

*Happy Aborigines Dance for Benign Patriarchs: Ideologies Implicit in Some*

*Recent Institutional Constructions of Taiwan Aborigines*

Paper presented at: CASCA 2002, University of Windsor, May 4, 2002

Submitted by: Mark Munsterhjelm, Indigenous Governance Program,

University of Victoria, BC, Canada.

e-mail: markchen@uvic.ca

*Abstract: Utilising the concept of Taiwan as a subimperial power under American hegemony and Japanese regional subhegemony this paper considers how dominant institutional constructions of Taiwan's Aborigines are indicative of colonized peoples. There is continuity in Taiwanese Aborigines' position, at the bottom rung in international relations from the late Ching period through Japanese colonization and post-WWII Taiwanese nation state formation. This inferior status has been and continues to be regularly acted out in public rituals and dominant institutional discourses. In turn, the Taiwanese state's subservient role in international affairs is reflected in how representations of Aborigines are constructed by the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines and in the 2001 celebrations marking the 100th anniversary of the death of the Canadian Presbyterian Missionary George Mackay.*

*My Daily Taiwan Headlines*

I lived in Taiwan from 1992 to 2001 and as a way of keeping up on things I receive a daily summary from the Taiwan government called "TAIWAN HEADLINES". The April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2002 bulletin's top headline under "politics" was "Yu calls for stricter laws to protect intellectual property" part of which read:

“Vowing to doggedly stamp out piracy across the nation, Premier Yu Shyi-kun on Wednesday ordered the laws against forgery to be revised to protect intellectual property rights (IPR) and to ensure Taiwan's name is removed from the United States' Special 301 Priority Watch List.” (Government Information Office, April 4, 2002)

The next on the list was [President] “Chen seeks EU support for WHO [World Health Organisation] entry”. Lower down the page under the heading of “society” were “Tao Aborigines kick off Taipei cultural festival” and “Sponsors ignite hope for Philippine children” in which “Taiwan's Chinese Fund for Children and Families (CFCF) is seeking to arrange the sponsorship of at least 300 children from poor Philippine families by Taiwanese families to give these children a chance at a better life.” (Taiwan Government Information Office, April 4, 2002) Implicit in this set of headlines are number of power relationships which speak of Taiwan's place in the world internationally.

### Taiwan in the World System

The nation state of Taiwan is a successor to the Island's earlier Japanese colonial administration. This occurred as a result of Allied actions that disassembled the Japanese empire and assigned Taiwan to Chiang Kai Shek's Nationalist regime which took over in 1945. Taiwanese Aboriginal activists contend that there has been continuity between these regimes with regards to the circumstances of Taiwan Aboriginal peoples (Alliance of Taiwanese Aborigines, 1993). Like many other middle powers within the capitalist world system, the state of Taiwan (like Canada) is successor of a colonial regime and has retained the essential characteristics of domination inherent in its relations with Aboriginal peoples

within its domain. (Chiu, 2000:116-117, Asch, 2000:148) Aboriginal lands have been incorporated as important resource areas in Taiwan economy in what is described as “internal colonialism” (Chen, 2000:6) This is acknowledged indirectly by mainstream scholars such as Hsu Mutsu of Academia Sinica who euphemistically terms this inequity as “*asymmetrical development*” (Hsu, 1991:91) while the Aborigines domination by outsiders is also noted by the US State Department which states:

"Although they face no official discrimination, Aborigines have had little impact, over the years, on major decisions affecting their lands, culture, traditions, and the allocation of their natural resources." (1999 US State Dept. Human Rights Report for Taiwan)

To summarize the boundaries of acceptable institutional discourse, the government and business are perfectly willing to talk to Aboriginal peoples providing it doesn’t challenge “the fundamental structure of the asymmetric Han-Indigenous relations” (Cheng, 1999). In the following section I will outline a framework of conceptualizing Taiwanese capitalism internationally and its relations with Taiwan’s Aboriginal peoples.

### **“Sex in the Pacific”: Libidinal Dominance in International Relations**

Edward Said argues that imperialism in addition to its military, political, and economic elements is backed by important set of ideological and cultural constructions that attempt to justify taking someone else’s land. (Said, 1993:7) Chen argues that among today’s Taiwan’s elites there has been continuity from the earlier Japanese colonial worldviews.

“The old empire’s ‘I’ refers to Tokyo, the southward-advancing headquarters during the 1920s and 1930s: Japanese, male, and bourgeois. The subempire’s I,

however, is 1990s Taipei, southward-advancing and formerly the Japanese imperialist headquarters: today Han, min-nan, heterosexual, male, and bourgeois. Their historical difference lies only in their geopolitical location and ethnic identity. The southern Han people replace the Japanese, but the respective political unconscious of these groups shares a common projection of ethnocentrism.” (Chen Kuan-Hsing, 2000:59-60)

Later this continuity will be useful to consider when we look at Taiwan nationalist renderings of Aborigines.

Internationally, in conceptualizing Taiwan capitalism’s current position, it may be useful to consider Western constructions of "masculinity" which confer strength, dominance, rationality, reasoning etc. while "femininity" is construed as emotional, permissive, comforting, nurturing, requiring protection, etc. In her critique of the construct of the "Pacific Rim" Philippine scholar Nererti Xina M. Tadiar describes an important dimension of this imagining:

"sexuality- in this fantasy, the economics and political relations of nations are libidinally configured, that they are grasped and effected in terms of sexuality. This global and regional fantasy is not, however, only metaphorical, but real insofar as it grasps a system of political and economic practices at work among these nations." (Dirlik, 1993:183)

She uses the concept of Japan as feminine in its power relationships to the USA (there are 50,000 GIs on Japanese soil and Japan is sheltered "under" the US "nuclear umbrella") but masculine in its relations with the Philippines. American post-WWII policies basically continued Japan’s “Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere” which revived Japan and Germany

as “great workshops ” but this time under American hegemony (Chomsky, 1994:120)

Within this hierarchy Taiwan is feminine given its dependence on the USA’s markets, American military power, capital and high technology for industry and military etc. Taiwan has sought to "attract" and to be responsive to the needs of Western foreign investors etc. something with clearly submissive tones. Taiwan emerges as subservient first to American world hegemony and then secondly Japanese regional hegemony but Taiwan is superior to the Third World. (Chen, 2000:7) (1) Chen further contends that the Taiwanese “Go South” investment policies in the Philippines, Indonesia, etc. are part of this “subempire” orientation. (Chen, 2000) Chiu argues that Taiwan’s state policies have a strong *suborientalist* in relation to Aborigines:

What is sub about these imperialist and colonialist practices is the suborientalism the practitioners have managed to construct and live with: to be colonized while seeking to colonize, to be made the West’s rest while proclaiming themselves to be the quasi-West in the process of constituting their own (internal and external) rest and others’. In other words, to be raped to legitimate rape or, conversely, to rape to justify being raped.(Chiu, 2000:104)

In its relations with the Aborigines Taiwanese capitalism becomes masculine "developing" Eastern Taiwan, helping protect and preserve Aboriginal cultures etc. In summary for the purposes of this paper there emerges a patriarchal pattern in which those above in the hierarchy can impose a feminised image on those below them while attempting to emulate the masculinity of those above but never really achieving that respect they crave in as

symbolized by the White, generally American, male who stands at the apex, the only one whose masculinity is unchallenged. The pecking order is as follows:

American >Japanese> Taiwanese> Aborigines

### **From Independence to Entertainment:**

It could be argued therefore that Taiwan's Aboriginal peoples have undergone a colonial process of "emasculatation" and attendant "feminisation". Davidson's 1903 "*The Island of Formosa: Past and Present*" dedicated no less than 25 percent of its pages to issues related to Aboriginal peoples and their lands particularly Aboriginal armed resistance to invasion by the camphor industry. He wrote regarding the economic costs of this, "*the expense of protection is very high, and the manufacturers are much handicapped by it.*" (Davidson, 1903:430) The Aborigines engaged in guerrilla tactics taking full advantage of terrain as well as detailed planning of raids. (2) Nonetheless accounts of Aboriginal resistance are frequently framed in irrational terms with an emphasis on headhunting. (3)

It is important to pay attention to interaction of technological, economic, and political factors that drove the incorporation of Taiwan's remaining independent Aboriginal peoples between the 1850s and the 1930s into the capitalist world system. The invention of celluloid coincided with the forced opening of some of Taiwan's ports by the Treaty of Tianjian in 1858 which was part of the Second Opium War (1856-1860). This Treaty allowed the entry of Western business and missionaries (including George Leslie Mackay in 1872, more about him later). Later in 1880s the invention of smokeless gunpowder further increased

demand for camphor. The high profits earned from international camphor markets drove the invasion of the remaining independent Aboriginal peoples. (4) Ching Government military expeditions in support of the camphor trade against the Aborigines were frequent and often bloody. The main foreign import was opium (5) while major exports in addition to camphor included tea grown on expropriated Aboriginal lands. (Huang, Lin, Ang, Vol. 1, 1997:457)

