



與鹿共舞

臺灣原住民文化(二)

The Struggle for Renaissance

Taiwan's Indigenous Culture (II)



鄭元慶等 編著



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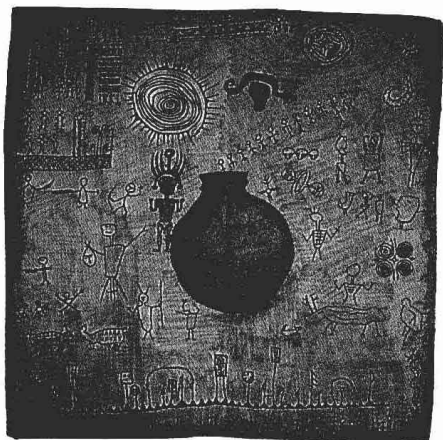
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「高

山青，澗水藍，阿里山的姑娘美如水，阿里山的少年壯如山……」，許多類似這種描述原住民的歌曲，一般人都耳熟能詳，也使民眾對原住民的形象產生一種憧憬。可是一般媒體對原住民的報導，卻常以負面事件居多，難免使人感覺到不協調。

多數人不瞭解，原住民數千年來都生活在自己的文化系統裡面；後來因荷據、日據及政府遷臺等時期的影響，他們為了生存，必須要學習另外一種價值完全不同的文化，因而產生了文化調適問題。例如，原住民的公有共享、以物易物的想法，和大社會的私有財產觀念完全不同。直到目前為止，還有若干老一輩的原住民不會使用貨幣，因為在他們的文化裡，沒有金錢這種東西。

然而，多數人雖從未與原住民有過任何接觸，卻早已對他們存有刻板印象，總認為載歌載舞的慶典、身強體壯的獵戶、普遍落後的生活、粗重辛苦的勞力，甚至酗酒宿醉的飲食，就是原住民的全部了。

鑑於這種情況應該加以重視，「光華」從民國七十二年，就開始製作與原住民相關題材的報導，這在當時可算是個創舉，因為很少刊物將注意力放在屬於弱勢的原住民身

上。

一本官方刊物，為什麼要去涉及原住民的主題呢？「光華」編輯群認為在臺灣地區這個生命共同體裡面，這卅多萬住在較偏遠地區的原住民，是被多數傳播媒體所忽略的一群。而他們的生活、傳統文化、宗教信仰等，卻有許多珍貴的寶藏，值得重視和有系統的加以報導。

光華相信，正確的訊息若能多多傳達，應可成爲一座溝通的橋樑，消除某些因隔閡而產生的誤解，更進而帶動其它媒體共同關心原住民事物。

在這種出發點之下，「光華」選擇能反應原住民一般生活和傳統文化的題材，派員深入山區部落採訪，以取得第一手的資料。但因山區的交通不便，加上各族群間的文化互有差異，每接觸到另一個族群，就掀開原住民文化的新層面，所以無法每一期都有主題刊登，往往集數月才完成一稿。

「光華」在採訪、執筆及拍攝、選取圖片時，都盡量採取中性的角度，卻也不避諱談論問題；不過儘量不用單方面的陳述，以求客觀、公允而得其真貌。

經過「光華」多年的努力，加上社會的進步，一般媒體也逐漸重視原住民事物，到目

“The mountains are green, the flowing waters blue; the lasses of Alishan are as graceful as the water, the lads as rugged as the mountains....” Songs like these describing the aboriginal peoples of Taiwan are familiar to most, and they give people an inspiring impression of these indigenous peoples. But in general the media focuses on negative things when reporting about the aboriginal peoples, leaving readers in a state of confusion.

Many people do not realize that the aboriginal peoples had been living within their own cultural systems for thousands of years. Later, with the Dutch occupation, the Japanese occupation, and the arrival of the Republican government in Taiwan, they have been forced to learn from cultures with completely different value systems, creating problems of cultural adaptation. For example, the collectivist spirit and the exchange of goods for goods of the aborigines conflict with the emphasis on private property in the larger society. Even today there are a few elderly aborigines who do not understand how to use currency, because there was never money in their culture.

