

# INDIGENOUS SIGHT

Vol. 22



O KALODEMAK NO MATA

## Indigenous Movements





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# A Time of Change - The Era of Indigenous Movements

The early 1980s marked the budding stage of awareness of Taiwanese indigenous peoples' rights. Although Taiwan was still under martial law at that time, many indigenous publications began to appear on campus and indigenous intellectuals also marched on the streets. Taiwan ended its martial law in 1987, and bans on newspapers and magazines were lifted; consequently, a large number of media appeared, ushering in an era of knowledge liberation. The movement also provided a platform for the marginalized voice of indigenous peoples to be heard by mainstream media.

During that time, the so-called opposing political party media played an important role in promoting democracy. From the "Give Back Our Land" movement, the name rectification movements, to the current appeals for self-governance and reclaiming traditional land and space, requests of the indigenous peoples have always been closely related to the land. This also shows that, from the Qing dynasty, Japanese Occupation Period, to the Nationalist Government period, the fate of indigenous peoples is mirrored in the gradual loss of their ancestral land.

Established in 1984, the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association originally fought for individual identity rights. The Association later expanded to include fighting for the collective sovereignty of the overall Austronesian indigenous peoples, writing a new chapter in indigenous history. In this issue's feature story, we will describe how the indigenous peoples dealt with oppressive ruling power during the Japanese Occupation Period a century ago, and how they began to fight for their own rights against the R.O.C. government.

The late 90s marked the height of indigenous movements. This had to do with the awakening of indigenous self-awareness which mainly manifested in movements related to anti-land possession, fighting for survival rights, and land reclaiming issues. This trend also encouraged indigenous intellectuals to boldly publish newspapers and magazines.

During that period, indigenous peoples finally had a platform to voice their opinions, for example, Tiaban Sasala set up *The Indigenous Post*, and Lin Ming-de started *The Austronesian News*. These marked



important milestones in the history of Taiwan media. The publications documented a lot of important indigenous literature, and are important data sources when reconstructing an indigenous-perspective history and knowledge system. Unfortunately, the number of indigenous magazines and monthly publications gradually decreased after 2000.

In 2008, indigenous peoples once again stood up to defend their dignity: individuals throughout Taiwan came together to voice their frustration on the loss of land, autonomy, dignity, and survival rights. Other issues, such as the Katratipulr Community appealing for hunting rights, and Sanying and Xizhou communities fighting for their land rights after being forcibly relocated, also attracted hundreds of community members who traveled to Taipei and participated in the marches, marking a significant moment in the resurgence of indigenous movements.

And in 2017, there was the traditional space reclamation movement "No one is an outsider". Indigenous movements have been done in various forms throughout history, and in this era of change, we have indeed stirred up a lot of attention.

CEO of Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation

*Kacaw Fayan*



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## SIGHT

O KALODEMAK NO MITA

## Indigenous Movements



Please note that words of "barbarians", "uncivilized" used in this Issue only reflect to original texts used in the quoted historical literature and they do not contain any discrimination.



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Looking at the world from an indigenous perspective.  
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O KALODEMAK NO MITA

# Indigenous Movements





Living in co-existence with the land,  
Taiwan's indigenous peoples, however,  
after the marking of cruel and merciless boundary lines  
by the colonialist became "others" isolated  
on the island country.

As time went by, Taiwan declared martial law ended.  
Thoughts and actions on the island were inspired.  
Indigenous peoples crossed boundaries and gained freedom.  
Ethnic consciousness suppressed for a long period of time  
has been awakened.

The indigenous peoples went out to the street  
to protest for their rights to survive and to speak out.  
This is for the land and culture  
that next ethnic generation will depend on.

But with too much disappeared history,  
the indigenous peoples deprived of names determined  
to search their ethnic roots.

The silent sound now has now turned into a single spark.  
A prairie fire is now put on.  
The indigenous peoples have regained the freedom of speech.  
With our own voice,  
we are telling the world stories of the indigenous peoples.

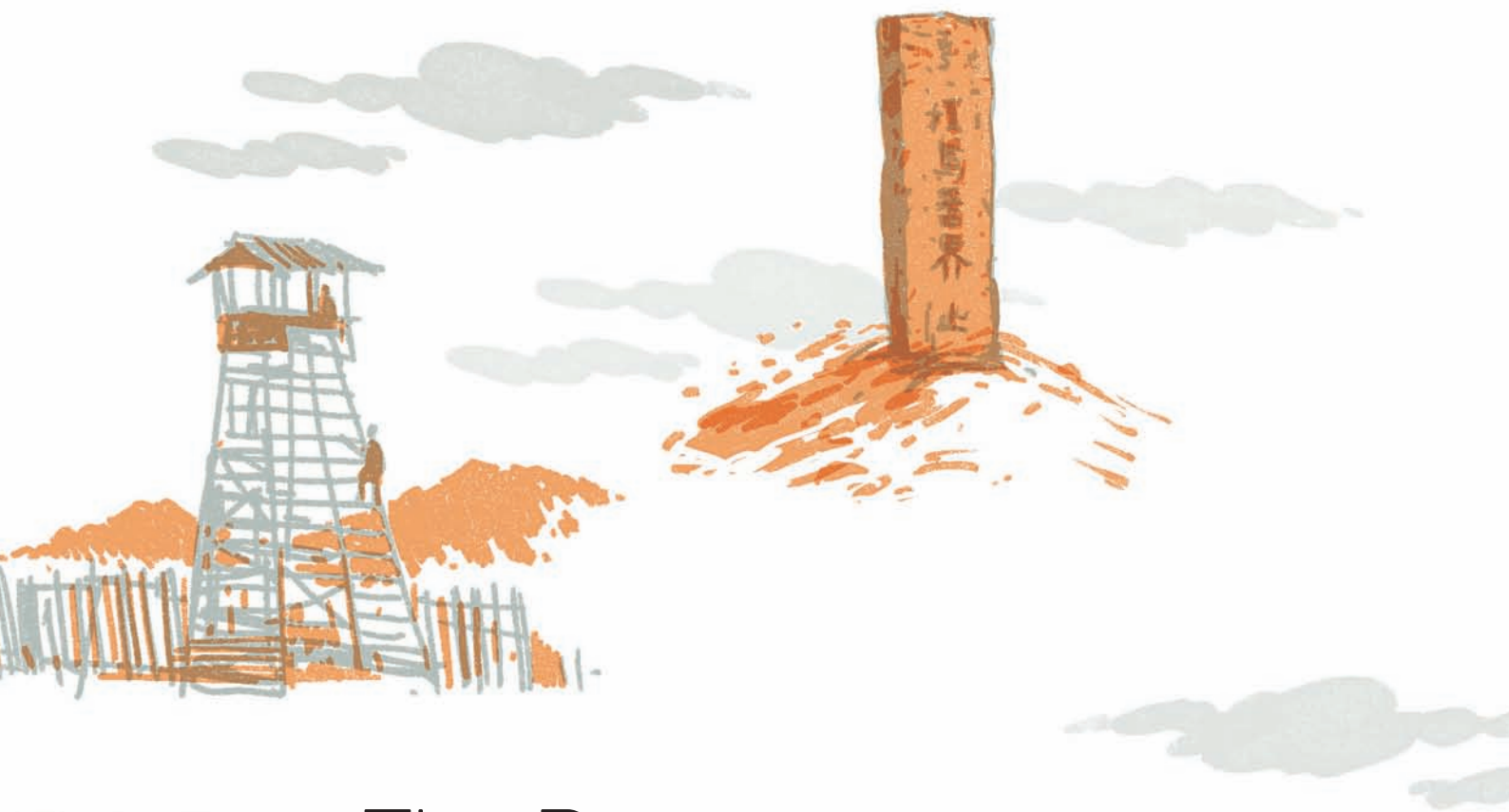
For this moment of dawn,  
the indigenous leaders strived for the fair treatment.  
Now when looking back the history,  
we are more courageous to move forwards.

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Note: O Kalodemak no mita in Pangcah language means  
"we need to work together to get many things done."







# The Romantic Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road, **Your Hardship Achievements and Our History of Displacement**

Written by Lee Chin-Hsieh; Illustrated by Lin Jia-Dong

Promoted as the main tourism policy of government, the Romantic Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road has become a newly emerging tourism term. But for the indigenous peoples, on the other side of “being romantic,” this is the boundary where ethnic groups were divided for the invasion of their space of survival as well as the landscape space filled with memories of blood and tears.



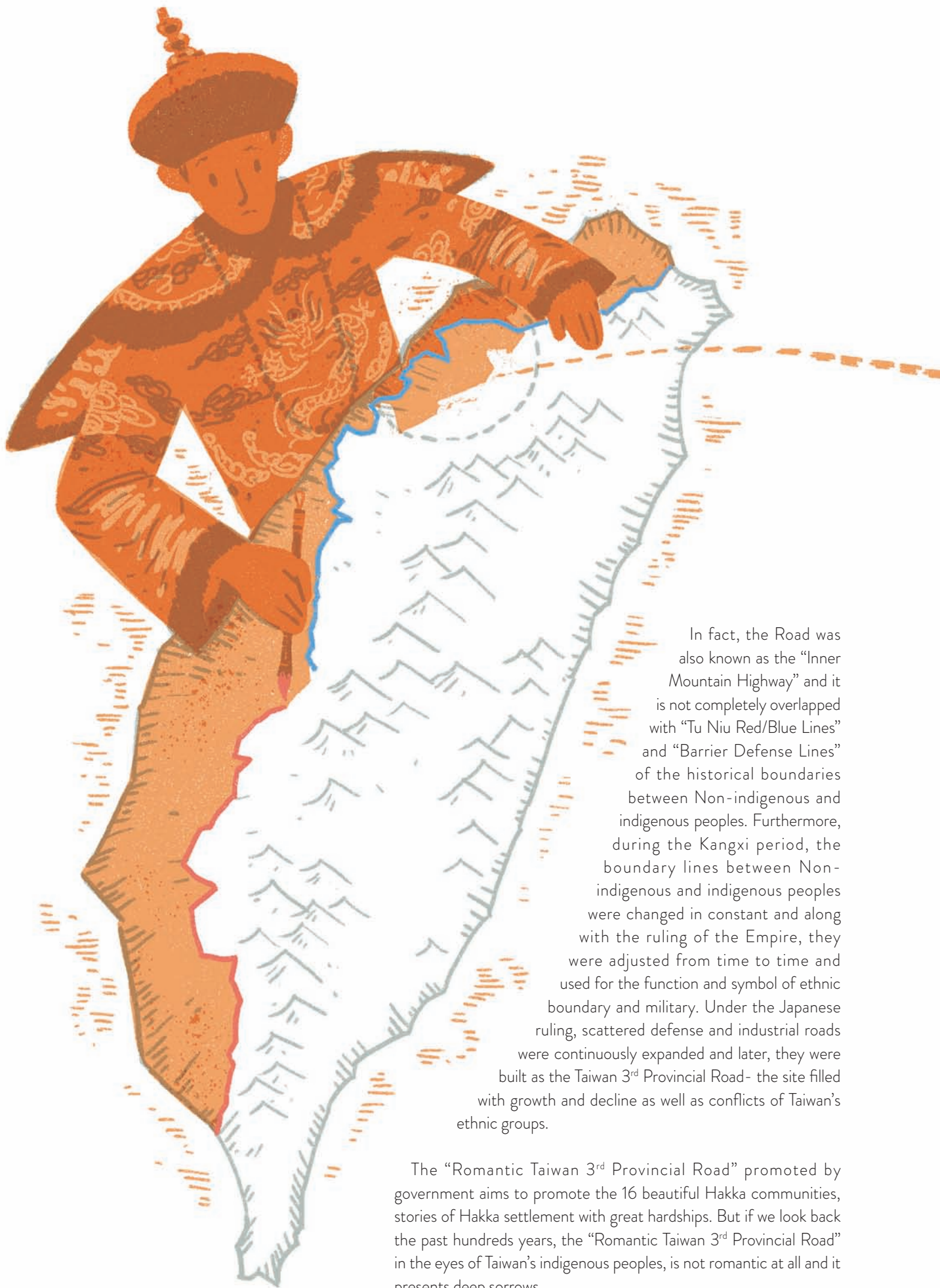


In May, 2016, Lee Yung-de, Minister of Hakka Affairs Council, was answering to Legislative Yuan to Legislator Huang Chao-Shun's interesting question, "The Romantic Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road, and you need to let me know which three roads are." This question was heatedly discussed afterwards. "The Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road" thus attracted great attention. In fact, there have not been three roads and the Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road is a highway where features "Hakka" settlement landscape.

An online article, entitled *"Are there really three lines on the Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road? The road is not romantic at all! In Taiwan history, how did Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples began four massive migrations because of the "Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road?"* was written by a Taokas youth, Kaisanan Ahuan, to extend to thinking of ethnic history the from humorous current event. In his article,

he mentioned on the Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road, there were several sections marked as boundaries of "Tu Niu Red/Blue Lines" in Qing Dynasty as well as the continuous marketing of "Barrier Defense Lines" during Japanese ruling, "For some ethnic groups, the Romantic Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road presents something they are longing for but for Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples, it is a historical path of blood and tears."





In fact, the Road was also known as the “Inner Mountain Highway” and it is not completely overlapped with “Tu Niu Red/Blue Lines” and “Barrier Defense Lines” of the historical boundaries between Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples. Furthermore, during the Kangxi period, the boundary lines between Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples were changed in constant and along with the ruling of the Empire, they were adjusted from time to time and used for the function and symbol of ethnic boundary and military. Under the Japanese ruling, scattered defense and industrial roads were continuously expanded and later, they were built as the Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road- the site filled with growth and decline as well as conflicts of Taiwan’s ethnic groups.

The “Romantic Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road” promoted by government aims to promote the 16 beautiful Hakka communities, stories of Hakka settlement with great hardships. But if we look back the past hundreds years, the “Romantic Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road” in the eyes of Taiwan’s indigenous peoples, is not romantic at all and it presents deep sorrows.





Tu Niu barbarian(番) boundaries, barrier defense lines present the Non-indigenous-oriented ethnic issue in history. As the famous words of the Paiwan poet, Malieyafusi Monaneng, when criticizing Lee Shuang-Tze's "Formosa" lyrics, "Your settlement achievements began from our history of displacement."

### Boundary Division, the Contacting Site of Settlers and Indigenous Peoples

In the "400-year of Taiwan's Exploration History," since the 16th Century, settlers from China continuously arrived in Taiwan and had frequent contacts with indigenous peoples. They lived in the "contacting site" from time to time. Mutual interactions were not only limited to economic life, there came force conflict models for gaining resources. Due to this background, there were many tangible and intangible "boundary lines" and various activities were conducted between boundaries.

In 1624, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) entered Taiwan and adopted the strategy "to Rule Barbarians with Barbarians" by asking the surrender of indigenous communities. In 1642,

the treaty signed with Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples stated clearly that "Chinese settlers cannot hunt in mountains and indigenous peoples cannot hunt across boundaries." After Koxinga successfully dispelled the Netherlands and took over Taiwan's ruling, "the civilian state farm (tuntian) was introduced to expand barbarian lands" for land management. On the boundary area between Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples, "Tu Niu Go" was established. Observatory houses were common "barbarian ruling" measures in the early time.