A local Chinese comprador class emerged who were essential intermediaries for foreign business concerns. This relationship of between Western business, Taiwanese compradors, and Ching government, though hardly harmonious, all benefited from the expropriation of resources from the invasion of Aboriginal lands. Following the Japanese occupation of 1895 business relationships changed with the Japanese colonial regime eventually displacing the Western merchants by monopolizing camphor and opium to maximize revenues to pay for infrastructure so as to make Taiwan attractive to Japanese capitalists. (Ka, 1995:54) The Lin family of Wufeng became heavily involved in camphor extraction during the late Ching period building up a private security force that was subsequently utilized by the Japanese in the camphor industry but though their role declined as the Japanese occupation progressed. (Barclay, 1999:131-132)

Japanese statements of the period show a strong wish to be accepted into the Whiteman's club:

“The white man has long believed that on his shoulders alone has rested the burden of colonising the yet unopened portions of the globe, extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilisation; but now we Japanese, rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish to take part in the white man's important mission. There are doubts as to whether our countrymen can shoulder the yellow man's burden. The success or

failure of Japanese rule in Taiwan will be the touchstone up which this issue is resolved.” Japanese parliamentarian, Takekoshi Yosaburo, 1905 (Barclay, 1999:63)

Japanese colonialism was couched as part of Japan’s duties if it was to be accepted into the Whiteman’s club. The necessity of conquering the Aborigines militarily was argued earlier as:

“Until we solve this problem with the Aborigines, we will not have sufficient cause to boast to the world of our nation’s will and ability to expand and be enterprising. The Aborigine territory occupies 56 percent of the island’s surface, and is a storehouse of mineral, forest, and agricultural wealth. Unfortunately, the savage and cruel Aborigines have thrown up a barrier to this storehouse of natural resources.”

Mochiji Rokusaburo, Japanese Ministry of Civil Affairs, 1898 (Barclay, 1999:145)

The conquest of the Aboriginal peoples was symbolized as a means for the Japanese to gain acceptance in the West. This need to impress the West was reflected in the 1911 Japanese colonial government book published in English entitled “Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa.” The British writer Owen Rutter engaged in just this sort of assessment in a 1923 book in a chapter entitled “Where the Japanese Have Failed” (Rutter, 1923:237-261) which dealt with what he conceived as the failures of Japanese policies in suppressing Aborigines.

### **Entertainers :**

Taiwanese Aboriginal singing and dancing has not always carried the happy overtones that are so common in today’s Taiwanese mass tourism, and public rituals. Presbyterian Missionary George Mackay wrote regarding an Aboriginal celebration he saw following a successful raid in which Chinese heads were taken:



“...[the] welcome home of the heroes. Such shouting, shrieking, and demon-like howls! Round and round the head they circle, dancing a sort of double step...All the while a wild bacchanalian song is chanted, the sound of which is nothing outside the caverns of perdition” (Mackay, 1896:272-3)

In sharp contrast, today such martial implications are now forgotten as Aborigines dance for government officials, business elites, and visiting VIPs much as they did for the Japanese.

The Japanese colonial administration began the practice of Aboriginal dances at public celebrations in the 1920s (Thorne, 1997) Today this practice is a regular component of public events. For example in 1999 Canadian Government and Taiwanese Government officials, wearing Aboriginal vests danced with Taiwanese Aboriginal women at the opening of the Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal Cultural Festival. (China Post, March 22, 1999:20)

Another article about this event in the China News newspaper carried the headline “Taiwan to work with Canada to preserve aboriginal culture” (China News, March 22, 1999:2) The assumption implicit in this is that the state can assist Aboriginal cultures which glaringly ignores states’ and capitalism in general as fundamental historic and continuing forces for colonization and assimilation. But such things are no where to be seen when Aborigines appear in press reports to dance for and sometimes with agents of the corporate and government sectors. The submissive quaint role accorded Aborigines in these public rituals vindicates the patriarchal compulsions of those institutions which planned them. This represents continuity in subservient Aboriginal roles in public rituals between Japanese colonial period and modern Taiwan.

The commercialization of Aboriginal cultures and their lands as tourist attractions

also began under the Japanese. (Thorne,1997) Today Aboriginal themes are a common feature of advertising. For example a 1998 Mitsubishi Freeca SUV TV ad featured Tsou clothed dancers screaming, making high leaps, and finally dancing around a Freeca. (6) Taiwan's most recent six year national development strategy targeted domestic tourism. A highlight of this was the 2000 opening of the US\$180 million Aboriginal themed Mala Bay Water Park near Taichung, *"the landscape [of which] is very representative of a 'Disney' project"* said one design firm executive. (7) Sacred hundred-step snakes soar twisting above an ancestor's head decorate a waterslide named the "A-Chu Slide". Paiwan Ancestors appear in relief around the "Big Wave" pool. This entertainment complex was built on former Taiwan Sugar company lands by a major Taiwanese industrial group who subcontracted construction to Samsung of Korea and design to several Western amusement park firms. Thus like earlier camphor production chains Aboriginal Nations provide inputs for advertising and tourism for use by outside Taiwanese and international commercial interests in cooperation with state planners. This "disneyfication" process desecrates Aboriginal sacred symbols and denigrates Aboriginal cultures by rendering them as tacky caricatures.

Eroticisation is an essential part of the feminisation process. An early example of this is when Davidson wrote, citing a Japanese anthropologist:

"At events where merriment prevails, the younger women frequently engage in very licentious dance consisting of twisting and squirming and suggestive muscle movements not unlike the Hawaiian dance." (Davidson, 1903: 567-8)

The eroticisation of the multi-platinum selling Puyuma First Nation singer, A-Mei, was quite

evident in some press reports that circulated in the weeks prior to Chen Sui-bian's May 2000 inauguration. A United Daily News pre-inauguration article, carried by the government's Central News Agency, noted her worries about the difficulty of singing the anthem;

*"However, reporters were more keen to find out if A-mei would wear one of her trademark, sexy outfits to the celebration. She responded that she had yet to decide what she would wear, but that as an aborigine, she might choose to wear a traditional, aboriginal outfit. Nonetheless, she said that the officials who invited her gave her almost complete freedom on this account, only advising her to choose an outfit that covers her belly-button." (May 17, 2000 from [www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw/20000517/20000517s3.html](http://www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw/20000517/20000517s3.html))*

At President Chen Shui-bien's inauguration ceremonies she sang the ROC national anthem wearing a tight evening dress, her navel covered her sexuality restrained to suit civilized Chinese ceremonial sensibilities. (8)

The assimilationist policies pursued in past by Taiwan's government have been replaced by multiculturalism. Official conceptions of Aboriginal cultures are however generally narrowly construed as concerning language, art, music, and folklore, *essentialist* in that these focus on what is distinctive within aboriginal cultures as opposed to a more holistic way of life. In Taiwan this is reflected in the perpetuation of highly stereotyped representations of various Aboriginal groups. For example a visit to Taipei Aboriginal Park, across from the Shung Ye Museum, features descriptions containing many popular stereotypes including Tao (Yami) and their special canoes, how Pangceh (Ami) are cheerful

and like to do harvest dances, Dayan (Atayal) have facial tattoos, the Saisiat have their biannual Dance of the Dwarves, etc. There is an emphasis on difference which is critical to the construction of Aborigines as “Other”. Implicit in this process is the construction of Han Taiwanese as “mainstream” and “normal”. Benedict Anderson commented on how the Han majority always appear in modern Western suits in televised PRC New Year Celebrations while minorities appear in traditional costumes. He comments,

"The Han thus manifest themselves as the Future, and the minorities as the Past, in a tableau which is utterly political, even if not entirely consciously so. This Past, of which the minorities are the visible sign, is also part of a Past, through which the Chinese state territorial stretch is legitimized. It is, of course, therefore a "Chinese" past." (Taipei Times April 25, 2000)

It is not difficult to see how Anderson’s comment applies to Taiwan where Pangceh (Ami) First Nation dancers perform at Double Ten National Day celebrations. Aboriginal cultures become part of the public rituals that construct inform, and reinforce Taiwanese nationalist discourses. The lifting of military law and emergence of Taiwanese nationalism has resulted in the reconstruction of a “Taiwanese” identity that utilizes Aboriginal peoples as a means to distinguishing themselves from China and creating a uniquely Taiwanese identity. (Rudolph, 2001) The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and factions within the KMT aligned with Lee Tung-hui have adopted similar sets of historical myths as they attempt create a distinctive “Taiwanese” history. (Rudolph, 2001). A good example of the use of Aborigines in constructions of a distinct Taiwanese history comes from a DPP sanctioned English language biography of Chen Sui Bian.

