

IRIAN

Bulletin of West Irian Development



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IRIAN
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EDITORIAL

Despite its humble beginnings the IRIAN appears to be gathering momentum. Within West Irian, on the part of both government officials and missionaries there has been widespread support of a practical kind in terms of subscriptions and, as the present issue attests, in a willingness to contribute material. There have also been expressions of interest from abroad and there is hope that at least some of the anthropologists who have carried out comparatively recent research in West Irian will submit articles.

It is regrettable to have to report that thus far attempts to elicit foundation support for the IRIAN so that it might be printed in a regular way have been unsuccessful. In more than one instance replies from foundations have drawn attention to existing Pacific and Asian journals as "outlets" for individuals wishing to publish material.

As was stated in the editorial in the first issue, the primary intention of the IRIAN is to serve the people of West Irian, be they indigenes of the Province, foreign missionaries, or nationals from other parts of Indonesia carrying out various tasks concerned with development. The problems of development in West Irian, it is hardly necessary to point out, are enormous. The nature of the terrain and the cultural complexity exhibited by its many peoples render communication of all kinds extremely difficult.

More to the point, the problems of communication are compounded by a lack of communication among those concerned with development. Efforts at times are duplicated and in some instances programmes are initiated which appear to be predicated upon false assumptions or inadequate knowledge of indigenous values and customs.

If the IRIAN in but a small way can foster communication among those concerned with development and, more important, if it can also serve to temper the concern for progress with an appreciation of the traditional values of the peoples of the Province, it will have more than justified its existence. It seems to us, particularly in view of the current expressions of concern on the part of many anthropologists as to where their duty lies with respect to the those who traditionally have formed the subjects of their research, that our intention are worthy ones and deserving of foundations support.

On the positive side, it is noteworthy that more research appears to be getting underway in West Irian although delays are not infrequently experienced by those seeking entry to carry out research. Potential researchers would be advised to follow the procedures outlined in the first issue of the IRIAN (pp.3-4) if entry is to be facilitated with a minimum of delay. Of particular importance is the proposal from the Summer Institute of Linguistics to undertake much indeed linguistic research in West Irian.

The S.I.L. plans to open an office in Djajapura to coordinate their research activities and it is anticipated that a close working relationship will be developed with the University of Tjenderawasih. Also of interest to all who are concerned about the preservation of the cultural heritage of the peoples of West Irian is the generous grant from John D. Rockefeller 3rd FUND to support the University of Tjenderawasih museum. Details concerning this grant are found in the section on Institute News.

All things considered, the prospects for research in West-Irian appear bright and we are optimistic that in time the University of Tjenderawasih and the Institute for Anthropology will be able to expand their facilities to the point where they can play a leading part in coordinating research activities in the Province. It is our belief that through disinterested social science research the interests of the Indonesians of West Irian can best be served.

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Meskipun dimulai dengan serba sederhana, namun IRIAN akan menjadi arena musjawarah yang besar. Seperti dibuktikan oleh penerbitan nomor ini, di Irian Barat sendiri telah ada dukungan yang luas baik dari para petugas pemerintah maupun dari para misionaris yakni berupa permintaan berlangganan dan keinginan menasukkan tulisan2. Juga dari luar negeri sudah ada yang menunjukkan perhatian dan ada harapan bahwa se-tidak2nja para antropolog yang pernah mengadakan penelitian di Irian Barat akan menjumbangkan karangannya.

Dengan menjesal terpaksa dilaporkan bahwa sebegitu djauh usaha2 untuk memperoleh dana supaya IRIAN dapat ditjetak (bukan lagi distensil) belum dapat berhasil. Beberapa djawaban yang diterima dari badan2 diluar negeri dalam rangka usaha pentjarian dana ini menjatakan bahwa mereka lebih menaruh perhatian pada madjalah PACIFIC AND ASIAN sebagai saluran bagi orang2 yang ingin menerbitkan tulisan2nja.

Sebagaimana telah dijatakan dalam penerbitan pertama, mak sud utama dari IRIAN adalah membantu mereka yang melaksanakan pelbagai usaha pembangunan didaerah ini, baik mereka itu penduduk asli, orang2 dari luar Irian Barat maupun orang2 asing penjebar agama. Problema pembangunan Irian Barat tidak perlu diuraikan satu persatu karena sangat luas sekali. Keadaan alam yang serba sulit dan kompleksitas kebudayaan yang disebabkan oleh banjarknja suku2 mengakibatkan segala bentuk komunikasi menjadi sulit.

Ewok is already an old man. He is far from being the warrior and leader he once was. Time and a hard life have weathered and changed him, but only in the way time changes anything. In mind and thought he is much the same now as he was last year, or twenty years ago. He made of himself what his potential and life style allowed, but he has been restricted by the limitations of his society. Today he has much of the past and little of the present.

The children of Ewok are different. Life in the village of Ajam, Asmat, is not the same as it was twenty years ago. There are two missionaries in the village, a Protestant and a Catholic. There are two schools, two churches, teachers, government personnel, a lumber co-operative and a trade store. Ewok's children face a different set of circumstances in which to grow and change.

Part of my work as co-operative advisor is to see that the young people have this chance to be different, if they so choose, and to experience change in a way Ewok never dreamed possible; to grow up with more than just the past while yet living in the present, and to have a stake in the future as well.

The primary purpose in writing this article is to give information concerning the lumber co-operative programme in Asmat. However, in presenting this material some comments are also offered concerning the nature of social change among the Asmat. The first part of the article provides a brief summary of the principal focus of the Asmat Diocese co-operative programme. In short, what it hopes to accomplish. Next, a number of "principles" are indicated which have been formulated over the years and which appear to be prerequisites for the development of this type of programme here in Asmat. Following this, a few of the everyday problems encountered in my own work with three co-operatives are described. The article concludes with a brief examination of social change among the Asmat.

At the risk of repeating what has been discussed and presented several times within the Agats diocese, and no doubt in other areas of West Irian, it is intended to reiterate what we consider to be the

primary thrust of the mission's socio-economic programme. This is covered more fully in the Easter letter of the Bishop of Agats, Msgr. Sowada, to his personnel, but it is considered necessary to repeat certain points here in order to provide an understanding of what will be stated later.

The Asmat people, like all those in West Irian have had the outside world literally thrust upon them and have more or less been forced to participate in various activities entailed in this contact. Whether contact has been through actual force, or the arousing of new motivations with the coming of all the "good things" produced by the outside world, makes no difference. The Asmat involvement in this new world is a fact and those who are here bear the heavy responsibility of providing the Asmat people with more than just a one-sided view of the modern world. An attempt must be made by every means available to develop the "whole man" and to assist the Asmat to come to terms with the new world opening around them.

The Asmat faces a new economy, different styles of living, different religions, an influx of "cargo", different leadership demands, and so on. Schools alone will not educate him to the realization that he is capable of mastering, changing and enhancing his environment. He badly needs to experience what he is capable of doing. He must have a basis from which he has the opportunity to become self reliant, self sufficient and, most important, self determining. He must have failure but he also must have success.

The co-operative approach is but one method of achieving these ends, but at the present time co-operatives are playing a very essential role. It is not enough for those working in the Asmat area to be concerned with merely providing the people with material goods or training them how to work. This is too limited a goal and is insufficient for essential village and area progress. Emphasis on these two aspects alone, in the long run, is inimical to development, as is all too easily observable in many underdeveloped areas of the world. Goods and work must be a part of the development programme but not an end in themselves.

Of necessity, a co-operative programme will tend to focus upon the adult segment of society. This does not preclude involvement with the young, but clearly the emphasis in terms of time and effort must be upon the adults. School education in itself is valueless if there is no opportunity available for advancement when school is finished. This does not mean that there cannot be a close connection with the school and the co-operative, but the primary concern must be with the co-operative itself at this time, as it is the adults who have control over village affairs. Village attitudinal change must be effected among at least the young adults if there is to be any success.

