21 日至台北向行政院、立法院及環保署陳情。

註：反五輕運動在台灣環保抗爭運動中占有重要地位，它不僅是由當地居民自發組織，還歷經長期在高雄煉油廠西門埋鍋造飯圍廠抗爭，並在政府同意下，針對五輕興建議題，舉辦台灣在《公民投票法》立法前首次公民投票，超過六成六投票率，逾六成投票居民「堅決反對」，雖然最後未能影響五輕動工並生產，但也迫使當時的行政院長郝柏村在五輕正式動工前一晚夜宿後勁，藉以安撫居民，同時政府並同意撥出十五億回饋金及二十五年後遷廠承諾。



1992 年 4 月 17 日，民進黨為推動總統直選發起群眾運動，黨內大老黃信介等領導人並到總統府前靜坐表達訴求。



1987 年，後勁反五輕運動。



1987年3月1日，南投縣政府為開發信義鄉東埔溫泉區而挖掘原住民的祖先墳墓，任由屍骸曝曬。當地布農族人與台灣原住民權益促進會等原住民運動團體，不滿祖墳被破壞，遂抬棺北上行政院陳情，台東達仁鄉排灣族視障詩人馬列雅弗斯・莫那能（Malieyafusi Monaneng）也到場聲援。



1987 年，後勁反五輕運動。



1989 年 11 月 22 日，被列管為「黑名單」的郭倍宏（左二），晚間突然現身於台北縣中和運動場民進黨選舉造勢晚會，為政治犯蔡有全的妻子，台灣省議員候選人周慧瑛（左一）拉抬聲勢。當他上台演說後舉手歡呼時，包括周慧瑛等人都轉頭觀望現場動靜。



1988 年 5 月 20 日，農民請願活動（520 事件）是臺灣解嚴後首次爆發激烈警民衝突的社會群眾運動。一名男子在驅離行動中遭霹靂小組幹員逮捕，身上衣服被剝得精光。



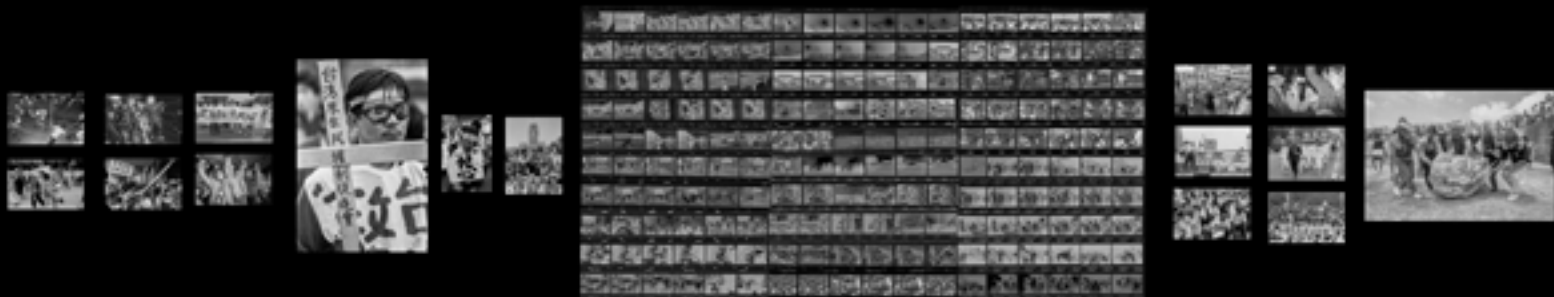
1987 年，後勁反五輕運動。



1988年，政府決定擴大開放外國農產品進口台灣，由於可能衝擊國內農民生計，雲林農權會林國華、蕭裕珍等人率領台灣南部農民北上台北市請願。遊行團體抵達立法院時與警方爆發第一波衝突，到了下午，衝突規模持續擴大，民眾與憲警在街頭展開游擊戰。



1988 年，台灣南部農民北上台北市請願，扶老攜幼由台北國父紀念館遊行前往立法院，提出全面農保與眷保、肥料自由買賣、增加稻米保證價格與收購面積、廢止農會總幹事遴選、廢止農田水利會會長遴選、成立農業部、農地自由買賣等七項訴求。



Texts/Photographs by **Huang Tzu-ming**



On June 1, 1995, in protest against the delay in moving the nuclear waste storage facility, the Tao tribe on Orchid Island launched an action to close off the Lung-men harbor where the nuclear waste was unloaded. Tribesmen pushed huge rocks into the sea to block the nuclear waste ship from entering the harbor.



On November 22, 1989, during the triple elections in Taiwan for county magistrates, mayors, members of the Legislative Yuan and county and city councilors, Kuo Bei-hong, the blacklisted leader of the overseas Taiwan independence movement, secretly returned to Taiwan, and appeared at an evening election rally of the DPP in Zhonghe, Taipei County. Kuo could not return to Taiwan through normal channels, and it was rumoured that he would be arrested by the intelligence service on the spot. After he finished his speech, organizers asked all participants to put on “Black List” masks and suddenly switched off all lights. He was then smuggled off from the site.

Note: During the period of martial law, the government kept a “black list” of overseas dissidents. Apart from cancelling their passports, it also banned them from returning to the country. With the abolition of the treason articles in 1991, the amendment to Article 100 of the Criminal Code in May, 1992 and the abolition of the Security Bureau, the “black list” policy came to an end.