*“This chapter [one] on Chen Shui-bian’s native place [Tainan County] begins with the year 1600 A.D. That century marks the last generation that the aborigines of Taiwan, related to the Austronesian peoples of the Pacific, alone occupied the Islands pristine wilderness... The aborigines have played a major role in the consciousness of the Taiwanese. They have occupied many historical stages of consciousness in the Taiwanese mentality. They have been partners, spouses, enemies and honoured representatives of lost civilizations”.*

(Kagan, 1998:9)

This passage is full of sentimental imagery which encloses Aborigines in a Taiwanese nationalist narrative. Also it ties Taiwan's First Nation's to Austronesia, a linkage that we will discuss later.

This book recalls Chen Sui-bian writing a memorial article about John F. Kennedy in the fall of 1963 as his “first experience in learning about a political figure he could admire” (Kagan, 1998:35) This in spite of the fact that the JFK administration supported the Kuomintang military dictatorship along with numerous despotic regimes elsewhere. Such an uncritical assessment is consistent with Taiwan’s subservience to American hegemony.

Importantly this book attempts to whitewash the Japanese colonisation saying that:

"Japan ruled Taiwan with an iron fist. Yet there were beneficial, though perhaps unintended consequences” such as a "relatively non-corrupt legal system" and "self-conscious middle class". (Kagan,1998:22-3)

A researcher at the Taiwan Government’s Academia Sinica, Hsu Mutsu (a UC Berkeley graduate) has similar comments quoting Thomas Gold of UC Berkeley:

“the Japanese removed bureaucratic, legal, and social impediments to the development of capitalism and demonstrated to the Taiwanese the potential of capitalist industrialization .” (Hsu, 1991:20)

Hsu continues recounting familiar "economic miracle" discussions and summing up with:

"Whatever factors may have helped determine Taiwan's recent economic achievement, one thing is sure: its shift in economic structure -along with improvements in other social dimensions such as education, nutrition, and sanitation -has benefited Taiwan society as a whole, with aboriginal tribes in particular. " (Hsu, 1991:21)

Hsu follows a similar whitewashing of Japanese imperialism. The symbolization of unity inherent in the word “Taiwan” is utilized in conjunction with narrativisation to construct a national history (Thompson:1990:64-5) This reconstructing of the Japanese colonialism as beneficial to Taiwan seems a part of a conscious effort to create a historical narrative of Taiwan history which through a selective recounting of events seeks to legitimize the current order of things. It is rather like conceiving of the Japanese as a stern father or teacher who was necessary for Taiwan to progress. There seems to have been an internalization of the sort of “sharing of the whiteman's burden” articulated by the aforementioned Japanese parliamentarian of nearly a century ago. This is the internalization and emulation of the colonizer's mentality by the colonized. (Chen, 2000:60)

#### Austronesian Linking: Taiwan Capitalism's Subempire

While the Taiwan capitalism maintains a colonial relationship with its Aboriginal peoples similarly internationally it occupies the position of a subimperial state (Chen, 2000)

Subservient to first American world hegemonic and Japanese regional hegemonic concerns. Taiwan has emerged as one of the leading investors in East Asia. It's factories are notorious for their poor working conditions, abuse of employees and fatal industrial accidents. (Chen, 2000:16) The "Go South" investment policies have emerged in recent years have a strong ideological components to complement practical economic reasoning. (Rudolph, 2000; Chen, 2000) Taiwan subempire has a southward orientation which is reflected in the conception of Taiwan as homeland for the Austronesian languages and peoples. This historical engineering is heavily funded through various forms of academic research. Genetics research focuses on relations between Taiwanese Aborigines and indigenous peoples from throughout the Pacific and Southeast Asia. Similarly linguistics research attempts to do the same as Austronesian language maps feature a bold border running down the Taiwan Strait clearly demarcating Taiwan from China. (Rudolph, 2000) This southward orientation is represented in a series of maps available on the Internet produced by the *Berkeley Image Database Project* at UC Berkeley which is funded in part by the Shung Ye Group of Taiwan. (9) Three maps of the Berkeley Project in a series reinforce this idea.

- 1) Taiwan and its Aboriginal languages.
- 2) Southeast Asian Austronesian map. The language zones of Taiwan are still visible at this scale.
- 3) World map with Austronesian linguistic zone charted out.

Visually Taiwan is the central reference point for these maps. Thus Taiwan's southward investment expansion becomes backed by ideological substructure. (Rudolph, 2000) This linking manifests itself in the hosting of Austronesian research conferences. Austronesian cultural festivals are held in which groups from various Austronesian cultures are invited to

Taiwan. Accordingly this Austronesian orientation provides a theme around which do further informal diplomatic relations which are a significant part of economic investments. Taiwan's First Nations become components in the construction of discourses designed to support Taiwan's economic expansionism. Just as Austronesian cultures are tied to Taiwan so are their economies by Taiwanese investment. Just as Taiwan's First Nations are subsumed to the needs of Taiwanese capital so shall Austronesia's. Real or not, representations will be designed to fit these requirements. The Taiwan government sponsored Austronesian cultural festivals are traditions in the making. This extract about the 2001 Festival of Austronesian Culture in Taidong, a Taiwan Government Information Office publication gives an example of how this plays out in the media:

“Taiwan's number one pop singer A-Mei thrilled the crowds with her chart-topping tunes at the opening of the 2001 Festival of Austronesian Cultures in Taitung. The megastar is not only a favorite in her native Taiwan, but occupies a top position within the pop-music pantheon of the Chinese-speaking world--pretty good for a small town girl and member of the Beinan tribe. She was therefore an ideal choice to help bring media and popular attention to the weeklong event celebrating the indigenous roots of the island's early inhabitants. The event was the second of its kind and its central theme was reflected in the festival's theme song, "The homeland of the Austronesian Culture," which was performed at the opening by the popular singer Wang Hong-en. There is a convincing body of research that lends support to the theory that Taiwan is the ancestral home of the far-flung Austronesian speech community is the ancestral home of the far-flung Austronesian speech community. Descendants of that linguistic heritage now populate regions of the Solomon Islands,



Hawaii, Madagascar, Easter Island, Guam, New Zealand and Malaysia.” (Fang, 2001)

The Aborigines and their Austronesian “cousins” positions are clear. They are to be observed as entertainment for tourists and as subjects for study for scientists. The diplomatic utility is clear in a speech given by Wendy Hinton, Deputy Director at the Shung Ye Museum in November of 2001:

*Tena koutou, tena koutou, kia ora koutou katoa*

This is a traditional Maori greeting which means

*Greetings, greetings, greetings to us all*

Although I am not a New Zealand Maori, I am a New Zealander whose family came to New Zealand four generations ago. Today, all New Zealanders recognise Maori culture and history as a fundamental part of being a New Zealander. In fact, unlike in Hawaii, where you have to have 50 percent indigenous blood to be legally indigenous, in my country any New Zealander at all can choose to be a New Zealand Maori. Its all very democratic!

In this passage the deputy director confuses American government imposed blood quantum requirements for legal identification as a Hawaiian with Aboriginal peoples’ assertion that they control their own identity. In contrast to the deputy director, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a Maori scholar considers the word Maori as “identified as a label which defines a colonial relationship between ‘Maori’ and ‘Pakeha’ [literally *strangers*], the non-indigenous settler population.” (Smith, 1999:6)

“A seminar of the kind we are all participating in here today is therefore of importance to New Zealand as a Pacific nation which is to some extent still seeking to establish its sense of identity. New Zealanders, Maori and non-Maori alike, are keen to establish links with their past. Only by understanding the past and building this into the present will we understand what we really are.”

She then goes on to make the connection between Taiwan and New Zealand in this section

“I for one do not need DNA research to tell me that there are close links between New Zealand and Taiwanese aboriginal people. All I need to do is step outside the Shung Ye Museum and look at the magnificent carving which graces the entrance area. It includes images which are replicated all over New Zealand on Maori meeting houses.”

The deputy director then goes on describing this connection process.

“The motive power of the Austronesians was sail. Having begun the unparalleled seaborne expansion which was to carry them across the width of the Pacific around 5000BC, they never looked back! Words for sail, mast, outrigger and canoe rollers are among the oldest in Austronesian.”

The deputy director then completes this construction of a connection between New Zealand and Taiwan via Aboriginal peoples. This successfully avoids all issues of colonization.

“It seems to me that this provides us with a pretty good pointer to the future. Taiwan, New Zealand and the other Polynesian countries, Indonesia and the Philippines, all of us represent ancient cultures which share a common heritage.”