From repeated experiences in attempting to establish co-operatives in the Asmat area, a number of guidelines have become apparent that are really matters of commonsense. These may be termed "operating principles". In this section there is a discussion of four of these principles which provide an aid or a yardstick, so to speak, for guiding the co-operative advisor in his day-to-day decisions.

First of all, for a people to develop mastery of anything they must be given the use of it. This may sound obvious enough but it has serious ramifications and is not as easy to apply as may appear. Co-operative development in lumber in this area is based upon the simplicity of the overall operation. Practically everything necessary is available in the immediate area and hence little capital investment is needed to get started. Everything except the saws, planes and levels is privately owned. However, it is not just a method of how to cut wood which is being taught but rather the vague sense of working together as a corporation which has profits and dividends. This is not appreciated by the members unless they can experience involvement in the group, unless they can share in decisions and plans and appreciate their contribution to the overall profits. Because one is dealing to a great extent with intangibles, it is no easy task to provide people with the necessary sense of involvement.

In dealing with money it is necessary that individuals learn economic rationality through experience. It is a distressing sight

to observe the Asmat enter the co-operative trade store each payday with a fistfull of money prepared to spend everything he has earned. But purchases at the trade store provide the only means of accomplishing the understanding necessary to change from a barter society to one based on money. It is also through the trade store that individuals must learn the Indonesian approach to matters dealing with money, viz., a readiness to create innumerable bonds through extending credit, but to be sufficiently resolute to require the other parties to close payments in a reasonable length of time. To interfere in the learning of such practices would, in the long run, only hinder development.

The principle of permitting people to learn by experience also applies when any sort of mechanization is later employed, such as a machine plane or saw. Individuals have to be given the use of machinery before they can learn. That is, they will have to break parts of forget things before they will come to realize the importance of maintenance, planning, and the plain everyday caution that the use of machinery demands. In all, an expensive way to learn but it is essential people be given the opportunity to learn through experience in this way.

The second principle applies to the advisor. Simply stated, it is that the advisor must stay one step ahead of the people in order to help them. Again, it is not just a matter of pointing out the obvious but a basic matter for the advisor to keep in mind. It is essential to maintain a level of authority and knowledge that is always equal to dealing with the problems that arise in the course of development. Basically, this is nothing more than saying that the advisor himself have the capabilities of a leader and a manager not only to provide an example for the co-operative leaders, but also to direct the co-operative in such a manner that outward manifestations of control gradually diminish, until the point is reached when the members themselves assume complete control. This means, of course, that the advisor cannot "go native"; nor should he expect that because he is a foreigner the people will automatically follow him.

On this former point there has been such discussion among mission personnel. The question is, should one's living style approximate that of the people with whom one works, or, while living simply, should the style of living be of a higher standard? To a great extent this

question must be resolved by each individual advisor. However, for the advancement of the entire village it is considered necessary that the people be confronted with some evidence of "civilization" in the mode of living of the advisor. At the same time, the standard should be such that through opportunities available locally, and through their own initiative, it is possible for individuals to attain this level. Just as there must be opportunities for advancement within the co-operative itself, there must also be an observable incentive to change the life style. The mere presence of trade goods does not provide the necessary motivation.

The third principle to bear in mind is that one can never expect the group involved in the development programme to "catch up", as it were, to the point where further direction is no longer needed. This statement needs some clarification, however.

Firstly, it is not being said that there is an absence of specific obtainable goals. Rather, it is too much to expect that the job will be finished in one, two, or in twenty years time. This is, perhaps, the most difficult part of any programme such as a lumber co-operative. Day-to-day progress is practically unobservable and frequently there is not progress but actual regression. However, unless the co-operative closes completely it will eventually move forward again on a level almost imperceptibly higher than that before.

Secondly, at the risk of appearing unduly pessimistic, it is not believed possible within one or two generations to establish an entirely self sufficient Asmat co-operative; nor is it considered altogether desirable. The stress here is on "Asmat", not on "self sufficient". This does not mean that indigenous leadership provided by such people as retired teachers, or others working within the area, cannot be involved in the programme. In fact, this appears to be the most sensible course of action for the future of the lumber co-operatives is Asmat. To build up a dependency upon the priests and brothers of the mission, however, not only limits the development of the area, but in the long run also hinders future possibilities for the people themselves. After all, lumber from the area must be bought and then sold on the Indonesian market; bringing more and more specialized outside assistance into

the area will, in the long run, be self defeating. Obviously, a degree of outside expertise is needed, but it is more important at this time to build a solid relationship between the Asmaters and Indonesian personnel from other areas. To build an "Asmat Co-operative" would be neither realistic nor desirable. Certainly development is focused upon the Asmatter but not to make of Asmat something unique; rather, it is to create a situation which places the Asmatter within, and makes him an integral part of, the wider Indonesian community.

There are two cautions to be observed, however, in applying this principle of never "catching up" in co-operative development. One is that there must be some sort of programme by which the members themselves put into the work more than they take out, here and now. Without this, one soon creates a situation of employer-employee relationships which will frustrate all other progress. The other caution is that it is necessary to place definite goals of "planned obsolescence" on the role of the advisor. This is to create a constant prod that will enforce a gradual development, whether the advisor or the members like it or not.

The fourth and most essential principle of any development programme here in Asmat, (and presumably anywhere else), is providing definite continuity. This is also the most difficult because it involves personnel. The Asmatter is well provided for by nature. Most of his wants can be satisfied from the jungle and circumstances do not require him to engage in regular labour. It takes time, then, to establish a relationship among the people that will create the necessary motivation such that they will band together as a co-operative. The lure of outside goods alone will not do this. A relationship of this kind cannot be established in one or two years time; like any friendship, it calls for the slow development of mutual respect and understanding. This, in turn, requires individuals who are acknowledged leaders, and who are sufficiently motivated, to devote up to five years at a time in assuming a particular responsibility. As of yet, there is a dearth of such candidates.

What have been described thus far as "operating principles" may well have applicability to areas of West Irian other than Asmat. In the section that follows, a few specific problems are mentioned which the writer has encountered in the course of the work with co-operatives.

As to be expected, the Asmatter has a difficult time following a definite set of rules pertaining to a co-operative. The problem is compounded in that the Asmat people have traditionally been a hunting and gathering society; consequently, they have not had to submit to any kind of a definite schedule. Yet, if the Asmatter insists now, as he so often does both explicitly and implicitly that he wants everything the rest of the world has to offer, it is incumbent upon the co-operative advisor to insist from the very beginning that the rules of the game be followed. There must be a recognition of the value of time and money, of the need to keep production high enough to pay the workers, of the necessity for planning and preparing for the future, of recognizing authority and so on all of which are quite alien to the Asmatter.

As an advisor, one is frequently tempted to give in to the repeated request, "We'll do it tomorrow". And the fact is, of course, that one day is probably as good as another. However, simply because there will be no second chance for these people as a society in the years to come, there must be an insistence now that the rules be followed. It may be that at some later point when the Asmat people can stand on their own feet they will decide to abandon the rules. At the present time, however, the most difficult task confronting the advisor of even the most advanced co-operative is obtaining compliance to rules which the members themselves agreed upon.

One may, of course, argue as to how necessary are strictures of this type in the case of a people whose values are radically different. This is a fundamental question and perhaps could form the subject of another article; it is not debated here. In the opinion of this writer, the rules are absolutely necessary and must be followed if any meaningful development at all is to obtain. And they must be rules that stress such things as following a fixed working schedule, each individual doing his fair share of the work, minimum levels of production, taking responsibility to give instructions, learning to follow them out, and so on.

It follows from the above that there are any number of problems that inevitably arise through clashes between the old and the new-between what is uniquely Asmat and that which is totally foreign. There is really no way of arriving at standard procedures for dealing with such problems as each, in its own way, will be peculiar. Payday provides a good example.