Nevertheless, most people have never had first-hand contact with the indigenous peoples, but instead have stereotyped ideas about them. Many believe that all there is to know about aborigines is that they sing and dance well, are rugged hunters, have a low standard of living, do hard physical labor, and even that heavy drinking is part of their culinary culture.

Aware that this situation requires attention, *Sinorama* began writing reports on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan back in 1983. This was a significant innovation at that time, because very few periodicals paid any attention to disadvantaged groups like the native peoples.

Why would a government-sponsored publication be interested in the aborigines? The editors at

Sinorama were convinced that, in the shared community of Taiwan, these 300,000 people, living in relatively remote areas, were being ignored. Yet there has always been much to treasure, and much that deserves attention and systematic reporting, in their traditional lifestyles, cultures, and beliefs.

Sinorama believes that by issuing accurate reports it can act as a bridge, helping to resolve misunderstandings that have arisen because of the lack of direct contact, and thereby spurring other media to be more deeply concerned with Taiwan's native peoples.

With this as the starting point, *Sinorama* has over time selected topics which can reflect the daily lives and traditional culture of the indigenous peoples. Reporters have been sent to remote villages deep in the mountains in pursuit of first-hand information. But reporting these stories is not easy: Transportation is inconvenient in the mountain areas, and there are differences in culture among the different aboriginal tribes and villages, so that each meeting with a new group opened a window on a different level or aspect of aboriginal culture. As a result, it was not possible to produce stories frequently; often months of work were required for a single piece.

In reporting, writing, and the selection of photographs, *Sinorama* has made every effort to remain fair and unbiased, but without avoiding discussion of hard questions and problems. Moreover, the reports avoid having only single sources of information whenever possible, and strive constantly for objectivity and balance.

After years of effort by *Sinorama* as well as progress in Taiwan's society, the media have gradually directed more attention to the indigenous peoples. There have been a number of objective reports done, of which the public television program “Green Mountains, Spring Sunrise” is one example; the producers of that program went into the mountains

前為止，已經有不少以原住民文化為主題的客觀報導，如公共電視節目「青山春曉」就是個例子。製作小組的成員扛著裝備，深入各部落，詳實地將他們的生活影像記錄下來。另外，也有人類學者本著學術的理念，以原住民觀點拍攝成記錄片，稍微扭轉這方面的印象。

各廣播公司設於原住民部落的地方分台，近年來在政府的支助下，也有計畫地加強原住民母語廣播節目的製播。由於主播的記者都是由當地族人擔任，製作的題材都能切中問題，更能反應當地民情。

從出版品的角度來看，和其他的暢銷書比較，原住民類別的書籍算是相當的冷門，目前也僅有臺原、晨星、稻鄉、南天等幾家出版社，願意印行這類可能不賺錢的書刊，為原住民文化的傳承和傳播盡一份心力。

現在「光華」將文章集結成書，也是本著擔任溝通橋樑的一貫想法，一方面希望民眾能瞭解，原住民文化是多元文化中不可或缺的一環；另一個目的是讓原住民族群間也能相互認識彼此的文化；更可讓我們共同的下一代，認識原住民族群文化的優美與價值。

S

and recorded the images of aboriginal life in detail. Also, some anthropologists have built on a scholarly foundation to make documentaries from the aboriginal point of view, contributing to changing widely-held stereotypes.

In recent years, small local radio stations in the mountain areas (run by the large radio networks) have, with government support, strengthened programming in aboriginal languages. Because the reporters are all local aborigines, their reports can accurately assess problems and reflect local sentiment.

In terms of publications, aboriginal books are rather unpopular compared to the best-sellers, and only a few publishing houses are willing to publish these unprofitable titles. Still, they are doing what they can to assist in the transmission and dissemination of indigenous culture.

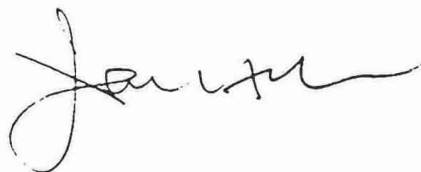
Sinorama is releasing this work at this time as part of its longstanding commitment to serve as a bridge between cultures. On the one hand we hope that the public will come to understand that aboriginal culture is an indispensable link in a pluralistic culture. On the other hand, we also hope to assist Taiwan's diverse native peoples to understand each other better. This effort can allow the entire next generation to come to more deeply recognize the beauty and value of aboriginal culture.