By expropriating Aboriginal identities and inventing histories the deputy director is able to make no mention of the fact that the modern New Zealand government is a colonial successor to the earlier British colonial regime. In fact, much as both of these countries have been dependent on the expropriation of Aboriginal lands, the deputy director's linkage between the historically recent political entities of New Zealand and Taiwan is based on the expropriation of Aboriginal identities and histories. This sort of Austronesian linking is an example of *reification* as repetition of still contested scientific theories of Taiwan as a "homeland" are made into the grounds for present day diplomatic and economic relationships. Critically this appropriation of Aboriginal identities allows for the construction of national myths which eternalise New Zealand and Taiwan--whitewashing their colonial pasts.

### *Assertions, Presumptions, and Assumptions?*

The Shung Ye Group is an example of the role of the corporate sector in the construction of institutional renderings of Aboriginal people. In conjunction with government and academic institutions, corporations are responsible for most of renderings of Aboriginal peoples conveyed in the international modern mass media and scholarship. The Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines was opened in 1994 (hereafter referred as the Shung Ye Museum) at a cost of US\$20 million. (Chang, 1999:54) It houses the personal collection of C. F. Lin, chairman of the Shung Ye Group, which is a major Taiwanese industrial conglomerate. The museum's publicly stated agenda is one of:

“giving back to society what one has taken out, we have sought to promote the concept of “in loving one’s land, one should cherish everyone’s culture.””(Preface by C.F. Lin, From Dunsbridge, 1999)

The selection of Taiwan's Aborigines is:

“Because Taiwan's Aborigines have long occupied a somewhat underprivileged position, they are in need of more concern and therefore constitute the main theme of the museum.” (Chang, 1999:6)

Thus the museum describes its mission in terms of assisting Aborigines. This helping role is described in Taiwan Government's 2000 “Taiwan Yearbook” as

“The museum has also helped to promote research of Taiwan's indigenous peoples, including grants to the Academia Sinica and to writers and filmmakers involved in recording aboriginal culture. It has also funded research projects at the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Tokyo. In addition, the museum has provided money for university scholarships for aboriginal students.” (Taiwan Yearbook, 2000)

This funding included US\$300,000 to UC Berkeley in 1993, and 40 million yen to the University of Tokyo in 1994. (Chang, 1999:29) The museum mission is considered by the Taiwan government and by the museum itself as one of assisting Aboriginal peoples. The massive expenditures required for planning and constructing and operating the museum are construed as indications of the benevolence of the founder, CF Lin and his Shung Ye Group. The “underprivileged position” of Aborigines is explained in various ways in a 12 min. DVD presentation produced by the Shung Ye Museum. The seizure of Aboriginal lands is mentioned in the past, and it is mentioned also that lands today are sold today frequently to developers. However the general problems are attributed to "industrialization" and majority prejudices:

“Even today insufficient understanding has caused many people to view the

indigenous people simply as stereotypes enabling them as “Hoan-a” or barbarians.

This term encapsulates the prejudices many people have towards the indigenous and is an indication of the way in which the island's dominant and Chinese culture has ignored them.” (Shung Ye Museum, 1999)

It even mentions briefly:

“...the Tao on Orchid Island have become victims of radioactive waste disposal.”

It then sets out some positive stereotyped examples of aboriginal accomplishment, has there are including sculpture and music which is attributed it to their “natural” abilities including "powerful voices". A third positive example is shown in Aboriginal success in the areas of baseball and basketball. (Parallels with portrayals of Black people in United States are evident here). While acknowledging the prejudices and superior economic power of the Han Chinese majority, solutions are posited based around the concept of education regarding Aboriginal cultures. Such limited proposals that blame discrimination based mainly on ignorance disregard the powerful political economic forces which have developed based on the colonization of First Nations. This is a separation that runs counter to conception that it is the integration of culture with military capabilities, politics, and economics that underpins imperialism (Said, 1994:7)

In keeping with the international pecking outlined above the Shung Ye Museum seeks to emulate Western museums. In the 5th anniversary self-congratulatory book, “*A Dream Comes Alive: C.F. Lin’s Cultural Pursuit*” book Chapter 2 is titled “*International Perspectives*” and features the following opening quotation  
 ““*Anthropology is the study of others in order to understand ourselves.*” Clyde

*Kluckhohn, American Anthropologist*". A conscious effort to emulate the West is clear in "All important civilised countries of the world have established ethnographic museums." It outlines their activities then praises them and acknowledges the Shung Ye Museum is young and has "a long road ahead of us" before being equal to these established museums:

"With this in mind, we attempted to make contact with many of our sister museums around the world. A summary of their responses is shown under headings of foundation, founding mission, and special characteristics." (Chang, 1999:9-16)

It then spends 6 pages using these criteria to describe ethnology museums from Holland, France, England, the USA, Japan, and Canada. The Shung Ye Museum seeks to define itself in Western terms "...we hope to emulate their great example and set ourselves some of the same goals." The Shung Ye Museum thus seeks to position itself in a similar way to Western Ethnographic institutions. There is a strong hierarchial imperative evident in such aspirations. The role of such museums has been critically conceived of as manifestations of social relations of domination through their framing of their "subjects" as "Other." (Clifford, 1988) This need to emulate the West is consistent with Chen's conception of Taiwan as a subimperial power. Thus it is possible to understand how political-economic factors affecting Aborigines are reflected in the ideological boundaries of institutional discourse in Taiwan. These are governed first by necessity to obfuscate colonisation and subsequent appropriation of Aboriginal lands and resources (including cultures) by Taiwanese and foreign capitalism.

### **Positioning the Shung Ye Museum**

The Shung Ye Group is a major Mitsubishi car distributor. This position of subservience to Japanese capital is reflected in this description:

“In 1998, the head of Mitsubishi’s franchise addition personally visited Taiwan and honoured Mr. Lin for his contribution to the Mitsubishi automobile industry in Taiwan.” (Chang, 1999:18),

Started in 1947 the Shung Ye Group derived its position from its relationship with Mitsubishi.

“It later obtained the franchise right to operate in Taiwan from the Japanese Mitsubishi company...Following growth of society and economic development, building on the base of Mitsubishi’s Fuso heavy vehicles, commercial vehicles and buses, a national service network was established. Sales were outstanding, Mitsubishi’s new sedan and RV market was extended, which all helped to create an island wide service of excellent standards and allow the Shung Ye Group the surplus energies to be able to put something back into society.” (Chang, 1999:18)

In this narrative the Shung Ye’s success is attributed to its relations with Mitsubishi and economic growth in Taiwan which then allows Shung Ye to assist others including Aborigines through various forms of philanthropy. The Shung Ye Group is a local partner of Mitsubishi. One should note that the Mitsubishi keiretsu was broken up as part of the American military occupation’s restructuring of the Japanese economy due to Mitsubishi’s intimate involvement in Japanese militarism. Thus the Mitsubishi that Shung Ye dealt with was shaped by American military hegemony. This is in contrast to Mitsubishi intimate involvement with the Japanese militarism during the first phase of its involvement in Taiwan which began in 1874 when its ships provided transportation to Japanese soldiers for expeditions to attack Paiwan Aborigines.

In one 1998 advertisement the Shung Ye Groups' customer service is compared to the quality of Tao First Nation workmanship in the construction of Tao Nation traditional boats. (10) This advertising use is rationalized in a couple of different ways. In the November 1999 issue of the Government Information Office publication, *Sinorama*, this is described it as:

“It should be mentioned that the Sheng Ye Group and its generous financial support is closely bound to the museum's image. Seeing aboriginal culture used as a central theme in advertising Sheng Ye's automobiles, people naturally make a connection with the Sheng Ye Museum and its efforts to conserve aboriginal culture.” (Eric Lin, 1999)

Commercial aspects are subsumed under moral righteousness. China Motor Company is the largest Taiwanese vehicle manufacturer. It is affiliated with and partially owned by Mitsubishi. Its vehicles are sold through Shung Ye Group car dealerships. China Motor Company sponsored a Aboriginal singing competition that was nationally broadcast on CTS, a Taiwan Government TV station. (CTV, April 22, 2001, 3pm to 4pm) At the end, Taiwan's Vice-President Lu awarded a giant Mitsubishi key for the grand prize of a Mitsubishi Lancer Sedan to the winner, a young traditionally clad Paiwan Nation woman. In this sort of event there is fusing of corporate and government in the construction of Aboriginal people. A June 19, 1999 Public Television Service Aboriginal Affairs News Magazine report about a CMC sponsored cultural class for Aboriginal children at the Shung Ye Museum featured CMC corporate logos on several occasions during the 5 to 8 minute piece in effect it served as an advertisement.