In Asmat society certain kinds of kinship relationships demand continuous reciprocity. The effect of this, however, is that everyone is practically forced to share whatever good fortune comes his way; the return does not necessarily have to be of equal value. When co-operative work first began, payday frequently saw the worker with little more than a pair of shorts and a small quantity of tobacco to show for a hard week's work, by the time his relatives had departed with their share of the booty. This "sharing" continued for a time and it soon became apparent that the continuous division among other members of the family (in many cases workers began to acquire relatives of whose existence, hitherto, they were only vaguely aware) was beginning to kill initiative and interest in working. The rewards for the worker himself were too small. There seemed to be no answer to the problem. The actual division of the articles was, in a sense, a form of social security and it was hardly feasible to forbid such a practice.

Fortunately, the members themselves took matters in hand. More and more of them began to leave their purchases at the pastor's house after payday until the evening, when the items could be recovered and taken home in the dark, unobserved by others. This practice continued on and off for about a year, by which time most of the members had begun to learn to draw the line at how much they wished to give away. They still give, of course, but do so with more thought. Further, work in the co-operative itself has acquired more prestige and members can afford to be more discriminating in deciding upon whom they wish to bestow their favors.

Cultural problems are not the only difficulty, however. At the present moment there is a limited degree of advancement possible within the co-operative itself. There can only be so many heads, section heads, and secretaries and once these positions are filled (which

then entails a great deal of time spent in the training of the personnel), it is difficult to get people to stand aside so that others can be motivated to attempt to assume these positions. This poses a particular problem when such posts are attained through election - the system prescribed in most co-operative regulations. If the same individuals are not elected each year dissention is soon apparent. This problem has been partly solved by expanding the co-operative into other areas, such as planting coconuts, and pig raising, and also by contributing personnel to the Pusat, or the centre being developed in Agats. However, at the present time there appears to be no real answer to the problem. The fact that individuals whose attitudes tend to become fixed (notwithstanding initial displays of enthusiasm) are now ensconced in key positions makes it difficult to maintain enthusiasm among members. This has occurred at a time when the co-operatives are experiencing growing pains and desperately need enthusiastic leadership.

From this brief look at co-operative development in Asmat one may wonder how much change has actually taken place within the villages and among the workers. To answer this question accurately would call for an exhaustive study. However, on the basis of first hand observations a number of impressions can be offered.

If one considers Asmat society as a whole and expects to find some kind of basic transformation that the word "change" would seem to imply, there is little evidence of this. Without doubt, there are many influences that permeate Asmat life from both the government and the missions, thereby causing change. Some villages have been effected more than others, depending upon the degree of contact and depth of involvement outsiders have had with the people of a particular village. It is a fairly simply matter, for instance, to note certain changes that have occurred in the various villages as a consequence of the length of time co-operatives have been present. However, these are essentially superficial changes and indicate little more than how much wood was sold and, in return, the quantity of supplies that entered the different villages.

Most activities of the Asmat people are carried out as part of a group and the Asmatter has been quick to learn what actions and expressions of ideas are pleasing to the mission and the government, and what are displeasing and likely to bring retribution. In effect, the Asmatter has programmed himself to a set of responses for a variety of situations. Like the child who knows what to do when father becomes angry, the Asmatter will attempt to comply. By the some token it is not always easy to find out what the "child" is really thinking.

In effect then, the Asmatter has pretty much tailored his life to the activities of the mission, government and others. For lack of a better expression he has "snipped" where things have been looked down upon or suppressed, and he has added or altered where he has been prompted to do so. Yet, he has not really absorbed and certainly there has been no change as a society, in the deepest sense of the word. In the case of the young men, however, there is a difference not because they now have a choice, but because they now experience a situation in which they feel they can make a choice. The young men have been involved in a process, to a great extent through the co-operatives, which is changing their environment. Many of the opportunities the young Asmatter now has to be different from his elders are of his own doing. It is beginning to dawn on some of those most deeply involved in the co-operatives that this situation is something they have brought about themselves. Not everything that represents change has to come from the outside.

It would be false to suggest that at the present time most of the co-operatives are experiencing a surge of decision-making. However, there is a sense of accomplishment that is very real to co-operative members. In one case recently members worked for six months at a stretch without pay when the advisor withdrew his support until certain conditions were met. There is no doubt that the people want the co-operatives very badly.

The Asmatter is still tightly bound to his traditional society but the horizons of that society have begun to broaden. Inevitably, changes on the societal level will occur as more

individuals learn to exercise the choices that are now becoming possible. More than anything else, it appears that the co-operatives are providing an arena for the exercise of decision-making.

What has been discussed in this short article is by no means the entire picture of co-operatives in the Asmat area. There are many other factors involved in co-operative development such as the present economic situation, the government presence, mission involvement, wood resources and so on, which have not been dealt with. All these constitute variables which alter the total picture from day to-day. It should also be added that there are others involved with the co-operatives in the Asmat area who may not agree with some of the points that have been made. It is to be hoped, however, that what has been written may have the effect of prompting others to set down their experiences and, perhaps, to challenge these views.

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Some Thoughts on Educational Aims in the Highlands
of Irian Barat

Peter Spicer^R

Ishtisar.

Didalam tulisan "Beberapa pendapat tentang tujuan pendidikan di daerah Pedalaman Irian Barat", penulis mengemukakan setjara singkat saran umum tentang pokok pendidikan serta mendorong berbagai pengertian2nja. Oleh karena ber-matjam2 pengertian ini, terdapat banjak tjara pendidikan dan sasaran2 jang menimbulkan kesulitan2 terutama di daerah2 seperti Djajawidjaja dan Paniai, termasuk pula aspek2 pengembangan pendidikan harus didorong sehingga dapat memberikan keuntungan2 jang maksimum bagi masyarakat pedalaman. Pendidikan dapat memainkan peranan dalam semua bidang pembangunan; jang dipergunakan sebagai alat untuk meningkatkan kebutuhan sosial dan materiel; peranan jang harus dilaksanakannya telah disepakatikan demi mengadakan nilai2 kemasyarakatan dan moral.

Djasa2 daripada adat-istiadat jang diwariskan dapat diimbangi dengan rentjana jang dispesialisir untuk memperbaiki keadaan2 lokal dan kebudayaan2, atau keuntungan2 daripada kebiasaan2 daerah jang dihubungkan mendjadi suatu kesatuan jang menjeluruh demi menguraagi tekanan isolasi.

Disuatu daerah seperti di Pedalaman hendaknya mendapat persetujuan dan harus dipertimbangkan setjara teliti untuk memenuhi keperluan2 daripada masyarakat, dengan mengembangkan sikap2 dan hasrat2 individu. Sebagai tambahan dalam persoalan perumusan tujuan2 pendidikan, harus dipikirkan pula dalam bidang mana orang2 pribumi dapat diikuti sertakan untuk menentukan masa depan pendidikan mereka sendiri.

Didalam merumuskan tujuan2 pendidikan, hendaknya faktor2 politik dan sosial djangan dilupakan, tetapi rentjana pendidikan tak boleh mendjadi suatu tjabang dari rentjana ekonomi. Pendidikan, terutama dipedalaman harus mendjadi suatu proses djangka-pendjang dengan memberikan kesempatan bagi semua orang dan ini akan mendjadi dasar dimana semua rentjana pendidikan dimulai.

.....

The ultimate purpose of all education is to enable man to lead a full life. The 'good life' is interpreted in as many different ways as there are different communities of men, but its attainment is the goal of all administrators, teachers, educators, and those whose work is economic and social advancement.

Because of the many and varied interpretations as to what constitutes a good life for a particular community in a specific area at a certain period of time, education has many aims and objectives. Yet, history has shown that there are basic concepts which remain constant and apply to all men in all ages. Education is concerned with spiritual, moral and cultural values as well as with the basic skills of planting and gathering, getting and spending, communicating with one another, and knowing sufficient about number to barter or trade. Education should help everyone to play a full and worthwhile part in the community according to his inherent or acquired abilities, be it as a worker, as a consumer, as a brother or a sister, or as the father or mother of a family.