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發行人

胡志強

Publisher



部落歌舞進城後

When Aboriginal Culture Meets the Big City...

最近幾年來，由於重視原住民文化的呼聲日高，再加上原住民各族對保存維護本族文化的主張漸次肯定，一時之間，使得「原住民文化」蔚為風尚。除了在各大都市的舞台上，經常可見優美的原住民樂舞之外；許多慶典祭典，也經常邀請原住民上台表演。

但是學者專家及文化工作者投入心力，想盡辦法將原住民文化介紹給一般民眾的過程中，對文化的母體，也就是在山巔海角間的原住民部落，無形中卻產生了不小的衝擊。

「戰祭」蒙塵

以最早將原住民舞蹈搬上都市舞台的「雲門舞集」為例，他們到阿里山學習鄒族的祭歌祭舞，並在表演之餘邀請族人進錄音間，後來出版了鄒族歌曲的CD和錄音帶。由於製作品質精良，而成為族人學習的範本，沒想到此舉卻帶給族人很大的困擾。

In recent years, there have been a growing number of calls to preserve aboriginal culture, and the various indigenous peoples have been reaffirming their own unique customs. Overnight “aboriginal culture” has become a fad. Not only can one often be treated to beautiful indigenous music and dance in performance centers in major cities, one can also often see aboriginal troupes perform at celebratory or ceremonial activities.

Yet, even as scholars and cultural workers strive to give the broader population a glimpse of aboriginal culture, their activities have often been a blow to the very source of this culture: the remote villages where the indigenous peoples reside.

The battle over the Songs of War

Take the example of the Cloud Gate Dance Troupe, the first to bring indigenous dance to the city. They traveled to Alishan to learn the Tsou people's sacred songs and dances, and brought them into the recording studio to produce a CD of Tsou music. Because the quality of the recording was ex-

原來鄒族的達邦和特富野兩個部落，在某些祭歌吟唱的節奏和語音上稍有不同；現在由於這些錄音帶和CD的出現，年輕人依樣化葫蘆的學習，兩部落的唱法竟然變成一樣，這使得族中老人極為不滿。

而且在鄒族的傳統中，有些特定的祭歌只能在戰祭前幾天才能學唱，並只能由頭目等少數人教導領唱。現在則不論任何人隨時都可吟唱，長老們害怕這樣會觸怒天神，使族人罹禍。

或許這是當初出片時始料未及之事，原以為能廣為傳播戰祭優美的歌曲，讓一般人多了解鄒族特有的領唱和和聲唱法；沒料到現代化科技竟在這種情形下，間接對傳統文化產生副面影響。

至於鄒族傳統文化中最神聖的戰祭，原來每年只能在固定的時間吟唱、舞蹈，現在卻變成隨時可應邀下山表演，這也使族人甚為不悅。他們認為若要下山表演，可另行編舞或演出沒有禁忌考慮的歌舞、祭儀，戰祭這個最深沈的文化根源應完全保留。

「矮靈」的叮嚀

另一個例子是，中研院民族所研究員胡台麗，前年幫「原舞者」到新竹縣五峰鄉大隘村（即俗稱的北賽夏），學習矮靈祭歌舞，並在去年舉行年度公演，不過此舉卻遭到苗栗縣南庄鄉向天湖（即南賽夏）族人的抗議。有不少族人向胡台麗表示，當他們到國家劇院看表演時，聽到所唱的並非自己熟悉的歌曲、歌詞時，覺得「原舞者」表演的並非正統。

針對這個意見，胡台麗解釋，並非不願意以向天湖祭歌、祭儀為學習對象，而是在日據時代日人控制嚴格，怕南、北賽夏藉每年舉行祭典的機會串聯，而產生反抗力量，所

以禁止舉行矮靈祭，並斷絕南北賽夏的來往，因而兩部落在祭儀和詞曲的傳承上有所不同。

在向天湖方面，朱阿良長老曾表示，因祭典中斷了一段很長的時間，致某些祭歌失傳。祭典恢復舉行之後，還向大隘方面請益，所以向天湖的賽夏族人，對某些祭歌的涵義並不清楚，連他的父親都無法解釋。