The very symbol of the Shung Ye Museum is another example of appropriation which is described as:

“The nine rhombi shaped emblem adopted by the museum is commonly used among Taiwan’s aboriginal peoples. The nine rhombi therefore represent the nine extant tribes, which together combined to form a large rhombi. The red rhombi at the center is taken from the design on an Atayal woven article in the museum’s collection. This motif is synonymous with ‘eye’ in the language of the Sedeq subgroup of the Atayal and happens to be similar to the corporate logo of the Shung Ye Group (Mitsubishi). It therefore symbolizes both of the Shung Ye Group and the aborigines of Taiwan.” (Chang, 1999:8)

These examples show how cultural elements are appropriated through the museum to serve commercial interests. This process is overtly rationalized as promotion of Aboriginal cultures.

The logic of this argument is roughly:

- 1) Aborigines need help in projecting themselves to the outside world.
- 2) The Shung Ye Group ads project images of Aborigines to the outside world
- 3) Therefore the Shung Ye Group helps Aborigines.
- 4) This means Shung Ye Group use of Aboriginal cultures in advertising is good.

The Shung Ye Museum and Mitsubishi demonstrate how the interaction of corporations, academics and government institutions creates representations of Aboriginal peoples. This is fraught with ironies given the poor record of Mitsubishi with regards to Aboriginal peoples around the world. (11)

### **Canada, and Taiwan: A Tale of 192 Taiwan Aboriginal Artefacts**

Canada is a middle power which is also under the American umbrella. The University of Victoria's Michael Asch points out:

*“That to understand Canada especially with relation to the aboriginal fact, it is a reasonable suppose Canada is something of a colonial state for it is founded on political institutions and values that derive solely from the history and culture of the original colonizers and defines its origin as a radical departure from an indigenous past in which the appearance and then formal independence of the original colonists represent the formative historical events.”* (Asch, 2000:148)

Taiwan and Canada share similar relations of domination with regards to Aboriginal peoples in their respective sovereign domains.

Since Canada and Taiwan lack formal diplomatic relations so a number of “shared” symbolic themes have been utilised instead in the processes of informal relations. The Mackay Centennial events of 2001 were from a diplomatic standpoint an intersection of two popular symbols in recent Taiwan-Canada “backdoor” relations, Aboriginal cultural exchanges and the late George Leslie Mackay. Cultural diplomacy has emerged as one vehicle for Taiwan in recent years. A senior Taiwan government official commented in 1988:

*“To break through our current diplomatic difficulties, cultural activities in particular have a higher degree of feasibility [than formal ties] in terms of enhancing international friendship, accelerating co-operation, and establishing greater international attention.”* (12)

In 1999 the Canadian Government's Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) and Taiwanese government signed a "memorandum of understanding" regarding Aboriginal cultural exchanges in which Article 5 titled "*Responsibility*" states that:

*"The Parties will implement the annual cooperation plan referred to in Article 2 in a spirit of goodwill that promote the well-being of Aboriginal people and to enhance the substantive relationship between the Parties."* (Memorandum of Understanding, 1999)

I think the phrase "*enhance the substantive relationship*" can be construed as a part of the ROC's "*cultural diplomacy*". The use of Aboriginal peoples for this purposes was considered in the personal opinion of Mark McDowell of the CTOT as "*difficult to dispute*" (Interview, Sept. 23, 1999) McDowell's opinion is significant due to his role in organizing regular Aboriginal cultural exchanges at the CTOT. A similar accord was signed with Australia by Taiwan in 2000.

According to York University's Michael Stainton, representations of the Canadian Presbyterian missionary George Mackay (1844-1901) as an important figure in Taiwanese history are very much a recent phenomena in Taiwan and Taiwan-Canada relations. (Stainton, 2001:13-18) He dates this to the late 1980s in Taiwan following the lifting of martial law in which Mackay began to be utilized in constructions of a distinctly Taiwanese history. The Canadian Government's Canadian Trade Office in Taipei (CTOT) in the early 1990s when it began to regularly utilize Mackay's name as part its activities. The CTOT renamed a faculty academic exchange scholarship the "*Mackay Faculty Scholarship*" (1993) and it sponsored a Mackay golf tournament (1994). (Stainton, 2001:17) Today this

institutionalization of Mackay is also reflected in the title of the CTOT's news bulletin which is "*From Far Formosa*" the same name as Mackay's 1896 book.

Aboriginal cultural exchanges and George Leslie Mackay's "legacy" were joined in the exhibit at the Shung Ye Museum of Taiwan First Nations artefacts collected by Mackay. From 1872 to 1901 the Canadian Presbyterian missionary named George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901) lived in Taiwan. He is credited as a founder the Presbyterian Church, baptizing over 4000 converts, and pulling 20,000 teeth, among other things. (Mackay Memorial Hospital, 2002) In addition to his mission activities, during this time he collected approximately 800 artifacts of Chinese and Aboriginal origin. His contempt towards these objects were clearly stated when he wrote in his 1896 book "From Far Formosa" that following conversions:

***"...cast-off machinery of idolatry was brought [to his apartment], and more than once I dried my clothes before fires made of idolatorous paper, idols, and ancestral tablets. Three men were employed to carry other paraphernalia of idol-worship to the museum in Tamsui."*** (Mackay, 1896:219)

In 1893, this collection eventually made its way to Canada where it was first given to Knox College and then in 1915 passed to the Royal Ontario Museum where it sat in drawers for over 80 years. In 1997 at a conference regarding Mackay's "Legacy" according to Sarah Irwin of the Royal Ontario Museum:

"We pulled a number of pieces from storage and displayed them on a table in our offices one afternoon, so anyone who was attending the conference could come and view a few pieces." (E-mail to author, Oct.27, 1999)

The hype surrounding the 2001 “Treasures Preserved Abroad” exhibit represent a sharp contrast to this description that is rather akin to a humble bake sale.

The combination of Aboriginal artifacts with Mackay showed how Aboriginal peoples were framed subserviently in relation to the more dominant Western symbolism accorded George Mackay. Aboriginal peoples are once more place in a position of being aided, this time by the incredible feat (of not burning everything) carried out by Mackay. The exhibits title “Treasures Preserved Abroad” made this clear. The promotion of the opening of this legacy of (unburnt) treasures in conjunction with the symbol of Mackay began in February 2001 with a series of lectures by what the CTOT termed “Three Renowned Scholars”, all white males from Canadian universities. I attended one of these lectures at Academia Sinica in Nankang near Taipei and needless to say the talks were rather complimentary to Mackay.

The Mackay 2001 spectacle in addition to the Canadian and Taiwanese governmental agencies included the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan.(13) Corporate sponsorship including Taian Financial which had numerous banners at the opening ceremony, and Canadian Airlines which had an advertisement inside the Shung Ye Museum near the entrance to the Mackay exhibit. One sponsor, Manulife Taiwan, describes how it:

“sponsored the advertising activities around the anniversary of Dr. Mackay and gave away 2,000 Manulife t-shirts to every athlete, event coordinator and guest at the memorial event. Activities included torch relay, graveyard worship and tug-of-

war.” ([http://210.177.153.45/asia.nsf/public/taiwan\\_contribution.html](http://210.177.153.45/asia.nsf/public/taiwan_contribution.html))

On June 2, 2001 in what the CTOT described as a “major event” once again the artifacts were placed in a supporting role but no more bake sale type displays like at the 1997 York University Mackay legacy conference. Now these artifacts were repeatedly “hailed as one of the greatest extant pre-Japanese aboriginal collections”. (CTOT brochure from February 20, 2001 Mackay lecture). A CTOT article stated that:

“For the CTOT, the centrepiece of the many events commemorating Dr George Leslie Mackay was the opening of "Treasures Preserved Abroad" the Mackay collection at the Shun Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines in Taipei... The June 2 opening was a major public event. Leading the list of dignitaries in attendance was former president Lee Teng-hui, and Aboriginal Affairs Council chairman Yohani Isqaqavut. Lee eulogised the important legacy GLM [George Leslie Mackay] left behind, pointing out his contributions to educational and medical development, as well as his love for all of Taiwan's people. Trudy Nicks, Senior Curator for the Royal Ontario Museum and David Mulroney, Executive Director of the CTOT also spoke on the scope of this exhibit. The importance of the event was evident in the huge media turnout and the crowds who thronged the exhibit on opening day.”