Since then, Taiwan had the Non-indigenous and indigenous boundaries of "Tu Niu Barbarian Boundaries." After construction, these boundary lines were concretely built. Due to the increase of settlers, it was common that Non-indigenous people settled across boundaries and there were more conflicts. For more aggressive settlers, they held view of hatred "someone not my race must have a different mentality." Because of misunderstanding and cultural and custom difference, more conflicts than interactions occurred between Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples. During the conflicts to gain for survival resources, settlers used policies, systems, or organizations to concretely "mark boundaries" between Non-indigenous and barbarians. For indigenous peoples, the contacting site with outsiders has been changed constantly and even shrunk gradually.

### Barbarian Boundary Map of Qing Dynasty, Marking for Ethnic Spaces

In 1684, Taiwan was officially include in the territory of Qing Dynasty and a large number of Non-indigenous settlers arrived in Taiwan. They gradually invaded survival spaces of indigenous peoples. More and more conflicts between Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples are seen and there were social turmoil and incidents against the Qing government involving territories of uncivilized barbarians. In order to govern, the government gradually developed policies of barbarian boundaries to limit Non-indigenous people's settlement to divide activity areas for Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples.

In 1722, one year after the Zhu Yiqui Incident was suppressed , the government marked mountain boundaries because during the suppression, the government was in no control of mountain areas and uncivilized barbarians. Plates were installed at sites where Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples interacted to ban boundary crossings by both sides. Boundary lines followed natural topology such as mountains and rivers. If there were no mountains and rivers, "drainage and soil pile" were used. From Northern to Southern Taiwan, there were 54 plates for the first clear boundary marking between Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples. From Yongzheng to Qianlong period, the Qing Dynasty marked boundaries for uncivilized barbarians several times. Sometimes, drainages were excavated to develop "Tu Niu Go."

After the Qianlong period, Non-indigenous people began the settlement on the lands of "civilized barbarians." The Qing government's attitude changed significantly from the encouragement





to prohibition. There was ethnic ruling policy of “inside uncivilized barbarians and outside Non-indigenous people and in between, there were civilized barbarians” indicating boundaries between Non-indigenous and uncivilized barbarians were for Non-indigenous people, uncivilized barbarian and civilized barbarians.

In the Qianlong period, ethnic policies of the government were more mature and in addition to plates erected and names of place preserved now, the map, the “Barbarian Boundary Map” of the Empire measured were also the direct evidence. In the Qianlong period, because of “Determining Boundaries for the Prohibition of Crossing Settlement,” four measurements were conducted to clarify lands outside boundaries by marking four colors of “red, blue, purple, and green” boundary lines. Thus, mapping needed to preserve different colors of barbarian boundaries and more colors were added to lines on the map.

Composition of the barbarian boundary map included names of places, illustrations, marks, and landscape drawing and map symbols of image structure to present social situation at that time and tangible facilities equipped along boundary lines such as Observatory houses. The barbarian boundary map presented not only the settlement history of Non-indigenous people but also the history of forced migration of indigenous peoples filled with blood and tears.

## From Tu Niu Barbarian Boundaries to Barrier Defense Lines

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the Qing government had no breakthroughs towards governance of Taiwan’s indigenous peoples and Tu Niu boundary lines were measured for the governance. Although during that time, Non-indigenous people on the plains were banned for entering mountains, but they continuously crossed boundaries for private settlements.

The 1874 Mudan Incident was an influential historical event. The Qing government, in order to tighten control, took more active measures for barbarian lands within boundaries. Shen Pao-chen

proposed “Open Mountains to Cultivate Barbarians” to gradually lift banning of mountain settlement and the “Barbarian Cultivation” policies included medical care, education, farming, and settlement recruitment. In 1885, Liu Ming-chuan was transferred to be the Grand Coordinator of Taiwan and he began more comprehensive works of barbarian cultivation.

Additionally, in the Qianlong period, to prevent “harms caused by barbarians,” “barrier defense” lines were built along Tu Niu barbarian boundaries by collecting local defense power to form local defense teams to develop the form of semi-official force. Later when Liu Ming-chuan governed Taiwan, it became fully official form and the original Tu Niu barbarian boundaries were transformed in “barrier defense lines.”





The barrier defense system originated from two types of measure for areas that were difficult to govern by the Qing government: settlement and defense. The initial implication was in the area where the government was not able to govern, surrendered civilized barbarians and local power shall handle their relationship with uncivilized barbarians on their own.

In the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, immature barrier defense lines presented the change of passive attitude towards indigenous governance to active as well as invasion of ethnic spaces and cultures. For Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples (civilized barbarians), they lived originally the buffering zone between Non-indigenous people and civilized barbarians, but due to continuous

crossing boundary settlement of Non-indigenous people, they needed to join the settlement with Non-indigenous people without clear distinguishing. Today, we can regard this process as being cultivated by Non-indigenous people.

But in the end of Qing's ruling on Taiwan, due to the threats of advanced force of western countries, the Qing government had no time to care for Taiwan's political affairs and the official barrier defense system was gradually abolished. The private force took over to defend boundaries. In 1895, the Japanese ruled Taiwan and was in charge of all official barrier defense lines and barbarian cultivation bureaus of Qing government.







After Japanese ruling, mountain resources were actively developed. Mountain areas in Northern Taiwan with rich wood, coal, and camphor resources became the official target. In order to explore the mountain economic industry, the Taiwan Office of the Governor-General expanded the installation of barrier defense lines by providing subsidies to the private sector as well as tightened police control measure. Barrier defense was transformed into a system under the direct control of the police to deepen management in the areas of uncivilized barbarians and defend people against the Japanese to enter mountains.

## The Expansion of Hostile Barrier Defense Lines

The barrier defense line not as its name indicates is not a line but a zone of semi-military defense installed along natural boundaries such as mountains and water to block communications among communities of uncivilized barbarians. With the advantage over force, indigenous communities were controlled and suppressed.

Unlike in Central and Southern Taiwan or the indigenous peoples who had long contacted with Non-indigenous people, Atayal people adopted more active strategies. In order to prevent them crossing the boundaries, the Japanese amended barrier defense lines left by the Qing government and added wire meshes bells, and aluminum bottles for alert and ban trading between people on the plains and the indigenous peoples to force the surrender.

Barrier defense lines have long been the strategic core of the Japanese for the indigenous peoples. Because the focus of mountain and forest resource development in the early time, the defense function was more important than invasion. After 1902, barrier defense teams were assigned officially and the “Rules Governing the Installation of Barrier Defense Line” were formulated. The groups patrolled lines days and nights and a “Distribution Station” was in charge of two to four observatory houses. The Station, then, was commanded by the “Command Station” of the police equipped with modern military facilities such as hidden shelters, wood fences, searchlight, and land mines to defend uncivilized barbarians and prevent contacts between uncivilized barbarians with people on the plains. Atayal people were often injured or died because of the electric wire mesh and hatred and conflicts between both sides gradually increased.

The expansion of barrier defense lines was initially because of the war between the Atayal and the Japanese. The Qing Dynasty adopted more passive Non-indigenous and indigenous separation policy and due to the exchange process of economy and materials needed for agricultural settlement, the “barbarian boundaries” were gradually expanded while during the Japanese ruling, more active expansion strategies of barrier defense lines were adopted. In the mindset of the colonial government, the “barbarian boundaries” did not separate Non-indigenous and indigenous people but areas ruled or not ruled by the national sovereignty. Therefore, the Japanese attempted to use military force to govern the territories of uncivilized barbarians.

In order to fight against the expansion of barrier defense lines, Takekan and Mawutu Groups of Atayal people in Taoyuan and Hsinchu in 1907 came together with Non-indigenous people, known as “the Takekan Barbarian and Non-indigenous Joint Anti-Japanese





Incident.” In 1908, 26 communities in Puli Branch of Atayal also fought against barrier defense lines in Nantou. In 1910, the Japanese began the second “Five-year Barbarian Cultivation Program” and began using force to wage large-scale wars to suppress Atayal. The most well-known one was the “Lee Dong-Shan Incident” fiercely suppressed by the Japanese Governor-General Sakuma Samata in person.

## Rethinking of Modernity-Internal and External Thoughts

When we look at Taiwan history from the Non-indigenous-oriented perspective, we only remember the hardship achievements created by Non-indigenous people. It seems inevitable and rational in the context of modernity. Taiwan's modernity has been created with the special condition of colonial modernity, a critical period for its formation. Colonial modernity presents a complicate historical scene. In addition to the Discovery Era in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century when Non-indigenous people perceived competition of world resources among super powers, at the same time, we also need to examine first colonization of Taiwan's indigenous peoples-by the west, Japanese, and Non-indigenous people.

From the expansion processes of Tu Niu barbarian boundary lines in the early Qing Empire to barrier defense lines during Japanese ruling, indigenous peoples were tracked in mountains and forests with deprived resources. Those expansion of barrier defense lines interrupted communications between indigenous communities. In terms of space, this historical division was a dynamic process and a step of colonial modernity that separated others and spread ideology of cultural advancement.

This is also the bloody and cruel part of modernity. When we are chatting pleasantly about the Romantic Taiwan 3<sup>rd</sup> Provincial Road and the hardship achievements of Non-indigenous people, not so many people would remember the displacement history of indigenous peoples along the road, how we were suppressed, relocated, and assimilated or even our historical memories of wars and conflicts. ❖

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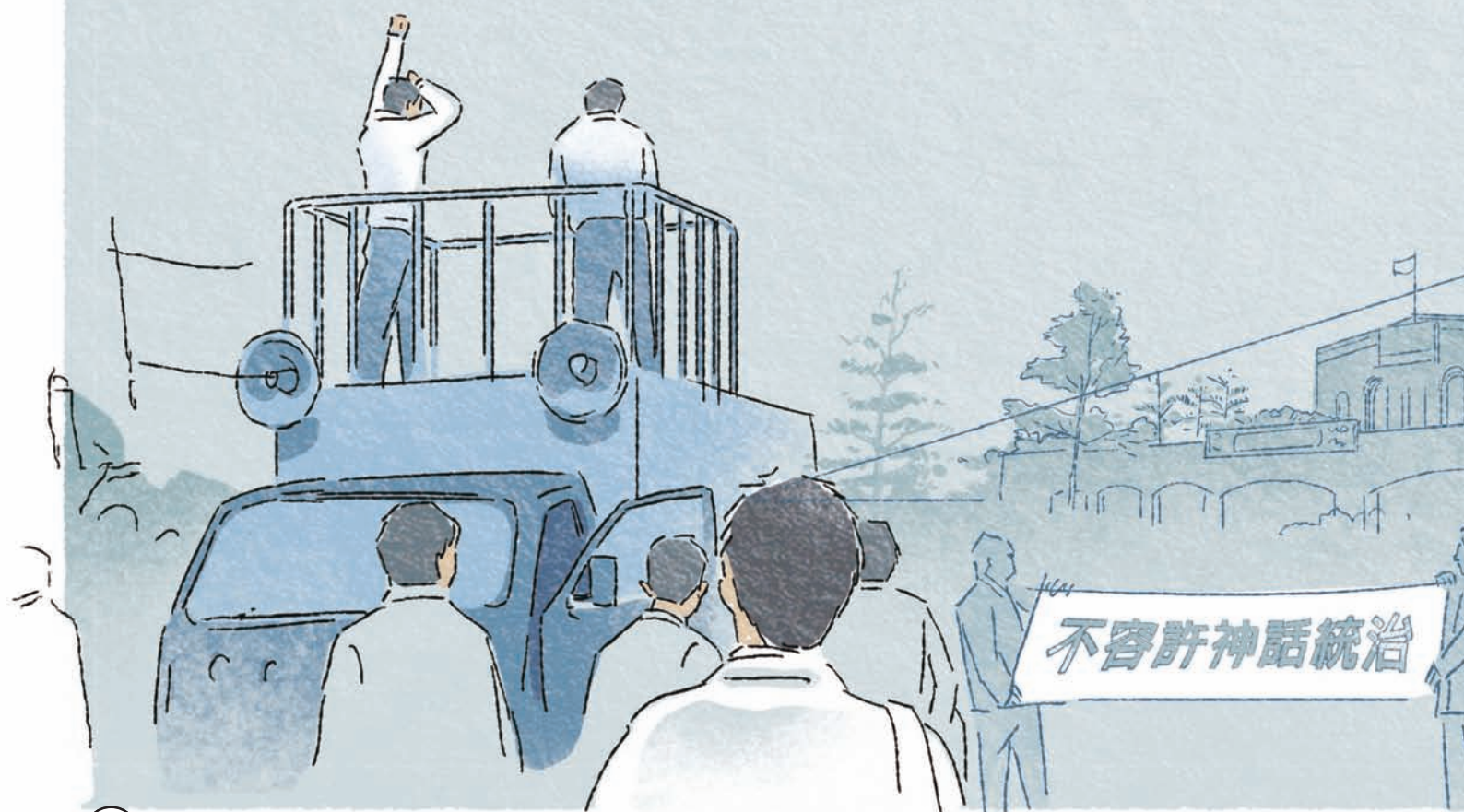




# After the Indigenous Movements, We Still Have Work to Do

Written by Savungaz Valincinan; Illustrated by James Lee

Indigenous movements that began in the 1980s have achieved certain results in the existing state institution, and their forms have gradually shifted from a generalized indigenous movement to regional cultural revitalization programs taking place in local communities. As we enter the post-indigenous movement period, the indigenous youth continues to speak out on issues about the land, ways of life, and culture of indigenous peoples, and even about general social problems in Taiwan. "After the indigenous movements, we still have work to do," they say.