但是大隘方面，因傳承的較好，所以能將歌詞解釋的較完整。而且向天湖禁忌較多，老一輩的對外人可否學習祭儀、歌舞方面，持較謹慎的態度，所以在要求學習的過程中遭遇困難。

再加上中研院民族所曾做過大隘矮靈祭的田野調查，對詞曲涵義及祭儀都有基本的記載，學習起來比較容易，所以最後選擇了大隘為學習的對象。

「卑南王」的爭扎

至於明立國為兩廳院製作「臺灣原住民族樂舞系列——卑南篇」的過程中，也曾在部落整合過程中，有過不少的困擾。

為了這個計劃，卑南八社各自成立文化發

cellent, many Tsou people used it as a learning tool. Ironically, this created a problem for the tribe.

The Tsou's two main communities have a slightly different ceremonial music tradition. The elders of these two Tsou communities, the Tapang and the Tehfuyeh, were greatly displeased when their young people, learning from the same recording, produced a uniform style.

Also, the Tsou have some sacred songs of war which traditionally could only be learned a few days before going into battle, and then only under the guidance of a small number of high ranking leaders. Now anyone can learn them any time, and the elders

fear that this will offend the spirits and bring misfortune upon the tribe.

Perhaps when the recording was being made, those in charge only thought how nice it would be to expose more people to the special harmonies of the Tsou war songs. They never anticipated that the medium of modern technology would produce negative side effects for the culture as a whole.

It is a source of dismay to the Tsou people that these songs of war—the most sacred, which could previously be performed only at specially designated times—can now be brought down the mountain and performed any time someone tenders an invitation to do so. At the very least, many feel, if public performance is to be done at all, it should only be done with new dances or songs, or songs without any special taboos associated with them. The sacred songs of war or of worship should instead be reserved for their traditional uses.

In another example, two years ago Hu Tai-li of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academia Sinica helped the Formosa Aboriginal Dance Troupe go to Ta-ai Village, Wufeng Rural Township in Hsinchu County (home of the “Northern Sasaiyat” people) to learn the songs and dances they use to worship gnomes. Last year the troupe staged a public performance, which was met with a protest by the “Southern Sasaiyat” of Hsiangtien Lake (in Nanchuang Rural Township of Miaoli County). Many Sasaiyat told Ms. Hu that when they went to the National Theater to see the performance, the tunes and words they heard were not the ones long familiar to them, so they felt that the Formosa Aboriginal Dance Troupe’s performance lacked authenticity and was too unorthodox.

Hu Tai-li explains that the troupe did not deliberately ignore the sacred ceremonies of the Hsiangtien Lake Sasaiyat. Rather, for various reasons it was easier to learn the version practiced by the Southern Sasaiyat. First, notes Hu, one must go back to the Japanese occupation era. The Japanese feared that the Northern and Southern Sasaiyat would use the

opportunity of a joint gnome worship festival to strengthen their ties and create stronger resistance; consequently the occupiers banned the ceremony and cut off contact between the two communities, so that differences arose in the transmission of their rites from generation to generation.

Thereafter, because the worship ceremony was banned for so long, says Hsiangtien Lake elder Chu Ah-liang, many sacred songs were lost. After the restoration of the rite, they had to ask for help from the Ta-ai Sasaiyat. This reflects the fact that many of the Hsiangtien Lake Sasaiyat are not actually all that clear about the traditional songs, and even their fathers might not be able to explain the meaning of the songs to outsiders.

Since the Ta-ai Sasaiyat carried on the tradition somewhat better, they are better able to explain the words to the songs. Also, there are more taboos among the Hsiangtien Lake Sasaiyat, and community elders were very reserved about the idea of allowing outsiders to learn their sacred music.

To top it all off, the Institute of Ethnology had already completed a field study of the Ta-ai gnome worship ceremony, and as a result had a basic record of the songs and rites. So, for all these reasons, the Ta-ai rites were simply easier to learn than the Hsiangtien Lake version.