(CTOT, June 11, 2001) (12)

In a report on the event, Taiwanese Government Central News Agency (CNA) report quoted former President Lee Tung-hui speech about MacKay,

*"He helped sow the seeds of Western education and modern civilization in Taiwan. His contributions won him the Taiwan people's eternal respect and*

*remembrance*". (14)

This sounds rather like a fax Lee Tung-hui sent to a 1997 York University Mackay Conference (See York University, 1997). The report furthered stated that

*"Lee further said he is very pleased to see the exhibition of Mackay's collection of Taiwanese aboriginal artifacts, which offer local people a rare glimpse into the cultural achievements of the island's indigenous people more than a century ago."* (CNA, June 2, 2001)

In Lee's comments are revealed familiar boundaries and assumptions. Taiwan as a national entity is "eternalised" and TFN are framed in terms of this recent political construct. It also reveals how these artefacts have been transformed into "*cultural achievements*" which are supposed to have been protected by Mackay. A CTOT article on the opening ceremony repeats yet again:

*"The collection is considered by academics in Taiwan to be the most significant in existence, as many of the objects are the only remaining examples of styles that have disappeared in the intervening century of Japanese occupation and assimilation into Taiwanese/Chinese culture."*  
(CTOT, June 11, 2001)

This passage predictably uses conventional colonial implications of "Japanese occupation" then attempts to avoid any implications of Chinese colonialism with the euphemism of "assimilation into Taiwanese/Chinese culture". The article then continues:

*"Aboriginal leaders have said that the "rediscovery" of this collection is an almost miraculous opportunity to gain an insight into a more "pure" state of aboriginal culture and society"*

This is a clear attempt to use Aboriginal peoples to legitimise this exhibition. This places them as being able to see their ancestral cultural elements as a result of Mackay's collection.

The articles follows:

*“The collaboration between the ROM and Shun Ye also set an important milestone for future cooperation on exhibition loans, having secured, among other things, a guarantee of immunity against seizure.”*

Counter to trends in North America, Taiwan's Aboriginal peoples may only see these artifacts but not have them returned-- you can look but don't touch.

### **Conclusions**

The concepts of “*invented traditions*” seem relevant to the Mackay 2001 spectacles:

“1) symbolising and expressing the social cohesion of communities or nations, 2) legitimising status, institutions, authority, and

3) socialising into certain values, norms, rules of behaviour.” (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1985: 9, Cited in Sztompka, 1993:58)

The rendering of Mackay as a “founding father” of sorts is part of the construction of a modern Taiwanese identity (Stainton, 2001:13-18). Mackay is a link to the West as reflected in Lee Tung-hui considering that Mackay “...*helped sow the seeds of Western education and modern civilization in Taiwan.*” In this mindset is an implicit assertion that Taiwan was uncivilised before and that Westerners such as Mackay did Taiwan a great service. (Wallerstein, 1995:85) Similarly, artifacts that had been sitting in drawers for 80 years and had been displayed ala bake sale a scant four years artifacts earlier were



transformed into “Treasures Preserved Abroad”.

As we also saw above with Chen Sui-bian’s description of the Japanese, among Taiwan’s nationalist elites there is an emerging narrative of the island’s history that seeks to rationalise, utilising the paradigm of Western progress, the massive traumas that were inflicted in the course of colonisation. Within such narratives Aborigines are given supporting roles as symbols of the past and/or pity that vindicate this account. Perhaps most critically it is a narrative that seeks to legitimise the status quo in Taiwan. Taiwan today is held up as example of democratic (read Western) virtue in East Asia, as exemplified in Lee Tung-hui’s appearance on a 1996 Newsweek cover with the heading “Mr. Democracy”. Much as the Japanese parliamentarian of a century ago took up the “whiteman’s burden” so today Taiwan, or rather Taiwan’s elites, take up the cause of “democracy” and “development” to accolades from their American mentors.

At the bottom of the hierarchy Aborigines participate only through roles derived from and dependent on the participating dominant institutions: Yohani Isqaqavut as then head of the Taiwan government’s Council of Aboriginal Affairs made an opening speech, Aboriginal children danced, and the Aboriginal artifacts were displayed in the museum. The Shung Ye Museum and Mackay 2001 spectacles both posit Aboriginal peoples in a position of need. In this context Aboriginal cultures are assisted without any challenge to the status quo. The Mackay festival as a public ritual acts out this hierarchy of nations and cultures. (Chaney, 1986:118)

Institutional constructions of Taiwanese First Nations tell us much about Taiwan's position in the world system. Taiwanese elites reliance on the West drives them to emulate the West. Dominated by the West, Taiwan in turn dominates its Aboriginal peoples sometimes cooperating with foreign interests in this process such as the construction of Aboriginal theme parks. Such symbolism is played out on a daily basis in Taiwan's mass media. Similarly the Taiwanese nationalist deification of Mackay, a white Western male, who is symbolised as "founding father" of sorts creates a connection to the West. When these elements met in the "Treasures Preserved Abroad" exhibit, Mackay was portrayed as a spreader of Western civilisation in Taiwan and a preserver of Aboriginal cultures, the values which the participating institutions then claim. There is thus continuity between modern institutional and colonial discourses in which a hierarchy of power and attendant ideological and cultural constructions clearly places Aborigines at the bottom.

So what of this of this newfound will to "preserve" Aboriginal cultures. Preserve can mean "to keep safe from danger or harm; protect", or "to protect from decay or dissolution; maintain", "to maintain possession of; keep up" [such as a façade], "to prevent from decomposition or chemical change". (Collins Concise English Dictionary, 1990) The "preservation" of Aboriginal cultures as conceived of under 21<sup>st</sup> century Taiwanese capitalism indeed involves elements from all of these definitions.

### **Footnotes:**

1) This relation was reflected Taiwan Government TV ad broadcast during the summer of 2000 encouraging people to inform on illegal foreign workers. A rough looking man likely of

Indonesian or Philippine origin in police custody was set up as the threat while at the end of the commercial was presumably legal pretty Philippine woman standing on a lawn. The stereotypical imagery was clear, the unruly threatening Third World man vs. the pacified Third World woman.

2) Mackay wrote regarding the preparations for a raid, "*Everything is planned in beforehand ...the movements of the fated victims are watched" so as to determine their schedules, routines and defensive strength to plan "where and when the raid could best be made ..."* (Mackay,1896:269) Similarly Pickering (Pickering, 1898:181-3) describes a skirmish in which a small party of Aborigines, (I assume to be Paiwan based on geography) engaged a well armed British unit of 180 men. Through analyzing his description it is clear that the involved Aborigines fired a volley when advantageous then disengaged allowing rough terrain and heat to wear down the British and then repeating this. The TFN party did this four times after which the British disengaged following the loss of a commanding officer and returned to their ship.

3) "*That the headhunting propensities of certain of the Formosa savages is a very serious matter is obvious when we note that, during the year 1898, savages attacked the Camphor workers and others 303 times and that 635 persons were killed and wounded.*" (Davidson, 1903:428) Aboriginal resistance is framed in terms of headhunting, the right of self-defense is denied.

4) "*Had it not been for the lucrative profits of the Camphor trade or the planting of new trees had been carried on from the first, the probability is that the Chinese would have shown no desire to risk their lives in the mountains ...it may be some consolation to know that ..."* the lack of reforestation "*...will at least result in the*

*conquest of the whole island.*" (Davidson, 1903:415)

5) For example 1583 piculs (210,406 pounds) of opium were imported at Tamshui in 1882 accounting for 62% of the value of all net foreign imports. (Lin, Huang, Ang, vol. 2, 1997:588-9). The British Maritimes customs official Henry J. Fisher wrote in the 1882 Tamshui Trade Report that: "*An excellent authority says 45 percent, men and 3 percent, women-- in the towns 70 percent, men--smoke opium. The best informed Chinese say one-third adult men smoke. This is probably correct...*" [Ibid., pg. 582] Mackay's "*From Far Formosa*" only mentions opium on two occasions and he never engages in any criticism of the opium trade that was going on openly around him. I speculate he thought it prudent not to antagonise Western merchants nor his constituents back home in Canada with critical comments given his mission's frequently precarious position. On the contrary MacKay goes on at length that "*...most cordial relations have ever existed between the workers in the mission and the resident or transient foreign community.*" (MacKay, 1896:319) Pickering's account (Pickering, 1898:167-175) of how his local comprador partner cheated him by stealing all his firm's opium leaving him not "enough to send a cat to sleep" (1898:173) is almost farcically surreal in contrast to the rhetoric of today's "War on Drugs". General Le Gendre, American counsel, attempted to assist Pickering in resolving this "crime" by pressuring local Ching officials to find and arrest the comprador in question. This gives a clearer picture of the imperialist character Western business activities in Taiwan in the late 1860s.