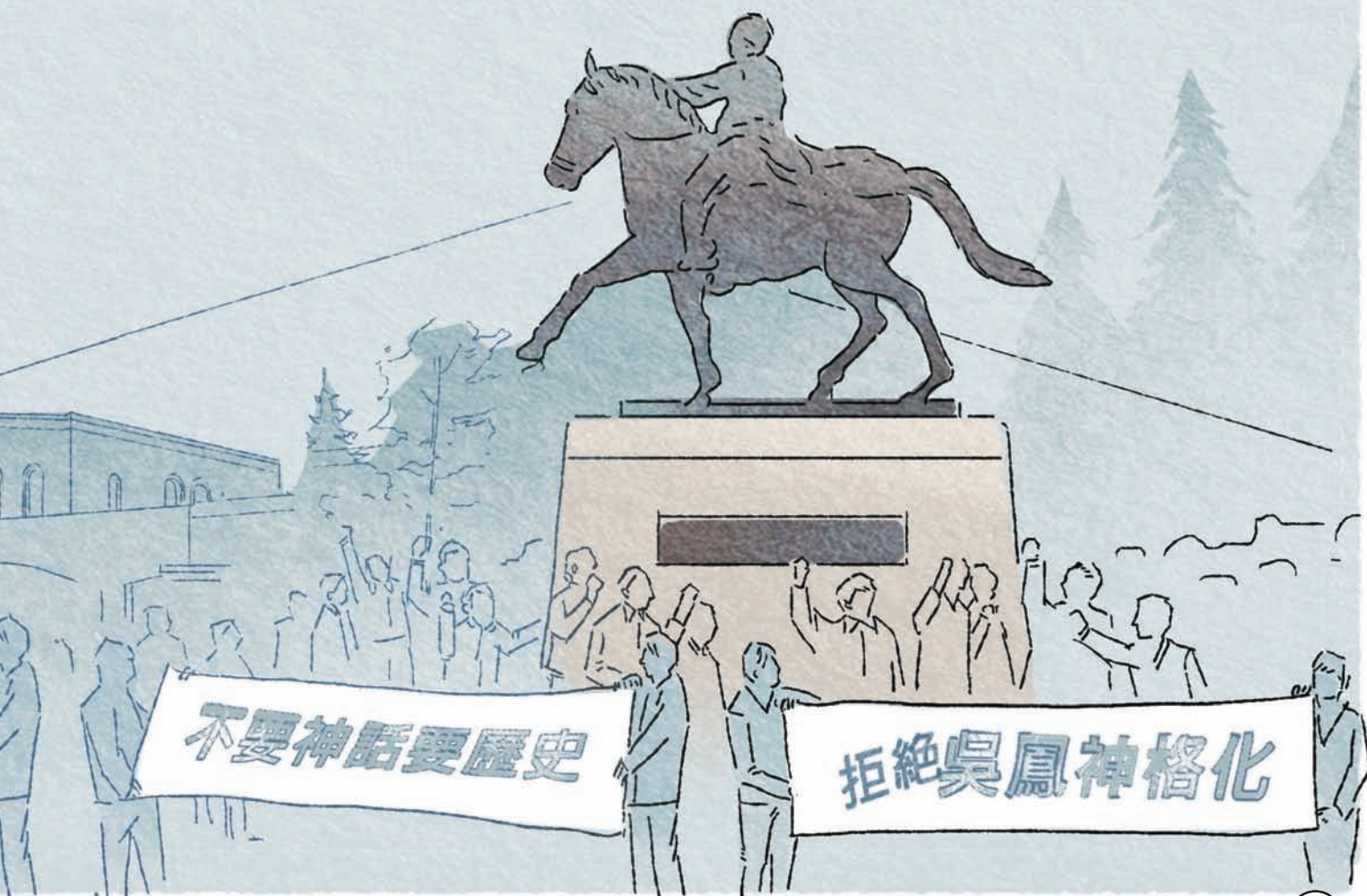
The rise of indigenous movements was closely connected to the overall Taiwanese society and historical background of that time. During the Ten Major Construction Projects period in the 1970s, many indigenous people migrated to cities to look for work. They encountered many problems, such as employment problems, insufficient living spaces, and issues concerning discrimination, child labor, child prostitution, and deep sea fishing laborer rights. Taiwan was still under martial law near the end of the 1980s, yet more and more objecting political parties and movements appeared. The idea of making a stand against the ruling government started to spread in society as well, and indigenous intellectuals experienced their awakening during this wave of movement.

### The Tumultuous 1980s: The Rise of Indigenous Movements

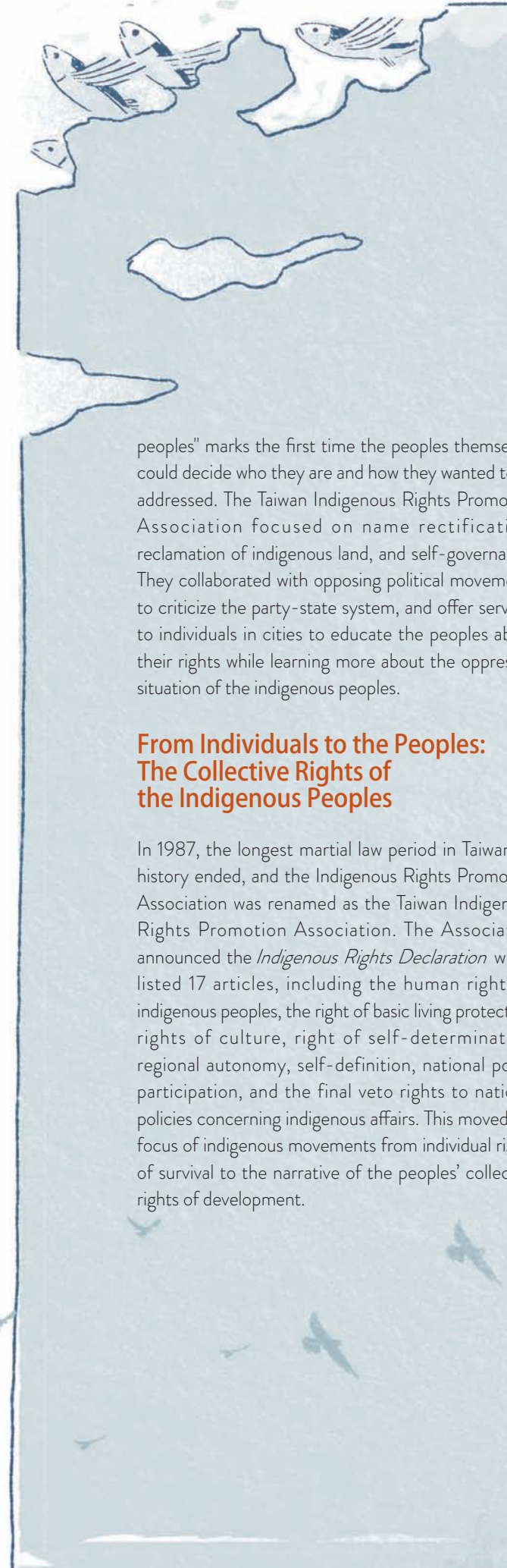
In 1983, Atayal student Iban Nokan, who was then studying at National Taiwan University, collaborated with other indigenous students and published the

indigenous magazine *Gao Shan Qing* to raise awareness among indigenous peoples and officially kicked off the series of indigenous movements. The Haishan Coal Mine Incident happened the following year, in which most of the victims were Pangcah miners. The tragedy spurred on the establishment of the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association, Taiwan's first organized indigenous movement group, with Parangalan as the first chairperson. The Association was the main forefront of the indigenous movements between the 1980s and 1990s. Many indigenous pastors from the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan were also an important force during this period.

The first thing carried out by the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association was to define the name of the indigenous people. Indigenous peoples in Taiwan were called barbarian(番) during the Qing dynasty and the Japanese Occupation Period, and "Taiwanese aborigines" after the Republic of China government took over Taiwan. These were all names given by the ruling powers. The appearance of the term "indigenous







peoples" marks the first time the peoples themselves could decide who they are and how they wanted to be addressed. The Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association focused on name rectification, reclamation of indigenous land, and self-governance. They collaborated with opposing political movements to criticize the party-state system, and offer services to individuals in cities to educate the peoples about their rights while learning more about the oppressed situation of the indigenous peoples.

### From Individuals to the Peoples: The Collective Rights of the Indigenous Peoples

In 1987, the longest martial law period in Taiwanese history ended, and the Indigenous Rights Promotion Association was renamed as the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association. The Association announced the *Indigenous Rights Declaration* which listed 17 articles, including the human rights of indigenous peoples, the right of basic living protection, rights of culture, right of self-determination, regional autonomy, self-definition, national policy participation, and the final veto rights to national policies concerning indigenous affairs. This moved the focus of indigenous movements from individual rights of survival to the narrative of the peoples' collective rights of development.

In September, 1988, Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association, indigenous university students, and pastors from the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan held a protest in front of the Wu Fong statue at Chiayi Train Station. They pointed out that textbooks since the Japanese Occupation Period to the Chinese Nationalist Government included the made-up story about Wu Fong which vilifies indigenous peoples. There was another aggressive protest the following year during which protesters pulled down the statue and demanded the authorities to "correct the Wu Fong story".

The four protestors who pulled down the statue were interrogated at Chiayi District Prosecutors Office the following year. Pastor Kavas Takistaulan, a student of the Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary, insisted on answering questions in his own native language, forcing the court to hire a Bunun interpreter. This is the first record of an indigenous language interpreter being employed for an interrogation process. The public openly voiced their support for the four activists when they were taken into custody. Doctors Chen Yong-xing and Zheng Nan-rong formed the 228 Incident Justice and Peace Promotion Association and decided to organize the annual 228 Incident march at Keelung and Chiayi. For the Chiayi march, they contacted local Tsou communities and planned to jointly show their support of the four detained activists. The government did not want to stir up more trouble and released the detainees with no charges. The government also changed the name of Wu Fong Township into Alishan Township the same year, and announced that the story of Wu Fong will be taken out from textbooks.

Around that time, the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association collaborated with other indigenous movement groups and the Presbyterian



Church in Taiwan and formed the Taiwan Indigenous Peoples' 'Give Back Our Land' Movement Alliance in 1998. In the same year they organized the first Give Back Our Land Campaign. By 1993, there were already three waves of land reclaiming movements, with two to three thousand participants at each event. This was the time when the early indigenous movements were the most active, and also when the indigenous peoples shared the strongest consensus.

In addition, incidents such as the Constitutional Amendment Movement, protesting against excavating ancestral burial sites in Dongpu, and the Musha Incident Memorial also connected indigenous movement activists closer, regardless of their original community. They started to support each other: the Tao people no longer have to fight the nuclear waste issue alone, and the Majia reservoir issue was no longer only about the Rukai people. Because all indigenous peoples share the painful experience of having their land taken away, their rights of survival violated, and ethnic dignity stripped, these issues led to different peoples starting to work together in indigenous movements.

## From Pan-indigenous Movements to Localized Community Programs

During the mid to late 1990s, some movements obtained their goals, and many activists tried to be elected into office or work in the public sector. These reasons led to the demise of the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association. At that time there were much interaction between members of the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP) and the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association. Association members also began to disagree on whether they should work within or outside of the state institution. Eventually the founders of the Association regretfully announced that the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association has served its purpose for the moment and should be retired. They stressed that indigenous movements should not become the accessory of any political group, the peoples should





continue to move on with their indigenous identity, and finally announced the dissolution of the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association.

At the same time, many indigenous activists began to reflect on the limitations of taking a pan-political approach during the early stages of indigenous movements. More and more people realized that they had overlooked the people in local communities issues. Tiaban Sasala severely criticized the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association for leading movements that were associated to Taiwan's democracy movements. He pointed out that the activities were not relevant to the daily lives of local indigenous people and did not improve their general wellness. He further proposed

the concepts of "working locally" and "community-centered programs", claiming indigenous activists should "fully give up activities in the cities and return to the indigenous communities". Sasala started *Indigenous Post*. He compiled and explained myths from different peoples and encouraged community youths to care about community public issues.

The concept of community-centered programs encouraged individuals to revive local culture in indigenous communities everywhere, such as reintroducing sacred rites and local traditional groups (Youth Groups, for example). Local energy began to grow rapidly and developed a trend of indigenous nationalism among all communities seeking autonomy. In terms of self-identification among indigenous peoples, there were name rectification movements for the Tsou, Truku, Thao, and Kavalan. In rights of survival space, the Bunun were protesting against Yushan National Park, and the Atayal were protesting against Shei-Pa National Park. There were also other movements organized by the indigenous peoples themselves against Maqaw National Park and Asia Cement Corporation.

Gradually, indigenous movements were no longer only initiated by





the urban elite and pan-indigenous movement groups. More local forces were getting involved. If it weren't for the first indigenous movements, Taiwanese indigenous peoples may not realize that they need to focus and combine their energy, work together, acknowledge their differences, and eventually bring the passion back to local communities. Spreading from single points to the entire nation, this is the diverse and beautiful achievement of indigenous movements.

### After Indigenous Movements: Gradually Seeing a New Dawn for the Peoples

After the indigenous movements, we have gradually seen results. The Third Constitutional amendment in 1994 introduced the term "indigenous peoples" into the Constitution. In 1996, the Council of Indigenous Peoples was established under the Executive Yuan. Taiwan finally had an official indigenous agency in the central government, and national resources could be used to revive local culture in indigenous communities and operate local communities. In 1998, Taiwan passed the *Education Act for Indigenous Peoples*; and the year 2000 saw the first change of ruling parties. The then-president Chen Shui-bian signed "A New Partnership Between the Indigenous Peoples and the Government of Taiwan" with the indigenous peoples, setting the foundation for a relationship of nation by nation, meaning the Taiwanese government and the indigenous peoples are equal political entities. This is the first time the central government viewed indigenous peoples as equals, not receivers of welfare or minority groups.

Although movements outside of the state system seemed to slow down, they did not disappear, but changed forms. Indigenous intellectuals returned to their communities to empower communities. Some continued to promote the core values of indigenous movements by discussing national policies, drafting indigenous peoples' rights related regulations, and proposing initiatives. Within the state system, politicians who identify as indigenous continue to push for relevant reforms. The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law was passed in 2005, putting the subjectivity, space sovereignty, and right of self-determination of indigenous peoples into law. And this has become the most important foundation for modern indigenous movement discussions.

### The Smoke Signals are Lit Once More: Indigenous Movements Carry On

Although we had reached certain levels of success in the early phases of indigenous movements, but the survival issues indigenous peoples face cannot be changed overnight. There are still a lot of conflicts going on between the state and indigenous traditions.

The same year the *Indigenous Peoples Basic Law* was passed, many incidents happened: in the Qalang Smangus community in Hsinchu County Jianshi Township, the residents held a community meeting and decided to bring back some fallen beech trees that were uprooted during the typhoon to the community for decoration purposes. But the people were prosecuted by the Forestry Bureau for stealing. Hanxi Community in Yilan County fought against the Water Resources Agency for seizing water rights, and Sanying and Xizhou Communities, which were located in urban areas, were forced to relocate due to land development. These





incidents provoked fury among the indigenous community. Yet it was the incident that happened at the end of 2007 that ignited the conflict: during the Grand Hunt of the Katripulr People in Taitung, the indigenous hunters went into the mountains to hunt as per tradition, but they were arrested by mountain police. Consequently, community youths back home planned a protest movement. They sought alliances from other communities and kicked off the movement with the 228 Community Connected Smoke Signals Operation. In March, 2008, their 308 Hunter Operation - Marching for Our Dignity event called multi-ethnic groups to the streets. It was the largest indigenous protest event in the recent decade.

The "Smoke Signals League" was established after the march. For the past ten years, every community sets up a smoke signal on February 28 to spread awareness on community issues and appeals. The reason they chose this date is because "February 28 is the day Taiwanese society thinks about transitional justice," says Smoke Signals League member Nabu Husungan Istanda, "but for so long, the transitional justice of the indigenous peoples has been marginalized and overlooked. Therefore, on this day we lit up smoke signals to tell the ancestors that their children are still protecting the communities, and to tell society that transitional justice without justice for indigenous peoples is not the true transitional justice Taiwan seeks."