These are some of the aims of education, but not everybody concerned with education and social and economic development in the Highlands, or elsewhere for that matter, will agree as to the degree of importance or what priority should be given to any particular aim. Some will stress the importance of economic development with a strong emphasis on conventional schooling which will one day reap a reward in measurable materialistic terms. Others are more concerned with using education as a means of social reform, but there are also many who strongly believe and advocate that radical changes in social habits must take place before 'education' can begin.

There is a school of thought which argues that in the past, in many areas, too much emphasis has been placed on the part that education can play in economic development and material advancement. This emphasis has minimised the part education should play in the teaching of moral values and in understanding our neighbours so that eventually friction and strife would cease and the world would be a better place in which to live.

There are today many critics of conventional type schooling. It is said that such schooling has outworn its usefulness and in many areas is the legacy of a system designed for distant times, distant climes and different cultural ways. These critics point out that in some educational systems basic instruction, geared to a common syllabus has now become so formalised that pupils passing through the system emerge with little or no knowledge of their history, local geography or cultural heritage. However, it can be argued that if too much importance is given to cultural and linguistic distinctiveness, especially where groups are small, the result might be to isolate such groups even more and reduce what chances their members had of economic advancement. Such advancement depends upon common knowledge which is the legacy of all men everywhere, be they members of a village, tribe or nation; this knowledge must be attained if progress is to be made.

What then of the Highlands with its scattered groups, its many languages and dialects, its different cultures and social systems, its difficulties of communication and its paucity of exchangeable wealth? Is it possible to arrive at an educational philosophical formula which will offer the 'good life' to all the diverse groups living there?

In planning the educational future of an area it commonly happens that compromise has to be made between the conflicting schools of thought and the different points of view, and that many alternatives have to be considered. The desire to give everybody equal educational opportunity for instance, which is a worthy aim, implies that in some cases additional effort and special attention have to be given to less favoured or under-privileged sectors of the community thereby depleting resources which are already scarce. This conflicts with the desire to examine the future and probable needs of the society as a whole and concentrate on an 'elite' who will be the spearhead of rapid economic development and social growth. Social and economic planners are quick to assess trained man-power requirements and to state their needs as to the numbers of agriculturalists, policemen, doctors, teachers and administrators required for the foreseeable future either to maintain

the existing rate of development or to permit further growth. An imbalance of supply -- too many of this category, not enough of that -- may make it necessary to restrict the numbers following certain courses of instruction and to encourage the following of others, even at the risk of disappointing individual students with ambitions in certain directions. There need not necessarily be a conflict between the planners and those advocating the educational freedom of the individual, but great care must be taken to ensure that written into all educational planning there are safeguards which both protect and encourage the aspirations of those the system is meant to serve.

In addition to the very real problem in attempting to identify the aims of education for a specific area, there is also the question as to who should formulate these aims. Most educationalists now agree that all sectors of a region should, so far as is possible, take part in formulating educational aims and in determining the broad outline of the policy to be followed. A realistic appreciation of the area under discussion is to admit that the time has not yet come for the people of the Highlands to contribute a great deal in determining their educational future. However, this situation is gradually changing and the importance of permitting the gradual introduction of the voice of the local people in educational discussion should be borne in mind. Participation in educational planning is easier if education is not made a mystery, if simple straightforward language is used, technical jargon left out altogether, and emphasis placed on the fact that education affects everybody in a direct way.

As stated before, education is essentially the way of passing on and developing moral, spiritual and social values, of imparting empirical knowledge and that it is also basically necessary for social and economic progress. Any consideration of an area, such as the Highlands, must therefore take into account its diverse languages, its many religious beliefs and customs, its differing cultural patterns, the various agricultural systems, and the stage of economic development reached by the various groups. Although social and economic

factors are extremely important and must always be taken into account, when formulating educational aims educational planning must never be considered merely as an offshoot of economic planning. Conversely, neither can educational planning be considered in isolation, with no reference at all to the potential economic growth of the community. All planning, including educational planning must be designed to the needs of the society it serves.

At the same time educational systems should have within their framework built-in flexibility so that they can allow for the changes that are rapidly affecting all under-developed areas. While there must be an effort to preserve local cultures there should also be encouragement to meet the challenges of modern ways and to learn of the outside world. People must be brought to understand that the district is part of a province, and the province a part of a nation and the nation a part of mankind. They must also learn that being part of a larger community makes it possible to call in skills and resources needed to implement overall development.

The belief that education is only for the young was discredited long ago. The concept and practice of life-long education (See Appendix 1) is now recognised as perhaps the only worthwhile path to follow in undeveloped areas where centuries of progress has to be achieved in a few decades. It is being increasingly emphasised that life-long education must include educational activities, scholastic and non-scholastic for all ages and all sections of the community. It therefore provides the planner with a framework within which all educational activities must be organised and co-ordinated.

The pace of change in some areas of the Highlands is quickening and educational processes, both in and out of school must keep pace. Teaching the basic subjects is not enough. To educate the whole man life-long education must be so planned that all the resources of the community are used for his betterment. The goal of life-long education is a difficult one to achieve in an area in the early stages of development. But even if resources are meagre and priorities difficult to assess, it is very important that the ultimate goal be life-long education for everybody.

Appendix 1

Life-long Education is a phrase which is being used more and more in educational circles, and although it has not been current very long, already it has gathered a variety of definitions.

Many educationalists, particularly those working in developing countries, realised that the established conventional-type schooling (in many areas generally six years or less at primary school) was not suited to the needs of an emerging society. In many cases the system was inherited and had a background of an empire passed away and did not meet the cultural and social needs of those it was supposed to serve. Its limitations were also severe. If schooling came late to an area few over school-age people could take advantage of it because of pressure for school places, and the unsuitability for adults of a course of instruction designed for children. Adult literacy helped, and is helping to fill the gaps, but reading and writing, important as they are, are not the whole of life.

Progress is not a law of nature. It cannot be plotted as a smooth curve on a graph. It comes to different areas at different times with different force. To meet the challenges of developing communities, the teaching of various new skills occurs at different times. In some communities children will learn to read and write at school, in others development may take place in such a way that the people of the community will want to acquire reading and writing skills anytime during their adult life. Neither are reading and writing the only skills which will be wanted. A man of fifty may want to learn to drive a truck; a woman of sixty how to knit.

Those who support the concept of life-long education stress that in the educational system of any community education should be a continuous process from the cradle to the grave, and that wherever possible a desire to learn a new skill should be met.

Another factor which should be kept in mind is that we live in a world of change; nothing is static. Skills learned early in life become obsolete. Machinery, methods and markets change, so adaptation becomes necessary. To understand these changes and to make preparation to cope with them, communities should do their best to provide the opportunities for retraining and reeducating their members so that they can meet the challenges of a changing world.

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Inland Village Education: a Suggestion for Change

A. J. H. Duijntoo

Ichtisar.

Pendidikan di sekolah2 dipedalaman merupakan suatu djurang di antara sekolah itu sendiri dengan masjarakat disekitarnja. Disekolah diberikan suatu kesempatan baru bagi anak2 jang dan sering bertentangan, karena pandangan lingkungan mereka jang mereka alami di kampungnja. Anak2 memasuki sekolah dengan latar belakang kebudajaanja masing2, jang satu sama lain berbeda menurut daerahnja masing2. Kurikulum sekolah dasar sama sadja untuk seluruh daerah Irian Barat, dimana semata-mata hanja untuk mempersiapkan murid2 untuk udjian penghabisan. Sekolah dasar mendjadi benteng tersendiri, jang tidak memberikan pengaruh positif kepada masjarakat. Orang tua tidak begitu berminat pada sekolah.

Anak2 jang drop-out atau tidak lulus menimbulkan persoalan jang paling besar dikampung2, sebab mereka diasingkan dari kehidupan kampung, djuga dikota2 dipantai dimana mereka mendjadi kaum muda jang tidak bekerdja. Anak2 jang mampu untuk melandjutkan sekolah SMP db., menjadari bahwa pendidikan disekolah dasar dipedalaman kurang tjotjok dengan kebutuhan pendidikan disekolah landjutan.