6) This 1998 TV ad mixes Aboriginal dancing symbolism with images of the Freeca on a mountain road and long panoramic shots of stunning mountain vistas. It doesn't take a great deal of imagination to see how it attempts to create a linkage between these. See the ad at

(requires Realplayer): <http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/ad26.rm>

7) This extract gives an idea of their attitudes regarding Aborigines: "It is the first international standard waterpark in Taiwan . The landscape is lush with heavy theming representing the arts and crafts of the Aboriginal Taiwan . Mel Cecil, principal with LEDO International, Inc., said, "the landscape is very representative of a 'Disney' project. Yamay has enhanced the already great architecture with a lush and beautiful array of flora." .

From a LEDO company news release at <http://www.ledointl.com/mai0n.htm>.

8) Systemically this eroticisation through domination also reflected in Aborigines constituting some 20 percent of Taiwan's sex workers a rate ten times their proportion of Taiwan's population which is two percent. (1994 US State Department report on Taiwan) See the US State 1999 Taiwan Report for information on the sex industry's trafficking in children.

9) See these maps at the ECAI Austronesia webpage. Accessed: January 28, 2002. at:

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/austronesia.html>

Maps consulted:

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/images/austronesianlinguistics.pdf>

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/images/taiwanaustronesianlanguages.pdf>

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/images/southeastasianlinguistics.pdf>

10) There is particular irony in use of Tao boats for these ads. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries is a major subcontractor in the construction of the Fourth Nuclear power facility in Taiwan.

The Tao's homeland of Pongso No Tao (Lanyu Island) is site of Taiwan Power's major nuclear waste storage site which holds some 100,000 drums of radioactive materials.

Storage conditions have been sharply criticised by the Tao and environmental groups and there are allegations of corroded containers leaking waste into the surrounding areas. See:

TAIWAN POWER COMPANY MISREPRESENTS RADIOACTIVITY OF

NUCLEAR WASTE TO BE SENT TO NORTH KOREA. Greenpeace press release,

Hong Kong 15 May 1997 From

<http://www.greenpeace.org/pressreleases/nucwaste/1997may15.html> See also:

<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/tainuke.html>

11) For a summary of Mitsubishi's very poor environmental and Aboriginal rights record see Karliner, Joshua. The Corporate Planet: Ecology and Politics in the Age of Globalisation. Pg. 98-132. Sierra Club Books, 1997. For a shorter summary see: Munsterhjelm, Mark. Killing Paiwan. Lih Pao, newspaper, 1999. At: <http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/Shungye.htm>

12) [Rawnsley, 2000: 38], citing Michael Y. Lee, former Director of the ROC Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations in Free China Review, July 1988:8.

13) The Mackay Hospitals have participated in the collection of at least 2,000 Aboriginal blood samples for genetics research (Lin Mei-Jung, 1999) These sample have been utilized in research by Taiwanese and foreign universities. It should be noted that genetics research utilized as part of the construction of "Taiwan as centre of the Pacific" [Rudolph, 2001] Such research is criticised by many Aborigines and would seem to contradict the Church's support of Aboriginal rights. The Church operates hospitals and schools that receive

government funding. As well it organises Mackay conferences as a means of glorifying its founder's "legacy" and hence itself. Hence it able to capitalise on the prestige accorded Mackay in recent constructions of Taiwanese history. Decolonisation strategies require a critical review of history yet the Presbyterian Church's success has depended on colonialism. For example Mackay only was able to convert dispossessed Aborigines whereas Aborigines. Similarly the major post-WWII expansion of the Presbyterian Church relied on conversion of dispossessed Aborigines. This leaves it in a bit of a Catch 22 since acknowledgement of it's reliance on colonisation delegitimises it. This may account for the general political conservatism that is typical of the upper reaches of Presbyterian Church today. It seems that it has been co-opted into the existing power structures. As such it has followed a rather typical pattern in which opposition organisations are gradually incorporated into the power structure without fundamentally affecting things. The Democratic Progressive Party has followed a similar route to power.

14) MacKay's opinions of Taiwan First Nations were certainly mixed. He loathed their "heathenism" yet had a begrudging respect for caring nature of their interpersonal relations (Mackay, 1896:258) He referred to their elder women as "*old hags*" (Mackay, 1896:273) I wonder if this denigrating reference to elder women had any relation to the fact that these women were frequently shamans and spiritual leaders.

15) Such a connection to the West argues Chen acts as a means of countering the powerful cultural influence of China.

### **Bibliography**

Anderson , Benedict. Nationalism and the ties that bind April 25, 2000 Taipei Times:

<http://www.taipeitimes.com/news/2000/04/26/story/0000033728>

Asad, Talal. From the History of Anthropology to the Anthropology of Western Hegemony.

From Stocking, George W. Jr. Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualisation of Ethnographic Knowledge. University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

Barclay, Paul David. "Japanese and American Colonial Projects: Anthropological Typification in Taiwan and the Philippines". PhD Thesis, 1999.

Blundell, David and Hsiang, Jieh. Taiwan Austronesian Electronic Cultural Atlas of the Pacific. Pacific Neighborhood Consortium Proceedings, 1999.

<http://pnclink.org/events-report/1999/Proceedings/blundell.pdf>

A webpage of the full papers presented is available at:

<http://pnclink.org/events-report/1999/Proceedings/>

Burke-Gaffney, Brian. On the Jagged Shores of Japan. University of Wisconsin Oshkosh webpage. From

[http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty\\_staff/earns/walker.html](http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/earns/walker.html) Accessed: July 24, 1999

Chaney, David. The Symbolic Form of Ritual in Mass Communication. Pg. 115-132 in

Golding, Peter and Murdock, Graham and Schlesinger, Philip (ed) Communicating Politics:

Mass Communications and the Political Process. Leicester University Press, 1986.



Chang, Yui-tan (Ed.). A Dream Comes Alive: Safe C.F. Lin's Cultural Pursuit. Translated by Mark Caltonhill. Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 1999.

Accompanying this book was a multilingual DVD (Japanese, Chinese, and English) entitled "Taiwan Yuanzhuming Shi Le" (Taiwan Aborigines Series) which contained a number of short pieces including the 13 minute video "Current Social Situations Of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples". Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 1999.

Cheng-Feng Shih. "Legal Status of the Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan". This paper was presented at the June, 1999, International Aboriginal Rights Conference at National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan. See: <http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/legal.html>

Chen Kuan-Hsing. The Imperialist Eye: The Cultural Imaginary of a Subempire and a Nation-State. Pg. 9-76, *positions*, 8:1 c 2000, Duke University Press.

Chiu Fred Yen Liang. Suborientalism and the Subimperialist Predicament: Aboriginal Discourse and the Poverty of State-Nation Imagery  
Pg. 101-149 in *positions*, 8:1 c 2000, Duke University Press.

Clifford, James. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art. Harvard University Press, 1988.

Davidson, James W. The Island of Formosa: Past and Present. Macmillan and Company(London and New York) and Kelly and Walsh Ltd.(Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong

Kong, and Singapore), 1903. Reprinted by SMC Publishing (Taipei), 1992, 1988.

Dunsbridge, Glen. Aborigines in South Taiwan in the 1880s: Papers by the South Cape Lightkeeper George Taylor. Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines and Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1999. Distributed by SMC Publishing Inc. (Taipei)

Fang, Rita. Festival in Taitung revels in birthplace of language family. December 28, 2001, Taipei Journal(Formerly the Free China Journal). From:  
<http://publish.gio.gov.tw/FCJ/past/01122851.html>

Frideres, James. Aboriginal Peoples in Canada- Contemporary Conflicts. Prentice-Hall, 1998.

Goddard, WG. Formosa : a Study in Chinese History. MacMillan, 1966.

Hinton, Wendy. Austronesia: The New Zealand Connection

Speech delivered at the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, Taipei, on 13 November 2001. Note Wendy Hinton is Deputy Director of the New Zealand Commerce and Industry Office in Taipei. Access Date: April 25, 2002. From  
<http://www.nzcio.com/info.cfm?s=to&p=1012>

Hsu, Mutsu . Culture Self, and Adaption: the Psychological Anthropology of Two Malayo-Polynesian Groups in Taiwan . The Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Nankang,

Taipei, Taiwan, 1991.

Huang, Fu-san and Lin, Man-houng and Ang, Kaim (compilers). Maritimes Customs Annual Returns and Reports of Taiwan Vol. 1: 1867 to 1881 and Vol. II: 1882 to 1895.

Institute of Taiwan History, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica, Taipei Taiwan, 1997.

Ka, Chih-Ming. Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Land Tenure, Development, and Dependency 1895-1945 . Westview Press, 1995, Reprinted by SMC Publishing Inc., 1996

Kagan, Richard C. Chen Shui-bian: Building A Community and a Nation. Asia Pacific Academic Exchange Foundation, 1998.

Kalidoay, Kapi. Building an Aboriginal society with the media at its centre: The current state of play and outlook for the Aboriginal print media.