## The Younger Generation Carries On: We Still Have Work to Do

Around 2012, the indigenous peoples' protest movements became more frequent and covered more issues. For example, the Anti-Beautiful Bay Resort in Taitung BOT Development Project, which had dragged on for many years and is constructed on the traditional land of the Pangcah, the "Dance for Sra: Protecting Dulan Cape" Taitung Anti-Dulan BOT Development Project at Dulan community, and the "Protecting our ancestral spirits: object relocation and reburial of our ancestors" movement at Katripulr Community in Taitung. Early indigenous movements were mainly fighting against oppression from the authoritarian system and protecting individual dignity; but the incidents mentioned above are actually land grabbing under the guise of land development. This shows that under the strong pressure of neo-liberalism and without actual equal autonomy to the government, the situation of the indigenous peoples is still grim.

The 2013 Anti-nuclear waste March appealing to move nuclear waste out of Orchid Island, and the "Do not say goodbye to the east coast" March, which was about environment protection, assembled communities on the east coast that were greatly afflicted by land issues to take to the streets once again. This marked another peak of unique indigenous movements: unlike past indigenous





movements which were usually connected with opposing political forces, recent indigenous movements often collaborate with civic organizations and form wide-spread social movements.

At the end of 2013, Family Guardian Coalition appropriated the traditional practice of Malastapang (The Exploiting Ritual) of the Bunun people and used it in their march to oppose diversified family households. This angered the indigenous peoples and a group of indigenous youth who met on the street decided to openly speak out against it. Thus the Indigenous Youth Front was born. To the organization, indigenous movements are no longer a stand-off between the indigenous and Non-indigenous peoples, but an initiative of the overall value and choice of the Taiwanese society. Therefore the Indigenous Youth Front began to take part in various social issues, voicing the indigenous youth's opinions on mainstream society. They have made their presence known in events such as the 330 Sunflower Movement, the Anti-curriculum Campaign, marriage and gender equality campaigns, and Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples name rectification movements.

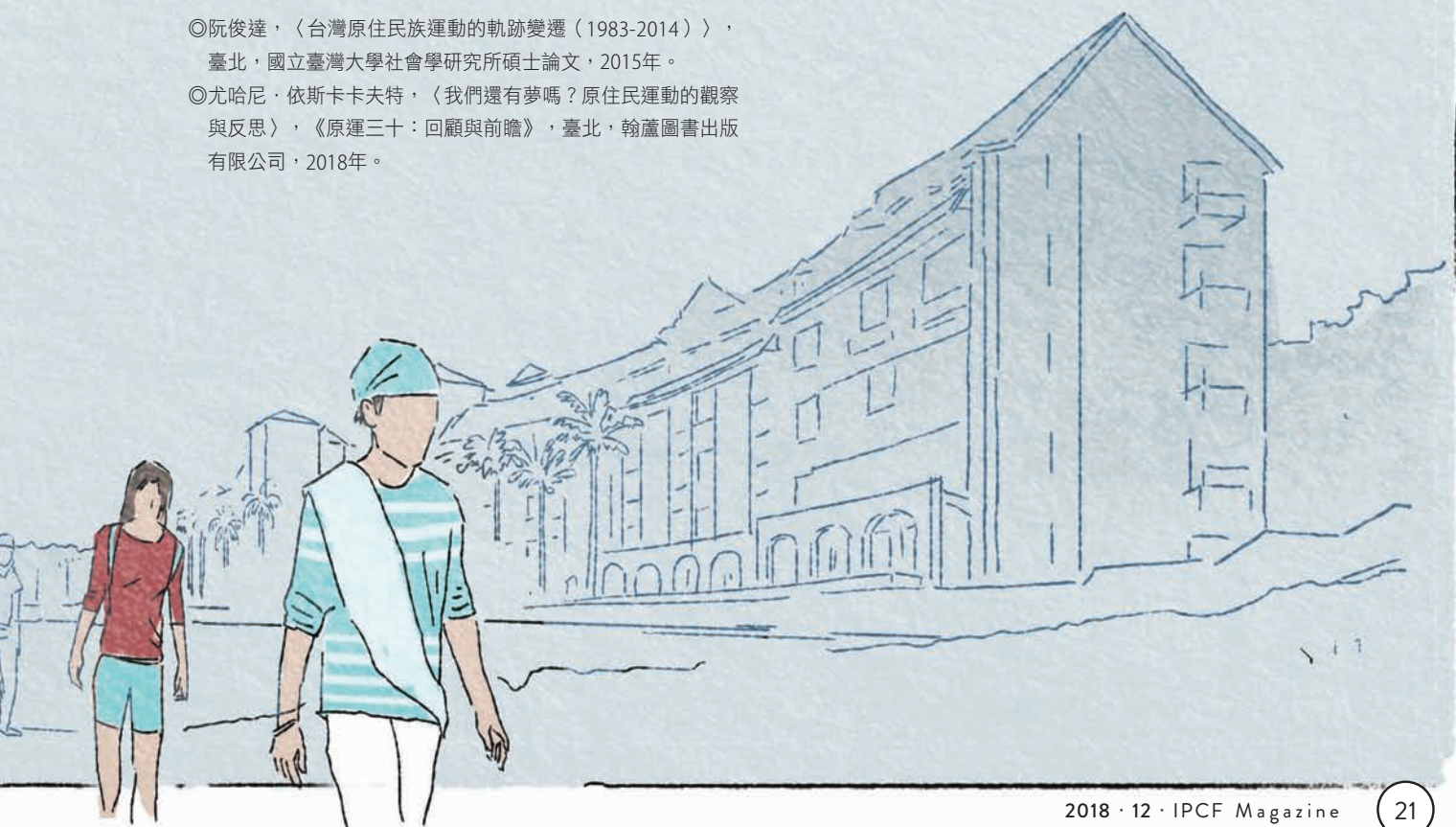
In addition to taking to the streets, the Indigenous Youth Front also works on empowering local youth. In 2013, the Front organized the "Indigenous Youth Consensus Camp"

with the Association for Taiwan Indigenous Peoples' Policy (ATIPP) and LIMA Indigenous Youth Group. Campers can share their thoughts and experiences, discuss issues, and gain practical experience during the events. The camp aims to encourage the younger generation to be more aware of public issues and have the ability to react. The Front continues to organize Consensus Camps and support various indigenous issues everywhere, including the Bunun hunter Tama Talum case, the Kaohsiung Ljavek community anti-relocation case, and protest against excluding private-owned land in traditional spaces. Hopefully this will help the mainstream society be more aware of the rights of the indigenous peoples, and, as a result, understand and support the causes.

Indigenous movements in Taiwan have been through highs and lows, yet we have never given up. We hope to build a society where people can understand and respect each other, and everyone can co-exist with the best intentions, values and methods. Acknowledge our differences and learn to respect them. Recent indigenous movements are no longer only relevant to indigenous peoples, but are campaigns concerning all mankind's collective choice and expectations of the future. ♦

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# Who Am I?

## The No-names on This Land

Written by Yu Yi-De; Illustrated by James Lee

As with many colonial regimes, various identities and names, ranging from terms such as “barbarians(番)” were adopted during the Qing rule and Japanese occupation period to “mountain compatriots” created by the Nationalist Government, were used to refer to the earliest settlers on this land. Those name tags carrying negative connotations gradually ate away at the subjectivity and culture of these residents. In the 1980s, the outcry “Who am I?” coming from the indigenous peoples in Taiwan was responded by a wave of name rectification movement mobilized by themselves.



# 原漢 生番 熟番

山地同胞 高砂 平埔



無名者

What does the term “indigenous peoples” mean? Who are they? Since the call for the title “indigenous peoples” was issued in the 1980s, the laymen public still do not have a clear clue, as to why indigenous peoples have fought for the name change, and the background behind this movement.

The term “indigenous peoples” means, literally, people who are indigenous to the land they reside. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples further defines it as “those, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, have retained cultural, historical, political, and economic characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live.” In other words, colonisation resulted in the creation of indigenous peoples. Recorded history of the past 400 years of Taiwan reflects exactly the deprivation of the status and culture of the indigenous peoples by the foreign colonists.



## Turning from Main Player to the Other Typology of Barbarians, and Mountain Compatriots

The term “indigenous peoples in Taiwan” refers to the group of peoples originally dwelling in Taiwan before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They are part of the Austronesian-speaking peoples spreading over the Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asian islands. However, extensive overseas exploration emerged throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and foreign powers started to go on expeditions across oceans, continents, and archipelagos, in order to compete for resources and profits in expansion for power. As a result, Taiwan became a very crucial hub in Asia for those countries.

The Netherlands and Spain were the first two nations that sent people to Taiwan for trade, followed by Ming Jheng forces, Qing Dynasty, Japan, and the Nationalist Government as well as a huge number of Non-indigenous Chinese immigrants. After going through large-scale and systematic reforms enforced by different “nations” in the name of governing, indigenous peoples gradually lost their land, languages, culture, and even names, eventually becoming the ethnic minority in Taiwan’s society.

It was not until the Qing Dynasty had the more systematic assimilation policies been implemented.

The Qing government called Taiwan’s indigenous peoples “barbarian” meaning that they were alien to the “Jhongyuan Culture (Culture of China’s Central Plains).” The word “barbarian” carries pejorative connotations such as “brutal” and “uncivilized.” They were then further classified into “uncivilized barbarians” and “civilized barbarians” according to their degrees of submission to the Qing government and acceptance of and familiarity with Jhongyuan Culture.

uncivilized barbarians were those whose location of residence was off the national border, which means the Central Range, which was out of reach by the Qing government, whereas civilized barbarians were those who resided in the western plains area of Taiwan. They neighbored Chinese Non-indigenous people, paid taxes, and engaged in physical labour. In the 200 years of control, the Qing government focused its attention on governing civilized barbarians. To avoid Non-indigenous people and indigenous peoples conspiring with each other against the Qing government or fighting with each other, the government segregated Non-indigenous people with indigenous peoples. Due to the poorly devised strategies and Chinese immigrants from China’s southeast coast pouring in, the civilized barbarians lost a huge amount of land. For survival, indigenous peoples started to migrate





or assimilate into the societies dominated by Non-indigenous people. Consequently, the subjectivity of their cultures was the first to suffer.

Toward the end of Qing rule, Japan was going through a period of modernisation, the so-called Meiji Restoration, which turned the country into one of world's super powers. In 1895 after the First Sino-Japanese War, Japan defeated China, who ceded Taiwan to Japan. Taiwan became Japan's first colony. After the Japanese government took over, it followed suit and adopted Qing government's approach to treating indigenous peoples as barbarians and segregating them into wild and civilized categories. That is because it occurred to the Japanese government that the civilized barbarians were not any different than Non-indigenous people after a long time of being controlled and assimilated by the Qing government. Therefore, they became more compliant and naturalised to fit in with Japanese-rule society. The uncivilized barbarians, however, remained untamed, and got in the way of the government exploiting forest resources and land in Taiwan. Therefore, at the beginning of the Japanese rule, focus was placed on this group of people, and the colonial government

devised the "Aborigines Control Programme." They not only subjugated the untamed indigenous peoples with military forces, but also implemented educational policies to assimilate and tame them. As the Japanese military forces pushed further inland, they also gradually took over the entire island.

During the late Japanese colonial period, the situation of the Second World War made Japanese government enforce a policy of imperialisation to ensure loyalty of Taiwan's people to the Japanese empire and a steady source of soldiers. This move to completely control "Japanese" uncivilized barbarians to make indigenous peoples adopt Japanese names, forming Takasago (highland indigenous peoples) Volunteer Armies to fight in battlefields in the South Pacific region. In addition, they changed wild and tamed savages into "highland" and "plains" indigenous peoples. This implies that all the barbarians completely became subjects of the Japanese empire.

Japan lost the Second World War, and the Nationalist Government took over Taiwan. To ensure that the state-building ideology, a.k.a. the mindset of ethnic Chinese, was followed, the Nationalist Government adopted comprehensive "de-Japanising" policies, changing the term "Takasago" to "mountain compatriots" and forcing the indigenous peoples to abandon their Japanese or original names and adopt Chinese names. The indigenous peoples became naturalised by the government.





The nationalist government reckoned that the mountain communities compared with their counterparts on the west coast were not only poor, but also so comparatively less developed. They were the ones who were the most disadvantaged group, needing assistance. Consequently, various assimilation policies that morphed the mountain peoples into plains peoples were carried out to force the mountain communities to be modernised and to move to the plains. To identify the intended policy recipients gave rise to the terms of “highland mountain compatriots” and “lowland mountain compatriots.” As for Plains Indigenous Peoples, since they were considered completely “civilised,” no particular policies were necessary, so they lost their ethnic identity, which was erased from the administrative domain.

### From “Barbarians” to “Indigenous Peoples” Indigenous Peoples Returned Collectively

Nonetheless, all these policies aimed at helping the mountain peoples adapt to the mainstream society made the indigenous peoples’ society, culture, politics, and economy collapse. In addition, they slowly lost their land area by area. To make things worse, the collapse of traditional communities and the pursuit of modernisation urged a huge number of indigenous peoples to move to cities to find employment. Their communities became slowly desolate.

Moreover, the life of the indigenous peoples migrating to cities was a bumpy road. Problems like ethnic differences, discrimination, and the gap of personal finance and education between Non-indigenous people and the indigenous peoples, etc. led the indigenous peoples living in the cities to work low-paid jobs in factories, mines, in the deep sea fishing industry, and so on. They had to take on highly risky employment, and even worse, some teenage girls were reduced to child prostitutes. Step by step, the indigenous peoples became marginalised; status and subjectivity completely disappeared under state governance. The survival of their communities were in peril as well.

Apart from struggling to make both ends meet, the indigenous peoples had always been referred to as “barbarians” or “mountain compatriots,” which indicates that the ruling governments had long considered them the alien, barbarian, impoverished, backward, and inferior “others.” With various regimes, discriminative titles took root in the society of the indigenous peoples and became a systematic approach in dividing and managing Non-indigenous people and the indigenous peoples. Also, in accordance with the levels of improvement and submission, they were separated into uncivilized /civilized and plains/Takasago





indigenous peoples. The rulers made good use of this typology to make different communities oversee each other.

This hierarchy put Non-indigenous people on the high end of the spectrum and indigenous peoples on the other extreme end stigmatised and stereotyped the indigenous peoples as uncivilized, ignorant, and barbarian. Since the Japanese rule, the stereotypes had been reinforced through education system (for example, the story of Wu Fong, who was said to die at the hands of indigenous peoples, in the textbook) which confused the indigenous peoples vacillating between their inner voices and outer opinions. They had no choice but kept on asking, “Who am I?”

This contradiction was translated into various movements in the 1980s. At that time during the post-martial law period, Taiwan was faced with waves of democratisation and localisation movements. Many non-KMT protest movements were proceeding in top gear. Inspired by this trend, the indigenous intellectuals did not only focus their attention on sufferings inflicted on people living at the bottom of the society, but also realised that the subjectivity and inner ego of the indigenous peoples was on the brink of collapse.