Untuk itu kami mengusulkan pada 'Diskusi Pendidikan' jang diadakan pada tanggal 16-18 Desember di Djaapura, supaja sesudah empat tahun pertama, jang merupakan dasar umum bagi semua anak, ada perintjian. Supaja anak2 jang mampu melandjutkan sekolah, dikumpulkan dalam suatu sekolah Sentral, dimana mereka disiapkan untuk sekolah landjutan. Supaja anak2 jang sesudah sekolah dasar tinggal dikampung diberi peladjaran khusus sesuai dengan kebutuhan2 dan kemungkinan2 daerah masing2; seperti pertanian, peternakan, koperasi, dsb.

Sudah djelaslah bahwa untuk mewujudkan perobahan situasi di sekolah dasar dipedalaman, maka perlu djuga pembaruan Pendidikan Guru2. Pedoman jang paling baik diberikan dalam 'Pedoman Keguruan', jang diterbitkan oleh Menteri P dan K. Mungkin pendekatan pendidikan guru kearah masjarakat jang khusus di Irian Barat mendjadi lebih intensip dengan perintjian2 lebih luas. Mata peladjaran Kedjuruan itu mungkin dapat diperluas dan ditambahkan dengan mata peladjaran antropologi khusus dan peladjaran agama jang amat penting.

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Education in the under-developed interior of Irian Barat seems to find itself in a difficult situation, which for the greater part is due to the fact that it is education on first generation level. To many workers in the field the schools for elementary education in the villages appear to be a foreign element in village life. The children enter school; they learn reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history etc. Their daily tasks and the contents of what they learn at school have apparently very little in common with what happens in the village. A new world is opened up to them that is completely different from and sometimes in contrast with the traditional ideas of the village and the tribe. These ideas and ways of living differ considerably from tribe to tribe and from district to district. The curriculum of the elementary school and its method of teaching are imported from other, more developed, regions. All children, irrespective of tribal and regional differences as regards outlook and ways of living, receive the same kind of education in preparation for province-wide examinations. Consequently, education in village schools degenerates into a uniform training for examinations. It is aimed at secondary school entrance, not at the life of the village.

No doubt, all education includes a loosening of the ties between the children, their parents and their immediate surroundings. The loosening of these bonds may, in some respects, even be desirable in a developing society. An abrupt break, however, would seem to be detrimental to the harmonious growth and development of the inland village. The attitude of the parents and the traditional elite differs from place to place. Some of them have very high hopes for their children's future and look forward to the time when their children will return from higher education in the towns with the promise of goods and money to be divided among those at home. These parents will feel greatly disappointed if these high expectations are not realized. Others look askance at this sort of education. They often do not see what use it can be in their society-particularly when they observe the results of such schooling in the attitude of the school-leavers.

The narrowing down of village education into a uniform training for examinations has its consequences for the pupils as well. Some of them, incapable of changing their outlook so abruptly, drop out before the end. Very few pass their exams. Many of the drop-outs and many of those who have failed in their exams feel frustrated. The unfinished education makes them feel restive. They feel estranged from their surroundings, and the education they have received does not help them to re-begin village life with fresh enthusiasm. A number succeed in escaping from the village and add to the increasing group of unskilled and unemployed young people in the coastal towns, possibly living on the meagre earnings of their fellow-tribesmen. The others stay in their villages but no longer adjusted to their environment. More often than not they are disobedient to their parents and have little respect for their traditional masters and the old values, but they have not yet found new ones.

Village pupils who have been sent to secondary schools frequently find that the education they have received at the inland primary schools is inadequate. Proficiency in the Indonesian language, the faculty of abstract thinking, the ability to concentrate on a subject and also to digest unknown and foreign ideas, are not up to the standard of pupils from more advantageous environments. They find it difficult to compete and often lag behind.

In fact, we ^{are} confronted with a two-sided problem. Inland village education in the first place should be adapted to the socio-economic and cultural needs of the local environment. On the other hand, the development of a particular society may require the loosening of environmental and traditional ties. Some of the early generation pupils should be trained to follow advanced education, which does not seem to be feasible without disturbing deeply rooted relations.

It has been proposed at the "Diskusi Pendidikan", held at the Tjenderawasih University in Djajapura during December, 1971, that some experiments should be conducted in the inland regions of Irian Barat along the following lines. The problems, described above, may be solved by altering the elementary school system. The basic four

grades of the village primary school should be compulsory for every child, and should be adapted to the specific needs of the children living in a particular area. After these four years those happy few who possess the qualities needed for further education should be gathered into a Central School, where concentrated attention should be paid to the use of the Indonesian language, to active self-expression, to abstract thinking and the expansion of their outlook. The great majority, who will remain living in their original society, will continue their schooling in the villages with special emphasis on the needs of their particular society. These needs vary with the situation as to place and time, with the level of development and the mode of living. In agricultural societies these final years should be devoted to much practical work in agriculture, the raising of cattle and other livestock, the making of fish-ponds etc., all of which should be guided by simple theoretical knowledge. The establishment of special school-farms does not seem to further educational ends as they are often merely regarded as "play-grounds" or as private sources of income for some people.

In other districts the final years of primary education might profitably be spent in acquiring basic information and practice with regard to entrepreneurship, business and co-operatives. The curriculum for these concluding years should be flexible, so that it can always be adapted to changing circumstances. In this way, it is hoped, that the village schools will be free from the burden of final examinations. The normal course of the schools will end in village life and primary education will play its part in the development of the district.

The outcome of such an experiment largely depends upon the quality of the village teachers. Future teachers should be trained to meet the two-sided educational problem in the interior. Teacher Training Schools should take full advantage of the excellent guidelines given them in the "Pedoman Keguruan", published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1970. The facilities given here for specialisation and group work might be somewhat expanded to serve the different needs of the various districts. It might be possible to

envisage a three year course in Kedjuruan with as specialized subjects: agriculture, horticulture, raising of livestock, inland fisheries, simple technical skills, entrepreneurship, business, co-operatives etc. To the prescribed subjects should be added a course in practical anthropology so that the village teachers will be able to appreciate the differences in law and tribal customs that prevail throughout the Province. It should also be made possible to specialize in religion, as providing religious guidance to the inland cultures undergoing rapid cultural change would seem to be essential.

The inland village schools and the Central Schools in particular will always stand in need of a large number of well-trained general teachers. In this respect too, the Teacher Training Schools should pay attention to the advice provided in the "Pedoman Keguruan" concerning modern methods of teaching. Future teachers must be able to provide guidance to those children who will continue their studies on the secondary and higher level for it is these who will become the future leaders of development.

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Strategi Pendidikan di Irian Barat :
Topics untuk Pertimbangan

Dr. Soekisno Hadikoemoro

Abstract

In this article, dealing with educational strategy in West Irian, the writer points out that in 1971 students at all levels in educational institutions in the Province comprised 14% of the total population. The national target for Indonesia as a whole by the end of Pelita II (ie, by 1978) is 13%.

In West Irian the distribution of the number of students at different levels of education reveals a state of imbalance. Also, the quality of elementary education calls for serious attention. Until 1978, it is believed, a selective strategy should be under taken to arrive at a quantitative balance for education as a whole and the qualitative improvement of elementary education in particular.

Tjatatatan singkat ini dimaksudkan untuk dapat menjadi pedoman, yang mungkin bersifat sementara sampai dapat dibuktikan ataupun disanggah keberahannya, dalam Diskusi2 oleh Peserta Diskusi dalam rangka Simposium Pendidikan di Irian Barat dengan informasi setju kupnja dari Study Center. Seperti ditundjukan nanti, tugas Study Center tjukup berat; oleh karena berhasil tidaknja Simposium ini sebagian besar akan tergantung dari kegiatan serta kesungguhan Center ini dalam menjari data pelengkap, mengolah, mem-presenteer mengarahkan topics, mengarahkan diskusi dlsb.