The Puyuma ruckus

The Puyuma indigenous people met with similar discord during Ming Li-kuo’s production of the Puyuma segment of “Taiwan’s Aboriginal Dance and Music Series” for the National Theater and National Concert Hall.

When the program first began, each of the eight Puyuma communities formed a Cultural Promotion Association. They began with some preparatory field studies, eventually coming up with the music, dance, and rites that best represent each community. After collective rehearsals, the various rites were evaluated using stage criteria like direction, artistic supervision, scripting, and lighting, and the most suitable were selected for public performance.

展協會，先從田野調查開始做扎根的工作，然後找出最能代表各部落的樂舞或祭儀。經過整合排練之後，從導演、藝術總監、編劇、燈光等舞台要素考量，將最適合的展現在舞台上。

這種部落自主的構想立意甚佳，但在決定節目和表演人選的過程中，部落間的整合卻有困難。由於八個部落各有主見，都覺得自己推出的節目最能代表卑南族，應被排入；且不論歌唱跳舞，自己部落的族人最能勝任，應入選最多人。在誰都不讓的情形下，很難做決定。

雖然事情到頭來還是會有解決之道，節目和表演者終於拍板定案，樂舞系列卑南篇也風光的在臺北上演；但如何消除各部落在決策過程中產生的嫌隙，卻是在樂舞系列演出結束後才開始。不過誠如明立國表示，原本希望在演出之後，部落間經過整合，文化自主性仍能繼續維持，絕不是來製造矛盾。

回歸部落

或許在重振原住民文化的過程裡，這些衝突是免不了的，但是部落歌舞進城後，除了在都市舞台表演，讓一般人看看熱鬧之外，對原住民部落也應放注更多的關懷。

學者專家及文化工作者，也不應僅到部落汲取精華，學習之後一走了之。究竟部落和土地是原住民真正力量的泉源，只要部落能生生不息，「原住民文化」才能綻放出美麗的花朵。

The concept of community autonomy is an admirable one, but seemed much less so when it generated frictions between the villages when it came to the selection of programs and performers. Of course each community felt its program could best represent the Puyuma people and that—since of course those from the community would be most adept at performing their rites—most of the performers should also come from the same villages. Since no community was willing to give way, decisions became very difficult.

In the end, the problems were resolved, and the Puyuma segment of the Dance and Music Series was performed in Taipei to great acclaim. Nevertheless, after the stage lights went down, the work of repairing the clefts which had opened up between the communities in the decision-making process was still going on. As Ming Li-kuo says, it is hoped that the communities can work together in the future, and that cultural autonomy can be sustained rather than becoming a cause of division.

Return to the tribe

In the process of organizing aboriginal culture it has been impossible to avoid some conflicts. Now that aboriginal music and dance have come to the city, people should do more than just appreciate the excitement of the shows—they should devote more consideration to the indigenous communities themselves.

Moreover, scholars and cultural workers should not just go to the villages and skim off the cream of the culture and then leave. The communities are, after all, the source of the strength of indigenous culture, and only if the aboriginal communities remain strong can “aboriginal culture” flourish.

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談原住民文化復興運動

訪文建會副主任委員陳其南、原住民工作者孫大川

On the Aboriginal Culture Renaissance Movement

問：原住民未來發展的困境為何？

陳：原住民在主流社會的處境是極為困難的，他們面臨了社會結構的解體，文化傳統的流失等尖銳的考驗，要找出一條出路十分不易，以蘭嶼為例，二、三千的人口，若要尊重其語言，開播雅美母語的節目，需要付出極大的代價，即便真的付諸實現，很可能該族群的成員不一定會重視，甚而反趨向主流文化。並且由於九大族群的社會組織、文化習俗皆有很大的歧異，而文化的保存、重建須落實到個別的族群，使各族群成為少數中的少數，更加深其生存的困境。

另外一個困境是，原住民欲爭取和主流社會相同權力的同時，可能對其長期的發展是一種傷害，以典型的山地保留地來說，若政府不加以限制，而讓原住民保有土地的所有權，可以自由買賣，當他們與漢人社會交易時，可能連土地都被主流社會所吞噬了。所以原來看似尊重的作法，結果卻是傷害。

孫：原住民文化的流失是一事實，其中尤以語言為重，主要的原因是原來的社會已不存在，使得語言喪失了使用的環境，而加速的步向滅亡，這正是我們最憂心的現象。此

The following is an interview with Chen Chinan, the vice chairman of the Council for Cultural Planning and Development, and Sun Ta-chuan, an activist for Taiwan's indigenous peoples.