By sharing the same experience of being colonised in history, as well as being endowed with the origin, languages, and cultures different from the mainstream Non-indigenous people, the indigenous peoples joined hands with other circles to organise indigenous movements. This move shaped the collective identity of “Taiwan’s indigenous peoples.” They started to reclaim their lost land, identity, and autonomy, etc. through all sorts of street protests. They fought for their own rights and challenged the social structure dominated by Non-indigenous people.





Among all campaigns, the most successful ones were the ethnic identity recognition movements, urging the government to modify the laws changing “mountain compatriots” to “indigenous people” and “indigenous peoples,” restoring the traditional names of the indigenous peoples, and eliminating the typology of dividing them into highland and lowland mountain indigenous peoples. The purpose of ethnic identity recognition was nothing but to rid of the derogatory titles, and to replace the collective memory of colonisation with a whole new name that is representative of each indigenous community.

## Proudly Shout out My Name

The awareness of self-identity gave impetus for indigenous movement, which challenged the system that had long centred on ethnic differences and brought about constitutional reforms. In 1994, in the Third Amendment of the Constitution, the term “indigenous peoples” appeared instead of “mountain compatriots” in the Additional Articles 1 and 3. In the the same Amendment, a clause relevant to the indigenous peoples was added. In the same year, this Amendment was promulgated on the 1st of August, which also became Taiwan’s Indigenous Day. Subsequently in 1996, the Council of Indigenous Peoples of Executive Yuan was established marking the first central governing authority for the indigenous affairs. In 1997, Article 10 of the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution regulating the development of the indigenous peoples guaranteed their rights to the social welfare, economy, land, education, languages, and cultures.

The Amendment of the Constitution changed the way Taiwanese people referred to the indigenous people as a whole. With the same token, the status and identity of the individuals required the same rectification, i.e. their

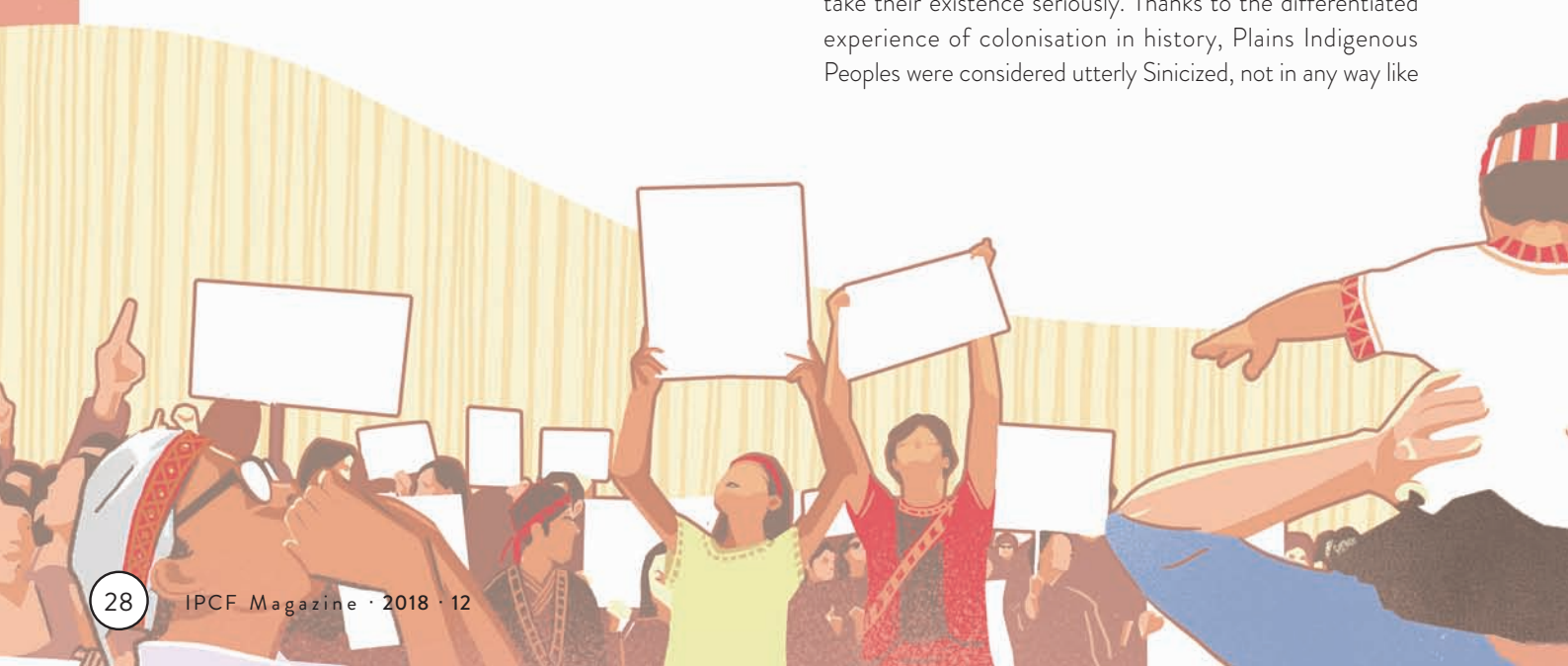
traditional names shall be restored. Thus, the Ministry of the Interior revised the “Naming Category Law” in 1995 to enable the indigenous names to be registered in the household registration documents and on the I.D. card. However, it was stipulated that their names should be transliterated with Chinese characters. The problem was that each indigenous people had their own naming logic and approach (Pangcah and Atayal, for example, adopt the patronymic naming system. Paiwan people add the household name to their name). The transliteration with Chinese characters not only forced the indigenous peoples to adopt the Chinese name format of one-character surname and two-word last name, but also refrained them from pronouncing their names accurately in their own languages. As a result, in 2003, the government revised the laws enabling the indigenous peoples to register their name transliterated with Romanization along with that with Chinese characters or the Chinese name.

Although the indigenous peoples can adopt their transliterated name with Romanization in compliance with the laws, the society does not make it easy for them to restore their traditional names. Many public and private institutions have not made adjustment to their systems and forms accordingly. The insufficient understanding of the public towards their naming cultures has caused much inconvenience in the life of those who have restored their traditional names.

## The Peoples who Have No Names, Not Yet

The indigenous peoples have obtained protection in the laws, but the existing “legitimate” indigenous peoples are those who were referred to as “barbarians/ Takasago.” Many “civilized/plains indigenous peoples” have not yet been able to restore their identity.

During the period of indigenous movement, the Plains Indigenous Peoples already appealed to the government to take their existence seriously. Thanks to the differentiated experience of colonisation in history, Plains Indigenous Peoples were considered utterly Sinicized, not in any way like





indigenous peoples. They have lost their language and culture. The public often question and denounce their motives for official status recognition. It is suspected that they do so only to get subsidies of all sorts, instead of identifying themselves as part of the indigenous peoples.

The Plains Indigenous Peoples in every corner of Taiwan face hostile questioning, and have made every endeavour to re-establish their ethnic identity. Illustrations include Siraya in Tainan, Taokas in Miaoli, Pazeh in Nantou, and Kaxabu. For years, they have strived to revive the culture and language of their own people and propose changes to laws. Finally, in 2017, there was an opportunity to revise the Indigenous Peoples Status Act. In the amendment, the “Plains Indigenous Peoples” was added to the two existing “Mountain Region Indigenous Peoples / Lowland Region Indigenous Peoples” status categories.

This amendment has raised not only a glimmer of hope for recognising their official status, but also a lot of protracted controversy, such as concerns that the national budget and resources will be taken away, the typology to divide mountain / lowland region indigenous peoples still exists, and identity recognition is carried out without following the will of the indigenous peoples, etc. Moreover, the electoral politics of indigenous

peoples (mountain / lowland region indigenous peoples elected as legislators and councillors) also causes irritation. All of these indicate that the issues concerning Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples are filled with political competition, and make way to problems to self-identification.

## My Name; Your Name

From identity recognition of indigenous peoples as a whole to name rectification for individuals as well as the on-going status restoration of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples, indigenous peoples strive to make their name and voice heard either on the street or in the political arena. The indigenous peoples seek survival in a tight spot and find a position in Taiwan's society. They also push Taiwan to turn from a mono-ethnic society to one with ethnic diversity. Nevertheless, there is still a huge gap between dreams and reality. Status restoration is just the beginning. Yet, the discrimination and stigmatisation that have long existed in the society are not erased. The dialogue between the indigenous peoples and the main stream society and among different indigenous peoples should continue in any forms possible, be they education, mass media, or social movement, etc. It is hoped that through restoration of status and names, many people will get to know more about Taiwan's indigenous peoples. ❖

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# Advancement of Indigenous Publications

Written by Huang Kuo-Chao; Illustrated by James Lee

At the emergence stage of indigenous movement, the indigenous intellectual took an important step and began their own publications of non-mainstream discourse to influence the mainstream society. Publications still serve as an important medium to convey indigenous ideologies after indigenous movements declined and community culture and thoughts became dominant.





Since 1983 when the first indigenous newsletter, *Gao Shan Qing* (高山青) was published by the indigenous members, publications play an important role to awaken self-consciousness of indigenous peoples to gain for rights of expression and interpretation freedom and liberate thoughts, to fight against homogenous domination and control of the mainstream media externally.

### Publications and Indigenous Social Movement: *Gao Shan Qing* and *Singing for Mountains*

In 1983, the four National Taiwan University (NTU) students, Iban Nokan, Icyang Parod, Yang Chi-Hang, and Lin Hung-Dung incorporated hand writing and oil printing to publish *Gao Shan Qing* and in the “Foreword of the Publisher” on the first issue, they declared to reveal discrimination and unfair treatment suffered for the long time by the indigenous peoples with the aim to call for awakening and fighting of indigenous communities. During that time, Taiwan was under martial law, freedoms were suppressed. These indigenous students publically criticized the government and mainstream society and caught the attention of opposition party.

In April, 1984, the “Minorities Commission” (the Commission) was founded by the “Union of Editors and Writers from the Opposition Party” including members such as Kimbo Hu and Tung Chun-Ching.

In June of the same year, the Haishan Mining Accident occurred in Tucheng, New Taipei City and among 72 miners killed, 38 were indigenous peoples. Kimbo Hu and others thus organized a fund-raising concert, *Singing for Mountains* (為山地而歌) and published the magazine with the same name of the concert, the most presentative publication during the Commission period.

### Publications of KMT Representatives: *Respectful Mountains* and *Indigenous Culture*

In August, 1984, the KMT indigenous legislator, Wei Hua-Ai found *Respectful Mountains* (莊敬山脈) monthly and in February next year, the first issue was officially published. In June of the same year, contents were added to change the publication from newsletter to magazine. The former President of Provincial Legislative, Hua Chia-chi, on April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1985 republished *Indigenous Culture* (山地文化) bimonthly five years later after the publication was ceased.

These two publications harshly criticized the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association and events it organized with striking titles such as “Work Our Best to Safeguard Pure Indigenous Society and Do not let “the Opposition Party” Pollute Green Mountains” to promote political concepts that try to fool the public: no doubts about benevolent policies of the government and no acceptance for alienationism. Hence, the youth intellectual being criticized ridiculed their praising for the KMT.

### Institutional Publication of the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association: *The Indigenous Peoples Newsletter* and *Shan Wai Shan*

On December 29, 1984, 24 participants including Non-indigenous people and the indigenous peoples founded the “Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association” in Mackey Memorial Hospital in Taipei. During his term of the first President, Kimbo Hu published Issue No. 1 to No. 3 Newsletter of *The Indigenous Peoples* (原住民); with the assistance of Lin Mei-Jung, the 2<sup>nd</sup> term Executive Commissioner, No. 4 to No. 7 of the Newsletter were continuously published. Tiban Sasala succeeded and





published Issue No.8 and the publication was ceased. Because after Issue No.1 and 2 of *The Indigenous Peoples* were published, the publication was banned and interrupted. As a result, the Association for the Promotion of Indigenous Rights official filed application for magazine publication for its legitimacy as the medium for the indigenous peoples to speak out. On July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1985, it was named as *Shan Wai Shan* (山外山). After publishing the 1<sup>st</sup> issue, the magazine publication was ceased and it was renamed as the *Taiwan Indigenous People*. It published 12 issues and ceased in 1992.

In 1987, Wadan who went study in Germany independently founded the *Shan Ching Forum* (山青論壇) and *The Voice of Indigenous Peoples* with contents to discuss current indigenous affairs and introduce human rights issues from the west.

Issues raised in the early indigenous literature (1984-1987) were in a wide range including culture, education, communications, family name, rectification, non-nuclear, labors, fishermen, languages, child prostitution, land, economic autonomous zone, indigenous administration, racial discrimination, and urban indigenous peoples. The

pan-ethnic consciousness of the suppressed has been continuously inspired and brought to the subjectivity world of the indigenous peoples via protest events such as the Wu Fong Incident, rectification movements, and return my land movements.

## 1990s *The Indigenous Post and Hunter Culture*

After the ceased publication of the *Indigenous Peoples* newsletter, there came the publications of *Indigenous Post* and *Hunter Culture*. In November, 1989, unlike indigenous movements centered in Taipei, the publisher, Ruladeng Omass of Paiwan, and editors, Tiban Sasala, Lin Ming-De, and Walis Nokan, appealed to “go back to the place we started before” and published the *Indigenous Post*. The *Indigenous Post* published in Pingtung was an important advocate of “community-centered programs” and “Battles of Indigenous Communities” in the 1990s. Its founding issue as declared was “a newspaper that really belongs to the indigenous peoples.” The contents covered reports and discussions on political and social issues and later it focused on Houcha Community. By July, 1995, 27 issues were published. According to its Editor-in-Chief, Tiban Sasala, the publication was ceased due to insufficient funds and supporters and also

1983

1984

1985



*Gao Shan Qing*



*Singing for Mountains*



*Indigenous Peoples*



*Orchid Island Biweekly*



there have been diverse communication media, “newspaper” was not the only option for being informed.