Fakta

A. Kwantitatip

Piramida banjaknja murid di Irian Barat pada tahun 1971 menunjukkan keadaan yang tidak seimbang setjara vertikal (vertical imbalance). Djumlah murid SD terlalu besar djika dibandingkan dengan djumlah murid di Sekolah2 Landjutan dan mahasiswa.

Menurut ketentuan keadaan yang seimbang (jaitu murid PT:SLA: SLP: = 1,46% : 4,70% : 18,76% : 75,08%) maka bila dipergunakan dasar djumlah mahasiswa yang ada sekarang sebagai patokan, djumlah murid sekarang seluruhnja seharusnya berdjumlah 70.000 orang; sedangkan djumlah yang sekarang ini ada 123.700 orang. Dalam pada itu bila yang diambil sebagai patokan adalah murid SD yang ada sekarang dan tentunja ini yang diambil oleh karena tidak mungkin djumlah yang sudah ada ini dikurangi maka djumlah seluruh murid seharusnya 147.000 orang.

Keadaan di Indonesia sekarang ini, jaitu tahun 1971, djumlah murid adalah 10,46% dari djumlah penduduk. Dalam perentjanaan Pengembangan Pendidikan di Indonesia tertjantum sasaran2 berikut: sasaran akhir Pelita II: 1978 = 13%, Pelita III: 1983 = 15%, Pelita IV: 1988 = 20%, Pelita V: 1993 = 25%.

Bila dipeladjadi kaadaannja untuk Irian Barat pada tahun 1971 ini maka sekarang ini djumlah murid seluruhnja sudah menjapai 14% dari djumlah penduduk (sensus 1971: 862.000 orang). Adapun projeksi njua untuk beberapa tahun mendatang ini, chususnja sampai akhir Pelita II, bila dianggap bahwa kenaikan djumlah penduduk adalah 2% tiap tahunnja (diambil dri data djumlah penduduk tahun 1969, 1971), maka sasaran 13% dari djumlah penduduk, jaitu $13\% \times 959.800 = 124.800$ kira2 djumlah murid seperti sekarang ini djatuh pada tahun 1977; atau dapat dikemukakan djatuh pada akhir Pelita II. Ini berarti bahwa setjara kwantitatip djumlah murid di

Irian Barat sekarang ini sudah melebihi sasaran Pelita II; dan untuk menyesuaikan dengan sasaran maka sampai akhir Pelita II jumlah murid perlu dipertahankan - dalam arti tidak diadakan yang berarti -, ketjuali distribusinja yang harus diperbaiki.

B. Kualitatif

Salah satu dari kriteria yang dipergunakan ialah data mengenai hasil ujian. Bilamana dilihat data hasil ujian2 maupun peserta maka diseluruh djenis sekolah grafiknja menunjukkan ke naikan. Akan tetapi bila dipelajari ratio lulusan: peserta nampak bahwa pada SLP dan SLA keadaannya lk.konstant (menurun sedikit), sedangkan pada SD ratio itu sedjak 1965 hingga sekarang terus menurun dengan penurunan yang tjukup tjuram, jaitu rata2 - 10% setiap tahunnja (data 1965 - 1970).

Penjempurnaan Data

Untuk membuktikan kebenaran itu ataupun untuk memerintji sebab2nja, disb. diperlukan data dari berbagai segi. Djuga untuk tujuan penjusunan strategi pendidikan diperlukan data pelengkap mengenai hal2 yang relevant dengan itu yang peranannya ada pada Study Center.

Beberapa aspek dapat disebutkan misalnja :

- A. Umum :** Potensi Irian Barat dan projeksinja untuk 10 tahun mendatang (rencana pembangunan Irian Barat); profil umur dan djenis kelamin di Irian Barat; inventarisasi komposisi tenaga kerja; tenaga administratif yang ada dibidang pendidikan; perlengkapan; bantuan kepada murid; pengelolaan sekolah (Negeri, Jajasan); cost of schooling, % anggaran yang disediakan untuk pendidikan didaerah ini; proporsi pembiajan untuk masing2 kelompok sekolah; kesedjahteraan guru; kegairahan guru.
- B. Kuantitatif :** Proyeksi population growth sampai akhir Pelita II beserta implikasinja; perkembangan jumlah murid, guru, kelas, sekolah sedjak 1950 - 1971; penjebaran sekolah2; size dari sekolah2; perintjian ratio G/K, G/M, G/S, S/K, S/M, K/M, baik setjara keseluruhan maupun fragmentasinja kedalam sekolah sekolah Negeri dan Jajasan; piramida penduduk; piramida banjaknja murid; drop-out/wastage; % jumlah anak dalam school age yang njata bersekolah per Kabupaten dan untuk seluruh Propinsi; size dari kampung2; scatter diagram dari size of schools; kemungkinan penggabungan sekolah2; penjebaran murid2; penjebaran guru2; ratio murid; penduduk untuk Propinsi dan untuk per Kabupaten; kekurangan guru; keadaan dan status bangunan2 sekolah; umur petugas2 pendidikan; lamanja bertugas di Irian Barat bagi mereka yang asal dari penugasan; perbandingan jumlah guru2 petugas dan putra daerah; perkiraan produksi SPG sampai tahun 1978; data dari dinas2 lain mengenai pendidikan yang diselenggarakan maupun penugasan beladjar.

Data tersebut, untuk persoalan yang sesuai, hendaknya dapat dikemukakan selain untuk Propinsi djuga per Kabupaten, dan djuga pemisahan setjara lain jaitu untuk kota dan daerah pedalaman.

- C. Kualitatif :** Kualifikasi guru2; ratio peserta ujian : lulusan buku2 pegangan guru (judul, pengarang, tahun terbit); metoda mengajar; perintjian ratio peserta ujian: lulusan per kabupaten, djuga untuk kotadan daerah pedalaman; partisipasi masjarakat; pengertian masjarakat; literacy diantara drop-outs; pekerjaan para drop-outs.
- D. Inovatif :** Fungsi sekolah dalam masjarakat; fungsi guru dalam masjarakat; pengetahuan ilmu2 kemasjarakatan yang perlu diketahui para guru dan tjalon guru : peranan PLPG; peranan Educational Broadcasting; peranan Universitas Tjenderawasih.

Strategi Pendidikan Irian Barat

Dengan fakta yang ada sebagai pedoman djelah bahwa - sampai penelitian oleh Study Center dapat membuktikan lain - perentjanaan/strategi pendidikan Irian Barat, se-tidak2nja sampai akhir Pelita II, harus bersifat selektip jaitu :

- untuk SD - diutamakan peningkatan mutu, tanpa menambah jumlah murid yang berarti; dalam hal ini diperlukan penelitian tiap Kabupaten; diusahakan agar peningkatan mutu itu dapat dilakukan pada jumlah sekolah yang lebih sedikit yang tentunja harus ditjapai melalui penggabungan sekolah2 yang dewasa ini dan djuga projeksinja terajata tidak efisien (size-nja terlalu ketjil sedangkan bajangan tjalon murid memang djuga kurang seperti yang njata ada dibeberapa tempat); djuga perhatian diarahkan kepada penjempurnaan bangunan2 dan fasilitas.
- untuk SL - peningkatan proporsi jumlah anak2 yang diberi kesempatan memperoleh pendidikan landjutan atau dengan kata lain ekspansi SL diperlukan; usaha kearah Sekolah Komprehensif dengan skill yang disesuaikan dengan keadaan daerah ini beserta kemungkinan masa mendatang.

Strategi sematjam tersebut diatas memang dikemukakan oleh Menteri Mashuri dalam pemilihan alternatif penetjahan masalah pendidikan di Indonesia. Pendapat yang sedjalan djuga dikemukakan oleh Smith dalam saran untuk perentjanaan pendidikan di TPNG.

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Collecting Ethnographic Specimens

Philip J.C.Dark

Iehtisar.