Q: What are the key problems for aboriginal development in the future?

Chen: The indigenous peoples are in a very difficult position vis-a-vis the mainstream society. They face acute challenges—the dissolution of their social structure and the loss of traditional culture. It will not be easy to rescue these. Take for example the Yami people of Orchid Island. There are only two or three thousand Yami, so the relative costs of respecting their native language and producing broadcast programs in Yami would be enormous. Even if you could actually produce the programs, many Yami might not take them very seriously, and might even prefer the mainstream culture. Moreover, there are enormous differences between the social structures and cultures of the nine tribes. Since true cultural preservation could only be realized at the tribal level, each of the nine would then become a minority group within the minority group, which would only deepen the problems they face in trying to survive.

問題的惡化其實政府有不可推諉的責任，因與過去語言政策的偏頗有關。目前雖已有若干做法加以挽救，但仍嫌粗糙，政府應提出更制度化和系統化的規劃。如應製作系統、進階的課本及錄音帶供原住民地區的小學及部落的學齡前兒童學習；就像我們學英文有很多的教材一樣。亦可規定有關原住民的學術研究人員，應學會該族母語等等，從各方面來創造更多使用母語的機會。政府不應該太快放棄，若是在努力過後仍無法保存，那就是我們原住民的責任了！

問：近年來有愈來愈多的原住民知識份子投入原住民社會、文化的重建工作，您的看法如何？

陳：在面對種種複雜的問題時，原住民社會的青年精英將扮演一個很重要的角色，因為外界的學者專家，很難產生主導的意見，只能從旁協助，原住民的未來發展須依靠原住民自己來反思。然而，就我所察，原住民知青尚須以更理性成熟的態度來反省未來的走向，才能真正扭轉被主流文化吞噬的命運。以去年舉辦的「原住民文化會議」為例，此會議原本是要提供原住民及有關的學者專家一個溝通討論的舞臺，共同尋求思考的方向，但由於與會原住民認知不同，認為應針對實質問題，討論解決方案，並提出應請部落長老參加、應用母語溝通等意見，甚至質疑開會的意義；又因為採取激進的態度，使得會議的溝通效果不彰，甚而學者專家因此卻步；使許多關心原住民未來發展的人士感到無奈，因為原住民對於要改變其命運的做法和目標是相矛盾的。

這種抗爭態度的傾向，可能受原住民社會政治運動的影響所致，我認為原住民應多向外溝通，致力於使社會大眾更瞭解其處境，獲得外界有心人士更多的協助和支援，大家

共同攜手努力，在種種問題之間尋求一個均衡點，可能才是正確的方向。

孫：的確，民國七十五年以後，臺灣的社會運動已轉變得更加精緻化，社會運動的團體，已懂得與有關的團體結盟，結合不同資源或運用良好的文宣，傳達自己的理念，以爭取認同。而原住民運動的運作方式，因為目前尚嫌粗糙，難免予人太激烈之觀感。

我同意原住民未來的發展，需要爭取更多人的瞭解、須學習與不同的團體及人士共同交流合作，而不是劃清界線，才能使原住民運動更形成熟及精緻。

問：文建會在原住民文化傳承方面，未來有何計劃？

陳：文建會主要是從文化、藝術的觀點來做事及提供支援。屏東有一個山地文化園區，可由文建會支持，我們希望該園區能扮演縣市文化中心的角色，但如前述的問題，這個作法似乎不一定能獲得原住民的認同，質疑何以將其視為博物館、動物園供人參觀？何以展示他們最傳統（落後）的文物？這是我們在推動相關計劃時，碰到的一大問題；反觀，若是不這麼做，可能什麼東西都無法

Another problem is that the struggle for equal status between aboriginal cultures and the mainstream culture might be harmful to their long-term development. Look at the aboriginal land reserves. If the government imposed no restrictions, but allowed aboriginal peoples to buy and sell their land freely, it is very possible that their land would be bought up by people from the mainstream culture. Thus something that might be seen as respecting the aborigines would in fact turn out to be harmful.