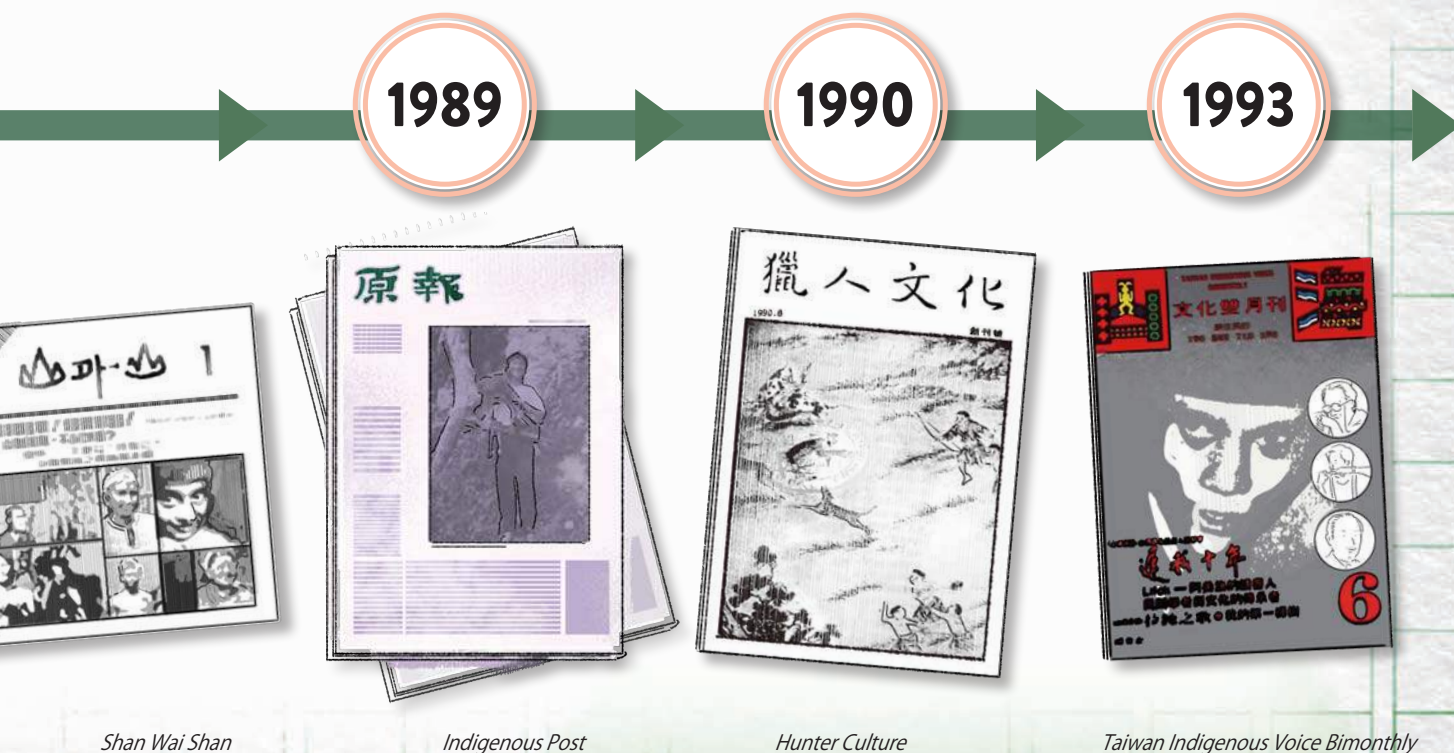
After the founding of the *Indigenous Post*, two of its writers, Walis Noka of Atayal and Liglav A-wu of Paiwan established the *Hunter Culture* and “Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Research Center” in 1990 in Fengyuan, Taichung to engage in the rebuilding of indigenous cultures and empowerment of grass root movements. The contents of the *Hunter Culture* include literature, current affairs criticism, community reports, and world indigenous status with the focus on the “Indigenous Perspective” and “Hunter Report.” By June, 1992 when the last issue was published, there were 18 issues in total published.

These two publications were much more praised by outside communities than indigenous communities reflecting the alienation between leaders of community rebuilding, the intellectual of movement publication with theory constructionism, the general public, and members in indigenous communities and the publications were ceased due to the lack of readers.

## Indigenous Messengers: *Austronesian News* and *Indigenous Voice Newspaper*

The *Austronesian News* attempted to “gain the right of speech and the right to interpret the history for the indigenous peoples” with the purpose to “look for Taiwan’s true history, restore the pure land of indigenous Formosa, revitalize local diverse culture, build economic autonomy, and regain Austronesian dignity.” Its President and editors were members of the *Indigenous Post*, leaders of indigenous movements. The *Austronesian News* was an important attempt for self-publishing media by the indigenous peoples via financing. On June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1995, the initial issue was published and on June 1<sup>st</sup>, it was officially published. During its publishing course, it was ceased and re-published. The final issue was published on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 2003 and there were 147 issues in total. The *Austronesian News* was published weekly and in the middle of 1990s, stimulated by intensive conflicts of national identity and ethnic issues, it proposed to build the Austronesian Community as the new community of the identity goal for Taiwan’s indigenous peoples.

“Taiwan’s indigenous peoples are not only a member of Austronesian community but also the origin of Austronesian languages; thus, the use of





“Austronesian” to refer to Taiwan’s indigenous peoples confirms to scientific facts and get rid of barriers put in Han people’s playing of words. We can then even get rid of rules set by Han people and provide our peoples a brand new perspective and create a broader stage for our development.” (The *Austronesian News* , July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1995)

Issues often discussed in the *Austronesian News* included election news, information of Indigenous Peoples Commission, indigenous policies, statuses of public indigenous representatives, national identity, independence issues, indigenous autonomy, and international Austronesian cultures in diverse aspects. But newspaper publication requires intensive human power and financial resources and due to limited resources, the *Austronesian News* delayed its publication from time to time. Lin & Chang (1998) studied 67 editorials published by the *Austronesian News* within one year after its publication and found about 80% criticized policies, especially on ethnic and political issues. They pointed out the problems of lack of talent, funding, and indigenous perspectives towards news policies and thinking.

After the 921 Earthquake, on October 14<sup>th</sup>, 2000, Lin Ming-De published the bi-weekly electronic

newspaper, the *Indigenous Voice News* (原聲報) to report and focus on the heavily hit indigenous communities by the 921 Earthquake to resolve the failure to transfer information. The publication was ceased three year later after its first publication. On April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2003, it was republished but on November 5<sup>th</sup> of the same year, the publication was ceased again.

## Indigenous Community Work Crew: The *Indigenous Groups*

The *Indigenous Groups* (原住民族) monthly was founded on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2000 and it was the institutional newsletter of “Indigenous Community Work Crew,” the indigenous movement advocator, consisted of 13 members as a temporary service team for the indigenous disaster area after the 921 Earthquake and later, it was developed as a service team with 21 part-time and full-time workers. The cover of the *Indigenous Groups* declares the guidelines of Taiwan Indigenous Movements such as defense for the US and Japanese imperial powers externally and removal of colonial structure of Non-indigenous racism internally to realize indigenous autonomy and to build indigenous autonomous confederation. The contents of the monthly included “Indigenous Forum,”

1995

1999

2008

2009



*Austronesian News*



*Voice of Indigenous Youth*



*Kiwit Community Newspaper*



*C.I.P. Quartly*



“Indigenous Community War” that describes community difficulties, “Global Resistance” of resistance movements of minorities in the world, “Contemporary Memories” of sufferings of indigenous peoples, and features of each issue to declare the stances of Community Work Crew and punctuate the indigenous subjectivity. There were 13 issues in total published.

## Literature of Mountain and Sea & Mountain and Sea in Literature: *Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly*

Taiwan Indigenous Voice Biography (TIVB) Magazine is a literature publication. As written by its Secretary-General and Editor-in-Chief, Sun Da-Chun in the forewords of *Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly* that the perspective of “Mountain & Sea” of “TIVB” is expect to construct and inherit indigenous cultures. The subjects of the publication include Mountain & Sea Feature, Critics, Literature, Arts, and Medical Care. In its 7-year publication course, 39 indigenous worker’s works were published and several literature award events were organized to present outstanding performance of new generation indigenous writers. Since its founding issue in 1993, due to self-financing, the publication has been ceased from time to time. By October, 2000, there were 23 issues

published. Its issues on average 2,500 magazines but its subscription is about 1,000.

## Starting from Indigenous Communities: Community Newspapers

In the past, written history was the privilege of the intellectual but now the silent public is no more the object being described and interpreted and they are no longer forgotten or left behind. Community newspapers and its readers have the relationship of strong connection. Long before the former Minister of Council for Cultural Affairs (now Ministry of Culture) Chan Chi-nan promoted “comprehensive community building in 1994, a community newspaper founded by and for people on Orchid Island was published on February 3, 1985. The *Orchid Island Biweekly* without commercial income and probably is the longest existing published indigenous community newspaper in Taiwan. The *Orchid Island Biweekly* is free for community members on Orchid Island and living in Taiwan to shorten their distance with their families and comfort their nostalgia. Its publication was suspended 6 weeks in 1989 and now it still publishes.

Its founder Lin Mou-An said the founding of the

2010

2015

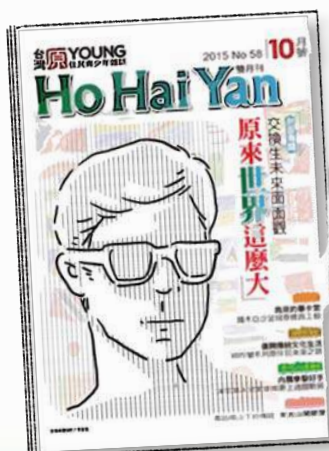
2018



*Vecik-breath in Davalan*



*Tsou Newspaper*



*Ho Hai Yan*



*Orchid Island Bimonthly*  
*Orchid Island Biweekly revised*





*Orchid Island Biweekly* is expected to offer a platform for people on Orchid Island to share their thoughts about culture, construction, education, and environment with each other. Over the past 30 years, the *Orchid Island Biweekly* becomes the publication for people of Orchid Island to create, share thoughts, tell legends, and teach customs. Community members are able to voice their opinions, absorb information, promote Tao culture and develop self-esteem, so it plays an important role. In addition to local news, the *Orchid Island Biweekly* periodically features special reports and interviews. By working with the online Lanan Media, it becomes a platform of multimedia audio and video exchange platform.

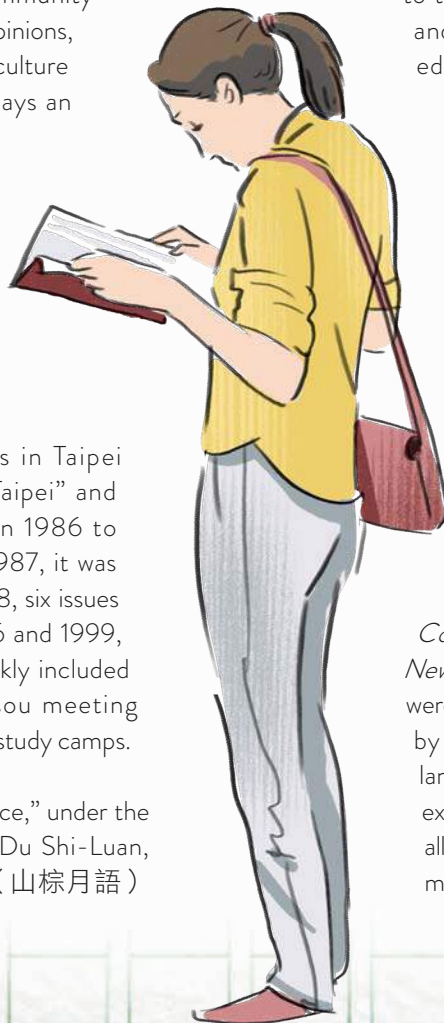
The Tsou intellectual who lives in Taipei found "Taipei Tsou Alliance in Taipei" and published *Taipei Tsou* (北曹) in 1986 to build community consensus; in 1987, it was renamed as *Tsou* quarterly. By 1988, six issues were published and between 1996 and 1999, *Tsou Newsletter* (鄒訊) biweekly included the information contents of Tsou meeting preparation, cultural seminars, and study camps.

In 1993, the "Zhuoshui River Alliance," under the suggestion of its 2nd President, Du Shi-Luan, published *Shan Tsung Monthly* (山棕月語)

for the Bunun people because its members suggested to awaken the Bunun's self-consciousness for its lost cultural roots in the modern society by an effective promotion method to convert thoughts into words and book publication. Articles often reported root finding events, Bunun song teaching, taboos, festivals, and mythologies.

In total, five issues were published. Later due to the lack of funding, change of editors, and difficulty in writers' invitation, and editing, the publication was ceased. In 2001, the magazine was republished under the name of *Kanakanavu Community Newspaper* as a monthly newspaper in 4K size.

In pursuit of cultural rebuilding and presentation of subjectivity, there are community newspapers such as the *Voice of Bunun* (布農的聲音), *Calling of Dayak: Seasonal Community Newspaper* (達雅的呼喚：四季部落報), *Taromak Community Newspaper*, *Kiwit Community Newspaper*, *Likavung Community Newspaper*, and *Tjuabar Newspaper*. These community newspapers were reported, edited, and produced mostly by the youth to record the community land and life stories with words. But it is expected that most community newspaper all face the problem of insufficient funding, manpower, organization structure, articles,



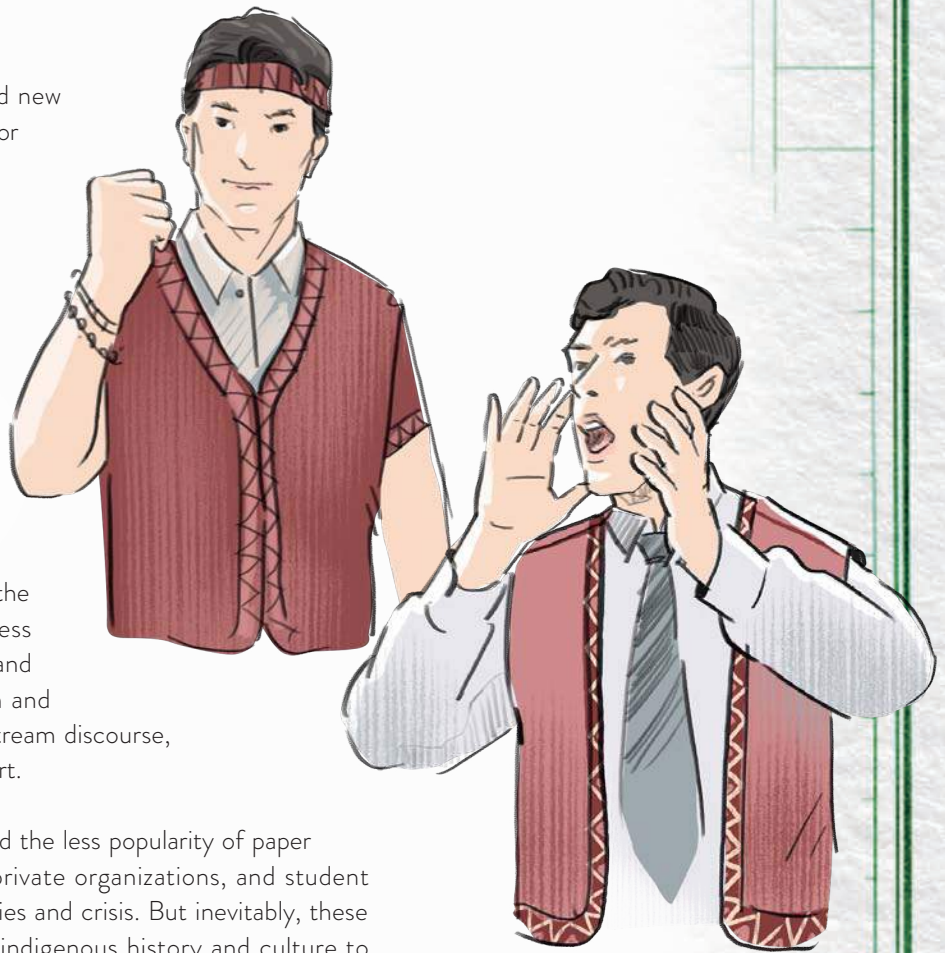


readers, and issues, diverse readers, and new challenges to media and few can survive for the long time.