Chen Cui-yu, who founded the School of Nursing of National Taiwan University in 1950, was affected by the February 28 incident. After World War II, she worked for the post-war reconstruction of Taiwan with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Admin. On August 26, 1988, after the memorial service of Chen Cui-yu, the funeral committee decided to let the funeral procession go round the Office of the President to protest against the ruling KMT. They had altercations with the military police in front of the Office.



In 1987, the Legislative Yuan with a KMT majority intended to enact the legislation “National Security Act During the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion”. Frank Hsieh, Hong Chi-chang and Chiang Kai-shih of the DPP organized the June 12 march, and gathered at the Executive and Legislative Yuan to put pressure on the ruling party and oppose the enactment of the National Security Act. They clashed with the police and members of the Anti-communist Patriotic Alliance that supported the National Security Act. It was the largest political assembly and demonstration since the declaration of martial law.



On April 24, 1988, residents of Gongliao district, Taipei County went to the headquarters of Taipower to protest against the construction of the 4th nuclear plant. Schoolchildren held placards and shouted slogans to protect the safety and environment of their hometown with the adults.

Note An anti-nuclear movement began in Taiwan in 1987 due to the government's plan to build the fourth nuclear plant. The movement had its ups and downs and quieted down for a while. In 2000, due to a change of government, it was announced that the construction would stop, but it was resumed the next year. After the nuclear disaster in Fukushima in Japan in 2011, Taiwanese were again concerned about nuclear safety. The March 9 anti-nuclear march in 2013 was the largest in Taiwan ever. The next year, former DPP chairman Lin Yi-hsiung went on a hunger strike to oppose the fourth nuclear plant. As a result, the almost finished plant was sealed by the government on April 24, 2014.



On Dec 25, 1987, the Constitution Day was observed at Zhongshan Hall in Taipei. Inside, DPP National Assembly members held up fabric banners to demand full parliamentary elections. Outside, the DPP organized the Dec 25 march, mobilizing the people to demand parliamentary elections. The marchers stopped the trains of Taiwan Railways from running, and attempted to climb up the footbridges in Ximen District in order to climb over the fences put up by the police.



In 1987, the CPC Corporation and the Ministry of Economic Affairs decided to build the Fifth Naphtha Cracker Plant at the Kaohsiung oil refinery. The residents of Houjing joined in protest against the Fifth Naphtha Cracker Plant. On October 21, some 400 residents went to Taipei to petition the Executive and Legislative Yuan and the Environmental Protection Administration.

Note The protest against the Fifth Naphtha Cracker Plant had an important place in the environmental protest movement in Taiwan. Not only was it organized by the local residents, it saw a long-term occupation around the west entrance of the Kaohsiung oil refinery. With the government's consent, a first referendum was held on the construction of the Fifth Naphtha Cracker Plant before the enactment of the Referendum Act. With a voter turnout of more than 66%, over 60% of voters were "firmly against it". Even though it could not stop the plant from being built and going into production, it forced the premier Hau Pei-tsun to stay in Houjing the night before the start of construction to placate residents. The government also promised to pay 1.5 billion as compensation and relocate the plant in 25 years.



On April 17, 1992, the DPP mobilized the people to demand direct presidential elections. Senior DPP members such as Huang Hsin-chieh staged a sit-in in front of the Office of the President to voice their demands.



The protest against the Fifth Naphtha Cracker Plant in Houjing in 1987.



On March 1, 1987, the Nantou county government dug up the graves of the ancestors of indigenous people and left their remains exposed in order to develop the Dongpu hot spring area in the Sinyi Township. The local Bunun tribesmen and the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Society carried a coffin to the Executive Yuan in Taipei in protest against the desecration of their ancestral tombs. They were joined by the blind poet Malieyafusi Monaneng of the Paiwan tribe in Daren Township, Taitung.



The protest against the Fifth Naphtha Cracker Plant in Houjing in 1987.



On November 22, 1989, the black-listed Kuo Bei-hong (second on the left) made a surprise appearance at the election rally of the DPP in the Zhonghe sport stadium in Taipei county to support the candidate Chou Hui-ying (first on the left), wife of the political prisoner Tsai Yu-chuan. When he raised his hands after giving a speech, Chou Hui-ying and others turned around to look at the reaction of the audience.



On May 20, 1988, the peasants' petition (May 20 Incident) saw the first violent clashes between the police and protesters after the lifting of martial law. A man was arrested while the police dispersed the crowds, and was stripped naked.



The protest against the Fifth Naphtha Cracker Plant in Houjing in 1987.



In 1988, the government decided to allow more foreign agricultural imports into Taiwan. Since this might affect the livelihood of local farmers, Lin Guo-hua and Hsiao Yu-chen from the Yunlin Peasants' Rights Association led a group of farmers from Southern Taiwan to petition in Taipei. When the marchers reached the Legislative Yuan, they had the first clashes with the police. In the afternoon, the clashes grew in scale, with the people engaging in guerilla warfare with the military police in the streets.



In 1988, farmers from Southern Taiwan travelled north to petition in Taipei. Young and old protesters marched from the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall to the Legislative Yuan to issue seven demands, including full insurance coverage for farmers and their families, free trading of fertilizers, increasing the guaranteed price and purchase area of rice, abolishing the election of the secretary-general of the Agricultural Co-operative, abolishing the election of the president of Taiwan Joint Irrigation Association, establishing a ministry of agriculture and the freedom to buy and sell agricultural land.