Dalam article ini penulisnja dikenal sebagai seorang jang ahli didalam kesenian Primitif didaerah Melanesis, mengandjurkan untuk bagaimana mengadakan pengumpulan benda2 kebudajaan untuk museum. Adalah sangat penting untuk dengan teliti mengadakan pengumpulan benda2 kebudajaan (artifacts), supaja diketahui apakah benda2 tersebut baik untuk diperlihatkan didalam suatu museum. Walaupun "Primitive"nja ataupun sederhananja benda2 tersebut, namun daripadanja dapat diperlihatkan sesuatu tingkat kebudajaan sesuatu masyarakat tertentu pada suatu saat tertentu, sehingga dengan demikian adalah penting untuk disimpan didalam museum. Pada tahun 1970, Presiden Indonesia telah menjuruh mendirikan sebuah museum dilingkungan Universitas Tjenderwasih di Abepura, Djajapura Irian Barat.

Pengumpulan benda2 kebudajaan memang telah dilakukan, namun apabila Museum itu telah siap untuk dibuka sekitar bulan July 1972, sudah tentu lebih banjak lagi pengumpulan benda2 kebudajaan harus dilakukan.

Diharapkan para petugas pemerintah, Misionaris, dan petugas lainnja jang berada di Irian Barat dapat membantu pengisian museum tersebut dengan mengadakan pengumpulan hasil2 kesenian dan hasil2 kebudajaan didaerah dimana mereka berada. Didalam melakukan pengumpulan benda2 kebudajaan tersebut, beberapa hal dibawah ini perlu diperhatikan :

1. Mengadakan anotasi :

Setiap benda jang dikumpul harus diberi nomer. Nomer2 tersebut harus ditulis pada kartu2. Nomer benda2 tersebut djuga perlu di tulis dalam suatu daftar. Djika mungkin keterangan jang diberikan dibawah (1-5) djuga ditulis dalam daftar, tetapi didalam beberapa hal, keterangan ini seperti djuga data2 (6-8) ditulis dalam buku tjatatan sipengumpul. Lebih baik lagi dibuat tjatatan tjadangan untuk mendjaga djangan sampai tjatatan asli itu hilang.

2. Tanggal Pengumpulan:

Tanggal ketika benda2 tersebut dikumpulkan djuga ditulis dalam daftar. Tanggal itu ditulis sebagai berikut : Hari, Bulan, dan tahun. Bulan ditulis dengan menggunakan angka Romawi, umpamanja 1, IV, 1972.

3. Tempat pengumpulan :

Djika mungkin supaja dichususkan umpamanja : Desa Pikhe, daerah pedalaman Djajawidjaja, Irian Barat,

4. Nama2 dari benda2 tersebut :

Ini supaja ditulis dalam bahasa sipengumpul dan djuga didalam bahasa bahasa penduduk dimana benda tersebut didapat.

5. Orang dimana benda itu diperoleh :

Sangat penting untuk menjotba mempeladjadi nama dari orang jang selalu mengerdjakan benda2 tersebut, dan darimana benda2 itu berasal. Sebagai tjontoh: ada kemungkinan orang jang mendjual benda tersebut bukan mengerdjakannja sendiri, tetapi memperolehnja melalui perdagangan dan pertukaran.

6. Bagaimana benda-tersebut dikumpul :

Tjatat dengan tepat dan teliti bagaimana benda tersebut diper oleh. Djika benda tersebut dibeli, berapa harga jang harus dibayar; djika benda itu diberi, apa jang harus diberikan sebagai imbalan dsb.

7. Benda2 jang dibuat untuk menggambarkan sesuatu objek dan siapa jang mengerdjakannja :

Usahkan untuk mengetahui untuk objek manakah benda itu dibuat dan tjatat keterangan ini didalam bahasa penduduk setempat dan djuga didalam bahasa sipengumpul. Djika mungkin djuga ditjatat nama dari sipembuat dan dimana ia tinggal. Hal ini disebabkan karena banjak dari benda2 itu dibuat oleh pengukir2 dari penduduk tersebut untuk memperlihatkan kebosaran kepribadiannja dan hal itu penting karena beberapa orang memperoleh penghargaan dari ma sjarakatnja karena pekerdjaan mereka tersebut. Beberapa benda se perti perahu, dikerdjakan oleh beberapa orang laki2 dan ada djuga jang dikerdjakan hanja oleh satu orang; dalam beberapa hal hanja wanita sadja jang mengerdjakan benda2 tertentu, atau ada beberapa benda tertentu jang dikerdjakan hanja oleh kaum laki2. Keterangan ini harus ditjatat. Keterangan jang demikian membantu kita untuk mempeladjadi kebudayaan orang lain.

8. Penggunaan :

Bagaimana penggunaan benda tersebut. Bila benda itu dipergunakan ? Dan oleh siapa. Pada kesempatan jang bagaimana? Apakah benda tersebut sering digunakan atau djarang. Sudah tentu sangat membantu djika dapat diadakan pengambilan photo terhadap benda2 tersebut.

.....

When the only evidence left of man's past activities is but a handful of undocumented artifacts, think how limited, and general, can the scholar's reasonable surmises be as to what they are, where they came from and what they meant to the people who made them, let alone how they were used. Museums of the world are full of ethnographic collections often lacking any information at all about the specimens entrusted to them and which their curators guard, some with care but some with little concern for the preservation of the bric-a-brac for which they are continuously hard pressed to find storage space.

Today's scholars generally have great difficulty in reconstructing the context of the undocumented curios of exotic cultures lodged in museums that attract them to their store rooms, often because few historical records, indeed, frequently none, exist for the cultures of origin of the specimens; or because even research in the cultures of modern times which are the direct descendants from those from which the specimens came is sketchy or vague, or, if extensive, may but demonstrate that artifacts surviving from just a few decades ago bear little relation to the ongoing, living culture of today: change has been too abrupt, too sweeping, too cacophonous, for connections to be maintained.

If the picture of the state of ethnographic collections is not exactly rosy think how gloomy it will be in twenty years time, or in the beginning of the next century, if we continue to collect the arts and crafts of man without recording anything about them. It is possible in this literate age for collectors, be they curio seekers, dealers catering to tourists, art collectors, anthropologists or any other scholars, to make some sort of reasonable record about the 'thing' he removes from its cultural context for whatever purpose. Why? Why bother ? For the sake of keeping the record straight, the record of man's remarkable creative genius, of his solution to the problems of adaptation to his environment, of the many particular ways of pursuing the livelihood he has chosen, of his zest for expression in a myriad of forms and his capacity for intellectual exploration by means of manifest symbols. But it can be said that the record is not straight. True. One can read accounts of observant travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for example, who deplored the changes that were taking place among the living cultures they visited and the loss of the arts that used to be practiced but were no longer and about which they could but guess. Such was the case of Polynesia as western man, once he had become armed with suitable navigational aids, swept back and forth through the Pacific. Melanesia was somehow less affected and parts of Papua are only now feeling change blowing over a mountain top or along a deep, cloud-wrapped valley; some are still without contact with twentieth century man.

But nothing stands still; some things change more rapidly than others. In the whole history of mankind, as we understand it --even if rather poorly, never has change occurred at such a pace and in such an all pervading manner. If the years since the second world war are an example of the formidable technological changes that have taken place, and of the tremendous increase in the world's population, which has begun to horrify man and scare him into realizing that he may not, after all, be God's chosen creature, then one can expect those cultures still able to shelter from modern man will not be able to do so for long and that those which have recently experienced contact with him will soon be pursuing a course of life changed considerably from their traditional ways and beliefs. If such is to be their paths then it behooves us to stir ourselves and make a decent record of what is going to pass so that scholars and others can understand what has happened and why. The record will be our small contribution.

In Irian Barat, the President of Indonesia ordered the construction of a museum on the campus of the University of Tjenderawasih at Abepura, in 1970. Small collections of artifacts from the Province have already been made and deposited there but these, and those that will be made in the future, must be properly documented and conserved if they are to represent adequately the cultural heritage of the people and help those of future generations to understand their history.

A number of suggestions follow as to the kinds of information which collectors of ethnographic specimens should try and obtain, be they anthropologist or some other scientist, government official or missionary, or the curious seeker after things curious. In summary, the following should be noted :

1. Number of object
2. Date when collected
3. Place where collected
4. Name of object (collector's name and native name)
5. Person/s from whom collected
6. How collected ?