## My Publication, My Voice

At the emergence stage of the indigenous thoughts, the indigenous peoples published our own magazines, participated in indigenous movements, and played a role to transfer information based on the indigenous subjectivity. The function of publication not only builds indigenous consensus but also provides the energy for protest to portray and express the past suppression more concretely and to regain the rights of speech freedom and interpret history. In the space of mainstream discourse, the indigenous peoples now can take a part.

But because of the lack of resources and the less popularity of paper reading habit, political organizations, private organizations, and student associations all face publication difficulties and crisis. But inevitably, these publications collect valuable pieces of indigenous history and culture to present the comprehensive manner of indigenous thoughts. Till now, *Indigenous Sight* inherits cultural and visionary missions of the indigenous peoples and we will continue our records and writing to make Taiwan indigenous peoples visible to the world. ❖



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# Seeing the 30 Years of Indigenous Movements

Written by Kuo Po-Jiun; Photo provided by Huang Tzi-Min

In the journey of more than 30-year indigenous movements, indigenous peoples went out to the street and suffered social confrontation and injustice as well as suppression and pains. Through photos of the Photographer, Huang Zi-Ming, we see the traces that will not be deleted. When looking back, we attribute what we have today to indigenous pioneers. After 30 years of indigenous movements, we have not reached the destination yet.

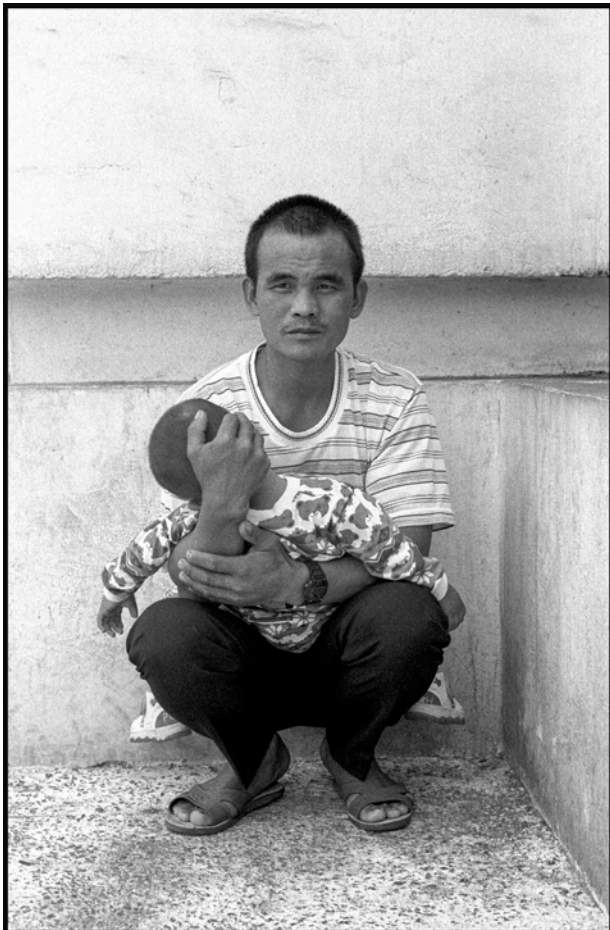
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHT



April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1987/Protest of indigenous groups for violent excavation of an indigenous ancestral tomb of Dungpu Community in Xinyi Township, Nantou County by a backhoe.

June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1994/Protest for Nuclear Waste Dump by Taos of Orchid Island.

October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1999/Appeal made by Hsu De-En and his community members from Nantou's devastated area by the 921 Earthquake in Taipei for their lost home.







1988/Appeal of Su Chung-Hsiao of Xiyuan Community of Pangcah and his community members to Taipei County Government for temporary grievance of demolition of his illegally built house along Xindian River.



August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1988/ Indigenous Peoples in traditional costumes to gain for the rights of land by appealing "to survive, return my land" on the street of Taipei.

# HISTORY



January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1988/Huaxi street march organized by 55 women and indigenous to rescue child prostitutes; leading the protesters, Kawlu declared their appeal and current Minister of Council of Indigenous Peoples, Icyang Parod assisting her with the speaker.

January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1988/Huaxi street march organized by 55 women and indigenous to rescue child prostitutes.







1993/Child prostitute rescue march organized by the Garden of Hope Foundation with supporters gathering in the prevalent area of the prostitution industry on Linsheng North Rd. in Taipei.



June, 1995/Protest by Taos of Orchid Island at the headquarters of TaiPower for nuclear waste dump on Orchid Island.

# NOBODY IS AN OUTSIDER



May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017/Appeal initiated by Nabu, Panai, and Mayaw Biho for traditional indigenous territories on Ketagalan Blvd. and protest devices dismantled forcibly by the police.





May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1999/March for Unemployment Issue on Labors' Day.

November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017/The Cross shouldered by the elderly of Atayal, Tian Ming-Cheng of Atayal who with his community members from Fushi Village, Hualien County setting on the signal fire to declare their traditional territories.





# From Pan-indigenous Movement, community-centered programs, to Indigenous Parliaments: Retracing the Path

Written by Tiaban Sasala (Dean, College of Indigenous Studies, I-Shou University)

## I. Enlightenment and Emergence of Pan-indigenous Movement

Taiwan's first contemporary indigenous movement started in the 1960s due to self-consciousness of indigenous elite during the White Terror. Losing Watan of Atayal as well as Uyongu Yatauyungana and Yapasuyong Yulunana from Tsou attempted to organize the indigenous self-defense force in order to build "the autonomy of highland people" and were prosecuted. Under the shadow of White Terror, the indigenous self-consciousness movement declined. It was until 1983 when the publication of *Gau Shan Qing* by students of National Taiwan University (NTU), indigenous movements regained its momentum and re-advocated the indigenous rights. It has been over three decades since the first publication of *Gau Shan Qing* and as one of its publication members, it is time to retrace the path and look forward to the future.

The emergence of indigenous social movement was linked to Taiwan's overall political and economic structure. Hence, we need to discuss the indigenous movements in Taiwan's historical context. Hsieh thought there are two types of factors, internal and external, that help the formation of indigenous movements. External factors include (1) traditional-the inherited name of "barbarians (番)," "Takasasozoku," or the "highland people;" (2) policy- the ideological type of indigenous administration while internal factors include (1) historical- collective historical experience ; (2) cultural-similar cultural background; (3) scenario- ethnic crisis; and (4) new thoughts of the intellectual (1987:66-76). These external and internal factors, however, do

not statically dominate the indigenous society and they interact and influence each other in a dynamic process. Therefore, it is difficult to determine external and internal factors. Generally, Hung argued the enlightenment of the indigenous society needs to be understood from structure limits shaped by long-term social issues of indigenous peoples. He suggested social issues often present structural factors of social movement and at the same time, they model the path of social movement (Hung, 2001).

Hung divided indigenous movements into six phases including (1) getting rid of Wu Fong myth; (2) no nuclear waste dump; (3) returning my land; (4) name rectification and constitutional clause movement; (5) anti Makazayazaya Reservoir; and (6) against Asia Cement Corporation. Hung thought "anti Makazayazaya Reservoir" serves as an important model for indigenous movements that successfully transform "urban indigenous movement" into "community movement." Later, Wang (2003) classified the development of indigenous movements into five stages: (1) initiation and connection: encountering of indigenous students and non-KMT writers; (2) construction of organization and movement theories: self-consciousness and enlightenment; (3) waging wars: strategies and paths as well as systematical responses; (4) systemization; (5) breaking and collapsing; and (6) expansion and continuation. Wang contended that the beginning of indigenous movement development mostly starts from self-enlightenment of indigenous students and then organizations are set up to form alliance with contemporary social movements. But due to the difference in path, "urban indigenous movements" and "community-centered programs" are developed.

Iban Nokan of Atayal was the Editor-in-Chief of the founding issue of *Gau Shan Qing* while for the second and third issues, they were Icyang Parod of Amis and Chung Cheng-Liang of Truku respectively. I joined the editing works for the Magazine in the middle term of *Gau Shan Qing* and served as the Editor-in-Chief for Issue 4 to 6. With efforts of NTU students, *Gau Shan Qing* was published issue after issue with different themes of each issue to care for different social issues of indigenous peoples. In 1984, the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association was established to promote indigenous movement works





in the form of organization including publication of its newsletter. We, the Editors-in-Chief gradually shifted our focus to the Association. In addition to the editing affairs of the newsletter, *The Indigenous*, we also took the main leading posts in the Association including President (Icyang) and executive commissioners (Iban Nokan, Chung Cheng-Liang, Tiaban Sasala). I believed this is an important shift of indigenous movements from speech advocating phase on campus to the society with the form of organization.

Kimbo Hu of Paiwan (1984-1987), Icyang Parod of Pangcah (1987-1991), Lavakaw Rakerak of Rukai (1991-1993), Panu Kapamumu of Thao (1993-1994), yogan nafu (尤幹·納甫) of Atayal (1994-) served as the President from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> term of "Association for the Promotion of the Indigenous Rights" over ten years. During their terms, they initiated "Appeals of the Indigenous Fishermen to Executive Yuan" "the Name Rectification Movement," "Getting Rid of Wu Fong Myth," and "Protest against Excavation of Ancestral Cemetery of Bunun People in Tungpu," "Commemoration of the Wushe Incident," and "the Return Our Land Movement" brought profound impacts to Taiwan. In particular, three movements of land return involved alliances with groups such as "the Services Development Commission of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," "Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Development Association," "Dai Yuan Tung Zhou Development Research Club," "Indigenous Human Rights and Social Care Group of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan," "Return Our Land Promotion Association," and "Promotion Association of Return Our Land of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples in Hsinchu" that expanded the base of indigenous movements as well as enable more in-depth and diverse discussion on indigenous issues. But after "the 3<sup>rd</sup> Return Our Land Movement," following other social movements, the Association became separated and declined due to discrepancy of theories, strategies, and means

## II. From Urban to community: Transition of Indigenous Movement Path

After 1992, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) began inviting leaders of indigenous movements to take public post jobs and that resulted the shift of publication from social movements to public elections. Operations of political system began. The result of participation of social movement advocates often proved to be a failure. Advocates of indigenous movements

*Rukai people.*

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*His research specialties include Anthropology of Disaster, Environmental Anthropology, Indigenous Traditional Realm and Land, Indigenous Culture.*

*Currently, Tiaban Sasala is the Dean of College of Indigenous Studies in I-Shou University.*



knew they only have limited manpower and financial resources, yet they still decided to run for elections. This may tie to the mainstream DDP parliament path. According to Kimbo Hu who ran for the 1986 Provincial Councilmen Election, "Running for elections is the most direct way to participate in social movements;" he thought the political appeals to convey the purpose and objectives of the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association are the most direct and quickest way to promote indigenous movements. Other advocates of indigenous movements echoed him and believed running for elections can at least convey philosophies, insert influences on important national decision-making, learn to become a political leader for indigenous affairs, and realize appeals of indigenous movements in the parliament(Haisulms, 2007: 264-266).

The authoritarian ruling during that time strictly controlled the indigenous society, and the movement path encountered bottlenecks. Although the elite of indigenous movements emphasized the importance for gaining the indigenous rights through running for elections but most of them in the first participation in running elections including legislators, provincial councilmen, city and county councilmen, community leaders and community representatives failed. Few who were elected were people with experiences in running for elections or strong support of family power and they were not elected because of gaining recognition by indigenous peoples for appeals of indigenous movements.

In 1994, Icyang Parod openly reflected five development barriers against indigenous movement including "not realized grass roots organizations," "lack of cohesion power among movement organizations," "displacement of the role of political elite," "lack of political resources," and "early participation in

public elections of national system." Elections consumed movement resources, brought frustration, and gave bad association to indigenous peoples with the indigenous movements(Icyang, 1994: 34-36). I returned to Southern Taiwan in 1989 and cooperated with Lin Ming-De, Wumasi (Le Si), and Walis Noka to publish the *Indigenous Post* in Pingtung and proposed the appeal of "community-centered programs" in pursuit of "battling at indigenous communities and attacking from community." Through the newspaper publication, we promoted concepts of indigenous movements. Walis Noka later also established his *Hunter Culture* to discuss various issues of indigenous movements of community including languages, hunting, and traditional knowledge transcending limits of appeals of political rights. Many people define community-centered programs as the "separation" from the indigenous movements, but I think the use of "diversion" may be more appropriate. After all, the Association for the Promotion of Indigenous Rights had no assets at that time and it relied heavily on fund raising. It offered no public post or other political jobs. There had been no struggling over "resources" and "positions" or competition for resources that lead to separation. At most, there have been discrepancy of concepts as well as choices of movement paths and tactics. I chose to leave big cities for the realization of the concept "returning to the place where you began" proposed by *Gao Shan Qing* and bottlenecks encountered by the development of the Association for the Promotion of Indigenous Rights. The defeated elite of indigenous movements in running for elections, especially, indicated difficulties such as the insufficient strength in basic level, the realization of concepts of indigenous movements only in urban areas and the failure to reach indigenous communities.

### III. From community-centered programs to Indigenous Parliament: A New Journey of Indigenous Movements?

After 1990, community-centered programs brought a new path to the indigenous movements. Although the scope is not so extensive as the pan-indigenous movements, it attracted media attention dramatically in the urban area. In indigenous communities, in rural areas, in mountains and forests, spark aspired by community indigenous movements presents the most direct way for concepts of indigenous movements to contact with indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples then can meet face to face with advocates of indigenous movements and get to know and accept proposals of indigenous movements. After 1990, community indigenous movements appeared everywhere like sparks including "Anti-Makazayazaya Reservoir," "Hualien Taroko Anti Oppression, Fighting for Survival, and Returning My Land" movement, "Anti-Magaw (Cilan Mountain) National Park," the 1995 Anti Asia Cement Corporation, Taiwan Cement Corporation by Truku People" Movement, "Return of Tarowan of Truku People in Hsiolin Community," "Return to Ancestral Land of Thao People-Puzi's Movement," "Anti-Nuclear Waste Dump and Save Orchid Island of Tao." In addition to political protests, community-centered programs also brought the other type of cultural renaissance movement, for example, the wave of cultural and roots searches including "Return to Central Mountain Ranges for Searching Roots Event of Bunun People" in 1995 and "Tracing Clouded Leopard by Rukai People-Reconnaissance of Historical Trails" between 1996 and 1997.



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Now, it has been three decades since the first initiation of indigenous movement. From urban to rural communities, from grass roots to government, we have seen separation and diversion of power and gathering and separation of people and they all present self-reflection of indigenous culture and the time for indigenous peoples to fight for ethnic justice.