Sun: The decline of aboriginal culture is a fact, and is especially serious in the area of language. The main cause is that the original society no long exists,



陳其南：原住民應多向外溝通，爭取社會大眾的瞭解與支持，以攜手努力取代對立抗爭。
(文建會提供)

Chen Chi-nan: Aboriginal peoples should communicate more with the outside world so as to enlist the understanding and support of the general public. Positive cooperation should supersede mutual distrust. (courtesy of the Council for Cultural Planning and Development)

so there is no environment for the use of the language, and it is rapidly heading toward extinction. This trend worries us the most, and the government, through its past language policies, bears responsibility. Although the government has recently taken a few steps to improve the situation, these are just piecemeal. The government should produce a systematic plan. It should provide a series of texts and audio tapes for preschool- and school-aged children in aboriginal areas, just as there are teaching materials for English. It could also stipulate that those involved in academic research on the indigenous peoples learn the language of the tribe they are studying. It can work in all areas to create more opportunities for the use of indigenous languages. The government should not give up too quickly. If then the languages still can't be preserved after they make an

effort, then the responsibility will lie with us aborigines!

Q: In recent years more and more aboriginal intellectuals have been devoting themselves to reconstructing aboriginal culture. What is your opinion of this?

Chen: In the face of many complex problems, talented young aborigines have a key role to play. Outsiders cannot play a leading role, but can only help out from the sidelines. The future development of the indigenous peoples will depend upon a rethinking by the people themselves. However, in my personal opinion, young aboriginal intellectuals should have a more reasonable and mature attitude in thinking about the future, and only then can they avoid being swallowed up by the mainstream culture. Take for instance last year's "Conference on Aboriginal Culture." The conference was meant to open a channel of communication between indigenous peoples and relevant scholars and specialists to work together to develop directions for thinking. However, many aboriginal participants did not see it this way. They thought the conference should focus on substantive issues, and that programs should be discussed. They suggested that tribal elders be invited and that aboriginal languages be used for discussion. Some even doubted that the conference would have any significance at all. Because they adopted an extreme attitude, there was little actual communication. Indeed, some of the scholars were scared off, and many people who are concerned about the future development of the indigenous peoples felt very frustrated. There is an inherent contradiction between the goal of improving the collective fate of the aborigines and the methods that many aborigines use.

This trend toward a confrontational attitude is perhaps influenced by political movements in indigenous society. I think that aboriginal peoples should communicate more with the outside world, and let people know their situation, to win more support and assistance from sympathetic people outside.

留下，又如何談認同、傳承呢？如何改進原住民與大社會的隔閡呢？

在經費上，除了以往對相關文化團體的補助外，將來對個別在地方推動傳承的個人，若有具體的工作計劃，經過評估，應該可獲得經費支援。但困擾在於真正能夠執行的人不多，我們需要能夠持續的、負責任的、有專門知識支援的執行者。像撒古流這樣的藝術工作者，我們非常樂見，也會給予大力的支持。

孫：原住民對屏東山地文化園區的批評，有其原因。該園區在七十五年正式運作到去（八十三）年止，一直缺乏政府預算支持，由於須自給自足，以營業方式維持，不得不轉向於觀光化、樣版化的走向，使得文建會原先規劃成為學術性、研究性園地的構想，根本無法執行，故無法獲得原住民多數的認同。但自八十三年起，該園已由省府編列公務預算，相信這樣體制上的改變，可逐漸轉變山地文化園的形象，希望文建會更加努力協助原住民將原構想活出來，使該園成為真正保留和傳承原住民文化的場所。

有關原住民人才的問題，不是沒有，而是未善加運用和培養所致。以阿美族的一位黃貴潮老先生為例，他對阿美族的傳統、典故等知識之豐富，無人能出其右，中研院有關阿美族的研究，都要藉他口述，或就其所知的基礎上去做，但這樣的人才卻礙於僵化的制度，無法納入學院的正式的編制，只能做某一項計劃的臨時人員。這樣就很難培養出好的原住民專才。

最後，由衷的建言是，政府在原住民未來發展的影響上，至為關鍵，態度上應化被動為主動，制定一套整體的政策來支持原住民的各項發展。

（李珊採訪整理）

This way everyone can work together and find an equilibrium point and a correct direction to resolve the various problems.