Translated by Martin Williams. This paper was presented at the June, 1999, International Aboriginal Rights Conference at National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan. See:

<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/Media.html>

Knapp, Ronald G. China's Island Frontier: Studies in the Historical Geography of Taiwan.

University of Hawaii Press 1980. Reprinted by SMC Publishing 1995.

Kuo, Deborah. Aboriginal cultural festival opens. Source: Central News Agency, Story appeared in China Post Newspaper (Taiwan) pg. 20, March 22, 1999.

Lin, Eric. The Sheng Ye Museum-- Reflections of Aboriginal Culture

Translated by the Mark Caltonhill, Sinorama (a Taiwan Government Information Office publication), January, 1999.

[http://www.sinorama.com.tw/main/en/show\\_issue.php?id=199918801116E.TXT&page=](http://www.sinorama.com.tw/main/en/show_issue.php?id=199918801116E.TXT&page=)

1

Lin Mei-Jung. Intellectual Property Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Taiwan Translated

by Martin Williams. This paper was presented at the June, 1999, International Aboriginal Rights Conference in Taiwan National University, Taipei, Taiwan.

<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/TFNIPR.html>

Mackay, L. George. "From Far Formosa". (Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier {Edinburgh and London}, 1896, Reprinted by SMC Publishing Inc. 1998 and 1991)

Montejo, Victor D BECOMING MAYA? APPROPRIATION OF THE WHITE

SHAMAN Spring, 1999, Native Americas Journal.

<http://nativeamericas.aip.cornell.edu/spr99pe.html>

Mulroney, David. Letter to the Editor: Mending Canada's Past. Pg. 6, April 1, 1999, China News(Taiwan). Mulroney was the executive director of the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei.

Munsterhjelm, Mark. "Aboriginal Today, Taiwanese Tomorrow - The Marketing of A-Mei".

Journal of Media and Culture, Department of English, University of Queensland, Australia,  
1999. <http://english.uq.edu.au/mc/reviews/sounds/amei.html>

Munsterhjelm, Mark. "Drinking, Singing, and Dancing But No Nukes Please"-  
Propaganda, Colonization, and Taiwan 's First Nations. Theories of Social Change  
sociology course research paper, 2001. Posted at:  
<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/Propagandapaper.html>

Munsterhjelm, Mark. Killing Paiwan: The Dark Truth About Mitsubishi, CMC, and the  
Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines. Lih Pau Newspaper (Taiwan), 1999.  
<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/Shungye.htm>

Pickering, W.A. Pioneering in Formosa. Hurst and Blackett Ltd, London, 1898. Reprinted  
SMC Publishing, (Taipei), 1993.

Rawnsley, Gary D. Taiwan's Informal Diplomacy and Propaganda. MacMillan Press, 2000.

Rudolph, Michael. The Emergence of the Concept of `Ethnic Group` in Taiwan and the  
Role of Taiwan's Austronesians in the Construction of Taiwanese Identity. Paper for the  
"Workshop on Modern Chinese Historiography and Historical Thinking", University of  
Heidelberg, Germany, May 23-27, 2001.  
<http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/staff/rudolph/mem.htm>

Rudolph, Michael. The Pan-Ethnic Movement of Taiwanese Aborigines and the Role of Elites in the Process of Ethnicity Formation. Revised version of the paper for the workshop on "Multiple and Diasporic Identities: National and Ethnic Belongings in East Asia, and Europe" at Aalborg University, Denmark, September 15-16, 2000. <http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/staff/rudolph/mov.htm>

Rutter, Owen. "Through Formosa: an Account of Japan's Island Colony."(T Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1923. Reprinted by SMC Publishing 1995, 1990).

Shohat, Ella and Stam, Robert. Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media. Routledge, 1994.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. Zed Books (London and New York) and University of Otago Press, (Dunedin, New Zealand), 1999.

Stainton, Michael. Mackay and Bethune: the Making of Unique Canadians. Paper presented at Academia Sinica, Nankang, Taipei, Taiwan, February 20, 2001.

Sztompka, Piotr. The Sociology of Social Change . Blackwell Publishers, 1993.

Thompson, John B. Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication. Polity, 1990.

Tadir, Neferti Xina M. Sexual Economies in the Asia-Pacific Community from Dirlik, Arif.

What is in a Rim: Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea. Westview, 1993,

reprinted by SMC Publishing (Taiwan ) 1996.

Thorne, John F. PANGCAH: THE EVOLUTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AMONG

URBANIZING PANGCAH ABORIGINES IN TAIWAN' PhD thesis, University of Hong

Kong, 1997. See: <http://junix.ju.edu/%7Ejthorne/FINLCONT.html>

Wallerstein, Immanuel. Historical Capitalism with Capitalist Civilisation. Verso, 1995.

Williams, Martin. 'Pingchuanhui-The Face of Taiwanese Racism'. July 22, 1999, Taipei

Times newspaper.

Watan. Myth of the Images of Aborigines. This paper was presented at the June, 1999,

International Aboriginal Rights Conference in Taipei. It is posted at:

<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/watan.html>

Yu Sen Lun 'Quake politics reveals Aboriginal discontent'. November 8, 1999. Taipei

Times newspaper

Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines. Report of Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines in the World

Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 14-25 June, 1993 See:

<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/unreport.htm>

ECAI Austronesia webpage. Accessed: January 28, 2002. at:

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/austronesia.html>

Maps consulted:

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/images/austronesianlinguistics.pdf>

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/images/taiwanaustronesianlanguages.pdf>

<http://www.ecai.org/area/areateamexamples/austronesia/images/southeastasianlinguistics.pdf>

Government to care for Aborigines: Chang. Central News Agency. June 22, 2001.

Accessed on Oct. 22, 2001.

<http://www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw/20010622/20010622p3.html>

CTOT. News for February 2001:What New. CTOT, February 21, 2001.

From: [http://www.canada.org.tw/whats\\_new.php/id=.php](http://www.canada.org.tw/whats_new.php/id=.php)

CTOT. Opening of the Mackay Collection at the Shun Ye Museum. CTOT “From Far Formosa”, June 11, 2001.

[http://www.canada\\_org\\_tw/from\\_far\\_formosa\\_php/id=42?php](http://www.canada_org_tw/from_far_formosa_php/id=42?php)

Introduction. Mackay Memorial Hospital webpage, access date: March 31, 2002.

<http://www.mmh.org.tw/introduce/english.htm>

Memorandum of Understanding on the cooperation of aboriginal affairs between the

Council of Aboriginal Affairs ,Executive Yuan in Taipei And The Canadian Trade Office in



Taipei. Access date: Sept 1999. From: <http://www.apc.gov.tw/bulletin/canadian.htm> .

"Mitsubishi Corporate History". Mitsubishi Semiconductor

of America Inc. webpage. From

[http://www.msai.com/HTML/body\\_mitsubishi\\_corporate\\_history.html](http://www.msai.com/HTML/body_mitsubishi_corporate_history.html) This webpage no

longer exists. Accessed: July 24, 1999.

Pacific Neighbourhood Consortium webpage. Accessed January 30, 2002.

<http://pnclink.org/info/about.html>

Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa. Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, Formosa, 1911.

Of the home will Shung Ye Group Mitsubishi Motors Ad featuring Tao boat from backcover of "*Guong Bo*" (Broadcast magazine) November 1998. For copy of this ad see:

<http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org>

"Taiwan Languages." from Ethnologue, 13th Edition, Barbara F. Grimes, Editor. Copyright

© 1996, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc. From

<http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/Taiw.html>

Taiwan Yearbook 2000. Republic of China (Taiwan) Government Information Office, 2000.

See: [http://www.gio.gov.tw/info/book2000/ch21\\_1.htm](http://www.gio.gov.tw/info/book2000/ch21_1.htm)

1999 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, February 25, 2000  
[http://www.state.gov/www/global/human\\_rights/1999\\_hrp\\_report/taiwan.html](http://www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/1999_hrp_report/taiwan.html)

York co-hosts first international conference on George Leslie Mackay. York University Gazette, Vol. 27, No. 28, April 16, 1997 ISSN 1199-5246  
<http://www.yorku.ca/ycom/gazette/past/archive/041697.htm>

“Chen seeks EU support for WHO entry”. Taiwan Government Information office, April 4, 2002.

<http://www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw/20020404/20020404p2.html>

“Tao Aborigines kick off Taipei cultural festival”. Taiwan Government Information Office, April 4, 2002.

<http://www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw/20020404/20020404s2.html>

Yu calls for stricter laws to protect intellectual property”. Taiwan Government Information Office, April 4, 2002.

<http://www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw/20020404/20020404p1.html>

“Sponsors ignite hope for Philippine children. Taiwan Government Information Office, April 4, 2002. <http://www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw/20020404/20020404s5.html>