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The drive of community-centered programs gradually inspired alliances between communities and organizations of indigenous parliament. The earliest organization of indigenous parliament was seen in Tao people of Orchid Island. In 1995, Tao people under the consensus of “Anti-Nuclear Waste Dump and Save Orchid Island,” established “Tao Parliament” and began announced their appeals to fight against nuclear waste dump on Orchid Island with the name of the Parliament. Later during the process to gain for forest land ownership, supported by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, in 1997, preparation for “Atayal Parliament” was started and on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 2000, it was officially established with the goal to look for ethnic autonomy. Jointly promoted and prepared by Bunun Cultural Foundation, Bunun Cultural Development Headquarters and Bunun Cultural and Economic Development Association since 1997, the “Bunun Parliament” has not been officially established, but from time to time proposes Bunun opinions and appeals. Although Tsou people are among those who started the Parliament in early stage, yet they promoted the so-called “Tsou Meeting.” From 1992 to 1999, Tsou people convened “Tsou Meeting” during Tomb-Sweeping Festival to build consensus. In 2001, Tsou on Mayasvi Festival led by their leader Voyu Peongsi announced the “21<sup>st</sup> Century Tsou Declaration” to voice their strong determination of autonomy. Thao people, who have long settled down in Sun Moon Lake, in 2005 also formally established their Parliament at Sun Moon Lake Ita Shou Living Culture Restoration Community. The community leader chose 25 parliament members from the top seven family names and members elected a Chair. In 2008, “Pinuyumayan Parliament” was founded by eight Shes and ten communities to build consensus and collect opinions towards Pinuyumayan culture, social movements, and sustainability. After 2013, Sediq and Rukai also set up their Sediq Parliament (2013) and Rukai Parliament (2017) respectively. In addition to the grand commencement ceremony, Rukai Parliament also officially announced the area of traditional territories based on land investigation of traditional territories conducted over a decade and vowed to promote “semi-country to country relationship” for the realization of autonomy. Besides the said indigenous groups, Paiwan, Truku, and Pangcah are also actively preparing their parliaments. In the

future, indigenous parliaments are expected to become inter-community indigenous organizations to communicate and negotiate community opinions internally and serve as contact windows externally for negotiations and dialogues with other ethnic groups, local governments, and national government.

The publication of *Gao Shan Qing* in the journey of indigenous movements is not a long period of time and it did not become a permanent organization of social movement. It played a role for enlightenment not as an actual movement organization in the history of indigenous movement history. The real leading role of contemporary indigenous movement shall be attributed to the Taiwan Indigenous Rights Promotion Association. Now, it has been three decades since the first initiation of indigenous movement. From urban to rural communities, from grass roots to government, we have seen separation and diversion of power and gathering and separation of people and they all present self-reflection of indigenous culture and the time for indigenous peoples to fight for ethnic justice. Now indigenous movements in urban area may become a history, but Bu-Luo movements are in the rise. In the future, indigenous parliaments will become the mainstream to lead indigenous peoples onto a new journey of indigenous movement.❖

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2. 贊助逾10萬元，加贈《原視界雙月刊》廣告1頁。(每20萬元再贈1頁，每月最多2頁為限)

廣告

### 郵政劃撥存款收據 注意事項

- 一、本收據請妥為保管，以便日後查考。
- 二、如欲查詢存款入帳詳情時，請檢附本收據及已填妥之查詢函向任一郵局辦理。
- 三、本收據各項金額、數字係機器印製，如非機器列印或經塗改或無收款郵局收訖章者無效。

### 請寄款人注意

- 一、帳號、戶名及寄款人姓名地址各欄請詳細填明，以免誤寄；抵付票據之存款，務請於交換前一天存入。
- 二、本存款單金額之幣別為新臺幣，每筆存款至少須在新臺幣十五元以上，且限填至元位為止。
- 三、倘金額塗改時請更換存款單重新填寫。
- 四、本存款單不得黏貼或附寄任何文件。
- 五、本存款金額業經電腦登帳後，不得申請撤回。
- 六、本存款單備供電腦影像處理，請以正楷工整書寫並請勿摺疊。帳戶如需自印存款單，各欄文字及規格必須與本單完全相符；如有不符，各局應婉請寄款人更換郵局印製之存款單填寫，以利處理。
- 七、本存款單帳號與金額欄請以阿拉伯數字書寫。
- 八、帳戶本人在「付款局」所在直轄市或縣（市）以外之行政區域存款，需由帳戶內扣收手續費。
- 九、所託收之票據於運送途中，若發生票據被盜、遺失或滅失時，同意授權由郵局或付款行代理本人辦理掛失止付及聲請公示催告、除權判決等事宜。

交易代號：0501、0502現金存款 0503票據存款 2212劃撥票據託收  
本單由儲匯處存查、保管五年。



### 信用卡捐款

線上捐款：  
<https://donation.ipcf.org.tw>



郵政劃撥

### 郵政劃撥

戶名 財團法人原住民族文化事業基金會  
帳戶 50135113



### 銀行匯款

戶名 財團法人原住民族文化事業基金會  
帳戶 2360 0122 4871  
銀行 臺灣銀行武昌分行

### 現金捐款

親送或現金袋郵寄本會：  
11573 台北市南港區重陽路  
120號5樓

### 支票捐款

親送或掛號郵寄  
本會：  
11573 台北市南港區  
重陽路120號5樓



### ATM轉帳

戶名 財團法人原住民族文化事業基金會  
帳戶 2360 0122 4871  
銀行 臺灣銀行武昌分行



- 提醒事項 |
- 轉帳或匯款後，請務必以電話或電子信箱方式將您的姓名、地址、電話提供本會，或直接前往本會捐款網站 <https://donation.ipcf.org.tw> 線上填寫捐款人資料，以俾本會寄發捐款收據與捐款贈品。
  - 每筆捐款交易都有一定須負擔的手續費用（本會受贈最低額度為100元），建議您可累積一定金額後再一次進行彙捐。
  - 本會只蒐集您在自主意願下於線上填寫或回傳提供之個人資料（如捐款人之姓名、地址、電話、電子郵件、身分證字號、出生年月日等），目的是為提供更佳的捐款服務，及業務相關之協助和活動資訊。相關資料使用皆遵守《個人資料保護法》之規定，妥善保護您的個人資料。
  - 依法，您可隨時向本會行使個資權利，以查詢、補充、更正、處理及刪除您的留下的個人資料或聯絡方式。您可以來電或來信與我們聯繫，我們將由專人進一步為您服務。提醒您，若您拒絕提供相關個人資料，或選擇停止、刪除已提供之個人資料時，將可能對您在捐款收據開立/寄送、捐款徵信查詢、捐款贈品.....等捐款人基本權益上產生影響。

98-04-43-04

### 郵政劃撥儲金存款單

收款帳號	金額	億	仟萬	佰萬	拾萬	萬	仟	佰	拾	元
50135113	阿拉伯數字									

通訊欄(限與本次存款有關事項)

您的EMAIL:

開立收據方式：

- ☐ 不需寄發  
☐ 每次扣款後寄送  
☐ 年度開立

捐款徵信：以捐款芳名錄方式公開捐款姓名、金額於本會捐款網站及年報

- ☐ 我同意  
☐ 我同意以\_\_\_\_\_之姓名公開  
☐ 不同意

收款戶名 財團法人原住民族文化事業基金會

寄款人 ☐ 他人存款 ☐ 本戶存款

姓名

主管：

地

址

電話

經辦局收款戳

◎寄款人請注意背面說明

◎本收據由電腦印錄請勿填寫

### 郵政劃撥儲金存款收據

財團法人原住民族文化事業基金會

收款帳號戶名

存款金額

電腦紀錄

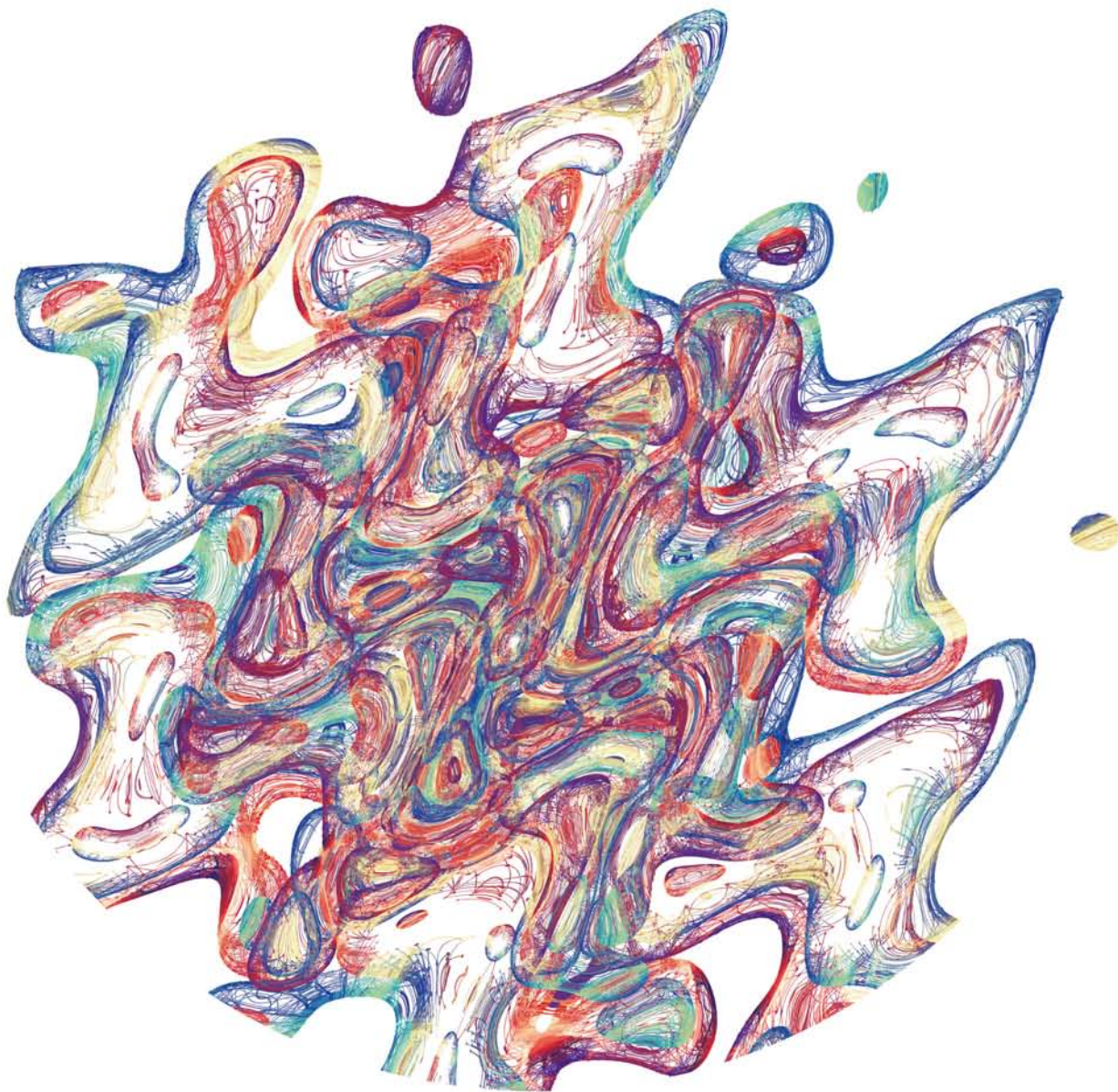
捐款專線  
(02)2788-1600

客服信箱  
[ipcfservice@mail.ipcf.org.tw](mailto:ipcfservice@mail.ipcf.org.tw)

虛線內備供機器印錄用請勿填寫

經辦局收款戳



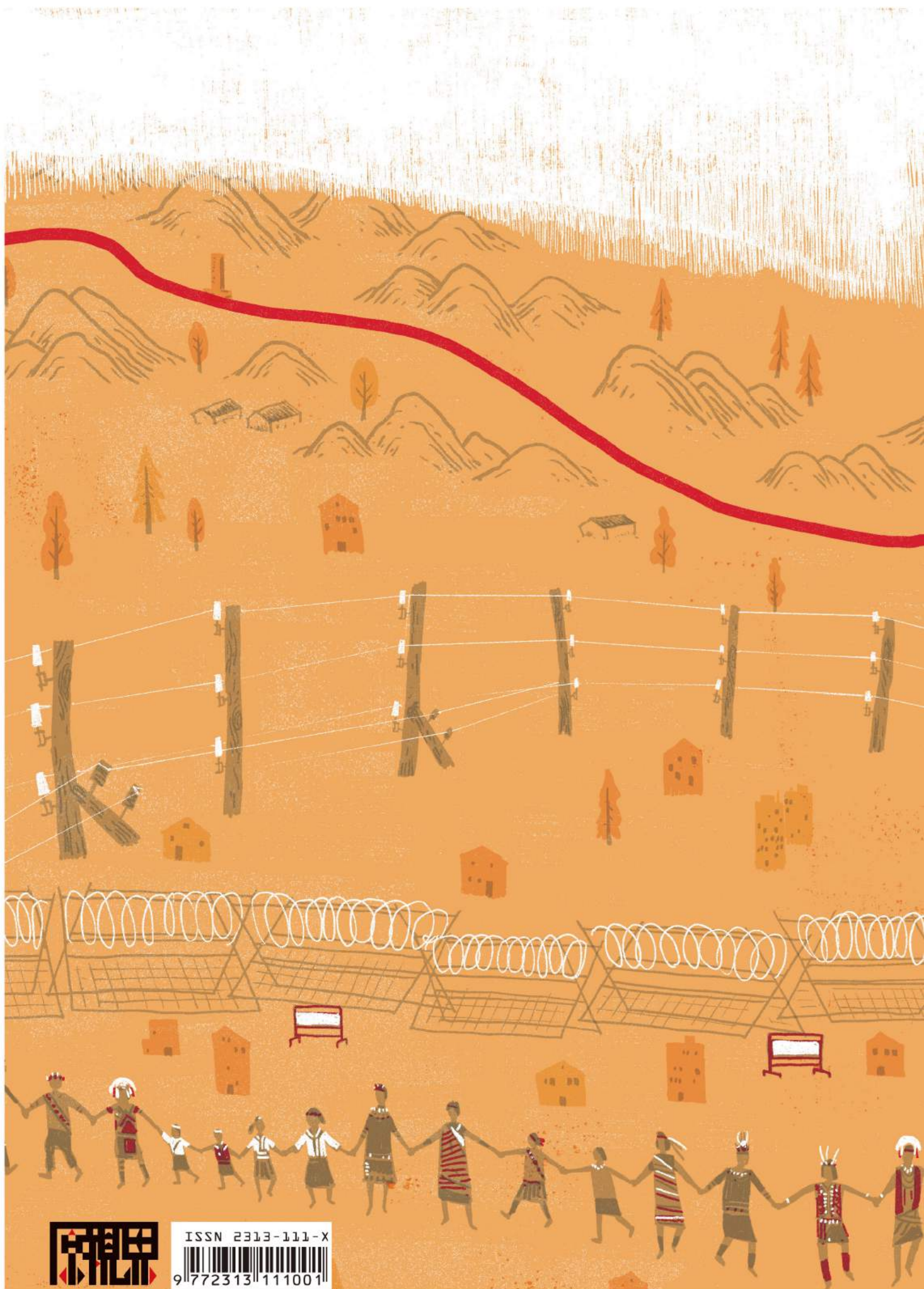


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# 翻 MICAWOR 動

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