Sun: To be sure, since 1986 social movements in Taiwan have become more sophisticated. Some social groups have formed alliances with other social forces and are using a variety of resources to effectively present their arguments, transmit their views, and win acknowledgment and support from others. But because the aboriginal social movement is still unpolished, inevitably some people get the impression that some of its members are too extremist.

I agree that aboriginal peoples need to gain the understanding of an increasing number of people, and we must learn how to communicate and cooperate with different groups and individuals rather than drawing lines between us. This is the only way the indigenous peoples' movement can become more mature and sophisticated.

Q: What plans does the Council for Cultural Planning and Development have for the continuity of aboriginal culture?

Chen: The CCPD works mainly in the areas of culture and the arts. There is an aboriginal cultural park in Pingtung County which is supported by the CCPD. We hope that the park can play the role of a city- or county-level cultural center. However, as with the conference we just talked about, this approach does not seem to be winning acceptance from indigenous people. They feel the park is like a museum or even a zoo, where aborigines are gawked at like animals. They express concerns about how traditional artifacts are displayed, and feel that they are being presented as "backward." This is a major problem that we have encountered repeatedly in promoting such programs. On the other hand, if we don't keep the park going, then maybe there will be nothing left at all, and then what kind of "recognition" or "continuity" can there be for the culture? How can we close the gap between indigenous peoples and the larger society?

In economic terms, besides existing subsidies



孫大川：政府應制定一套整體的政策來支持原住民的各項發展。（孫大川提供）

Sun Ta-chuan: The government should draw up a comprehensive policy to assist in the overall development of indigenous peoples. (courtesy of Sun Ta-chuan)

for relevant cultural groups, we should provide financial support to anyone at the local level engaged in keeping alive cultural traditions who provides a concrete plan and who passes an economic assessment. But the problem is that there are few people actually doing such work. We need to support those with specialized knowledge who have sustainability and a sense of responsibility. For example, we are very happy to come across artists like Sakuliu [a Paiwan potter], and we will give them strong support.

Sun: There are reasons why many aborigines

criticize the Pingtung cultural park. From the formal beginning of operations in 1986 to the end of last year, the government did not appropriate any money for the park. Therefore the park has had to be self-sufficient, and operate in a more commercialized way. Inevitably it has been geared toward tourists and stereotypes. It has been impossible to realize the CCPD's original intent of making it a place devoted to serious research and cultural work. Therefore the park has never been well received by the majority of indigenous peoples. However, beginning in 1994 the provincial government budgeted some money for the park. I am confident that this structural change will transform the park's image, and I hope that the CCPD will devote even more effort to assist aboriginal peoples in bringing the original concept to life, so that the park can truly become a place for the preservation and continuity of aboriginal culture.

As for the alleged dearth of aboriginal talents and artists, the problem is not that there are none. Rather the problem is in deciding how to employ and cultivate them. Take the case of Huang Kuei-chao, an old Ami gentleman. There was no one with more knowledge of Ami traditions and stories than he, and researchers at the Academia Sinica working in Ami culture wanted to hire him to make an oral history or to proceed with projects based on his foundation of knowledge. But he was blocked by the rigidified system, and he could not be made a formal member of the Academia Sinica's staff. He could only be employed temporarily for a specific plan. Constrictions like this make it hard to develop the most knowledgeable or talented indigenous people.

Finally, I want to say that the government's influence on the future development of aboriginal culture will turn on whether its attitude is active or passive and whether there is a comprehensive plan to assist the indigenous peoples in all areas of development.

S

(interview by Coral Lee/tr. by Phil Newell)