7. Materials from which made, and maker.

8. Use.

Assuming that a collection of several objects is to be made, then it is advisable to use some form of numbering system of specimens so that the information collected about them can be related to the right object. Putting all the information garnered about a specimen on a label tied to the object may be courting disaster as labels can get separated from the things they are tied to. If the collector can be bothered, it is wise to put at least the basic information, such as items 1-5 above, on the label as well as in the collector's notebook. The serious collector, and collecting should be taken seriously, should make a duplicate copy of his notes. The curio seeker, even the casual tourist who is a compulsive collector, might pause and taken the trouble to make a few notes so that when he has successfully removed his curio thousands of miles from its place of origin, and presented it to his local museum, the specimen can at least be put in the reserves with some identification instead of being added to the mound of curiosities that fill museums. Curios intrigue the curious and that is presumably why acquisitiveness is indulged. They may or may not be great works of art. But when we are all dead and gone they'll stand witness to our activities at this small point in time of man's existence.

1. Number.

As noted above, the collector should employ some numbering system, which will bring together again the specimen and the information he obtained about it when later he has forgotten what he was told; or the specimen has left his hands and has arrived at a museum to be catalogued by a curator ignorant of the name, provenience, use and significance of what he has just received.

As to marking the actual specimen or labeling it, it may be wise to do both, though indelible marks are obviously indelible and hence may be damaging. If made, then consideration should be given as to the best place to put them: not in a position to interfere with the best views of the object but in a place where they can be readily observed for identification of the specimen. Some combination of a tie-on label, tied securely with a reef

knot and not a grannie, together with a stick-on tag should permit the specimen later to meet up with collectors notes. Indelible ink should be used on the labels.

The best type of label to use, though not one common to shops and thus easy to obtain, is one made of linen or cotton which is used by zoologists as it can be immersed in water, or liquids, and will not disintegrate as does paper.

Though perhaps obvious, it is worth cautioning the collector to put his name and address on the label he ties to the specimen as well as the information about it.

2. Date when collected

A caution which should be observed is that different dating systems are used in different countries. In the U.S.A., for example, the month always precedes the day. It is best to use the system which has been adopted for certain international certification needs, such as vaccinations: the day should be noted first, then the month in Roman numerals, and lastly the year, eg., 2 IV. 1972.

3. Place where collected

This should be as specific as possible in order to give both the general context and the specific locale of the specimen eg. West Irian, Central Highlands, Baliem Valley, Pihke Village; the division of the village, or compound, should be noted though detail of this nature may best be put with the name of the person from whom the specimen was obtained so that it is known exactly where he lived (see item 5, below). Different names may be used for the same place by different people, the native name being different from that employed by someone not a native of the place.

4. Name of object

This should be in the collector's language as well as in the native tongue. As the person from whom a specimen is obtained may not be of the people who made the object, or of the place from whence it originated, the collector should be clear what sort of name he gets and, if he can, obtain the name used by the people who made the object as well as that employed for it by the people who use it, if they are of a different group from the makers.

With the caution in mind as to the nature of the relationship of the object to the person from whom it was collected, and of it to any others present from whom information about it was sought or who proffered data about it-if the collector can extend his inquiry, then he should seek the names of the parts of the object. Maybe they are symbolic of certain cultural features which inquiry will bring forth. If design are present, as generally occur, for example, on the shafts of arrows, perhaps the collector can elicit their meaning.

5. Person/s from whom collected

From whom was the specimen obtained? Is he, or she, the owner? Did he get it from someone else who lives in the same place as he does-by agreement-or in some other place? Did he get it by trade or exchange? It is important to ascertain where the object originated from and who made it.

It may be that a collector acquires a specimen from someone who is not in a position to sell it, or exchange it, who has no real right over it, who, in fact, is not its owner.

It is a good idea for the collector to photograph the owner with the object, if it is portable and personal, or beside it. The context of the object should be recorded by photographs, if possible (see #3 below).

6. How collected?

A record should be kept of whether the object is bought, and, if so, how much was paid for it, whether it was obtained in exchange-and for what-or was a gift, and, if a gift, was reciprocated by a gift.

A note as to the circumstances of the transaction should be made: a stolen item bought in innocence may bring an irate owner's wrath down on a collector. A collector with a little imagination will know why he lost his head.

7. Materials from which made, and maker

Both the collector's identifications and descriptions and those of the native should be noted. It is worth recording the

physical state of the object: is it a bit broken? Has it been repaired? Is it but newly made? Is it in good condition?

It is useful to document the name of the craftsman or artist, and where he lives, for the stamp of his handiwork may be noticeable on other specimens which have gone undocumented and thus their culture of origin can be established. If sufficient information of this nature can be accumulated the styles of individual artists within a culture can sometimes be established.

Some artifacts can be the work of several hands; others remain anonymous. Some crafts may be the work of specialists, others may be undertaken by all: do all men make their bows and arrows? some crafts may be the work of one sex only: for example, the women may make pots but never bows and arrows, or canoes. If information on production and the producer can be elicited the collector is doing a great service to augment our knowledge of other peoples and cultures.

8. Use

Information obtained by the collector on this category can be of value similar to that referred to above on materials and maker.

The questions which need to be asked are: How is the object used? Who uses it? For what purpose? When is it used: on what occasions? Is the specimen common in the culture? Is it typical or rare?

If photographs can be made of the object actually being used, whether under reconstructed or artificial conditions, for purposes of demonstration, or whether functioning in its proper cultural context, then, again, the collector will be contributing valuable data on man's cultural heritage.

In some of the eight categories of information considered above, it was suggested that native names be recorded. Some collectors may have an appropriate system of phonetic notation at their command but for those who don't it is suggested that attempts be made to represent the sounds or words heard. The collector can try to make comparisons with his own tongue, noting that the word he obtained is pronounced like the sound 'so and so' in

'such and such' a word; or is comparable to a particular word of the collector's language. If he evolves or invents some form of phonetic notation then he is cautioned to try to use his signs consistently.

The serious collector who desires elaboration of some of the points made above, and wishes to extend his interests, is advised to refer to one or two guides on the subject and on studies of material culture. Indispensable is William C. Sturtevant's (1967) little guide to collecting ethnographic specimens.

The problems encountered in creating a museum file of material culture and a discussion of the basic types of data needed by the museum curator about ethnological specimens are to be found in Chapter 2 of Ricciardelli's (1967) report.

Surely the most comprehensive classification of artifacts devised is that of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University, which Beatrice Blackwood (1970) published in the Museum's Occasional Papers. The classification can be of great value to the collector as a memoire to inquiry after the different types of artifacts that may exist in a culture. In a somewhat similar category but intended for the ethnographer pursuing a holistic study of a society are the Outline of Cultural Materials compiled by Murdock (1950) and others, and, Notes and Queries on Anthropology, the work of a committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and North Ireland (1951).

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Health Conditions and Disease Patterns
in West Irian

Suriadi Gunawan

Ichtiisar

Dalam karangan ini, "Keadaan kesehatan dan pola penjakit di Irian Barat", telah diuraikan setjara singkat penjakit2 terpenting jang terdapat di Irian Barat. Pengetahuan mengenai keadaan kesehatan dan pola penjakit diperlukan sebagai dasar untuk mengadakan usaha perbaikan dibidang kesehatan.

Meskipun banjak kemajuan jang telah ditjapai, setjara keseluruhan keadaan kesehatan di Irian Barat belum dapat dianggap memuaskan. Penjakit2 rakjat jang utama adalah : malaria, tuberculosis, kusta, framboesia, kekurangan makanan dan penjakit gondok. Penjakit influenza, batuk redjan, tjampak dan tjatjar air sering berdjangkit sebagai wabah jang disertai dengan angka kematian jang tinggi akibat penjulit radang paru2. Penjakit2 karantina seperti tjatjar, pes dan demam kuning tidak terdapat. Penjakit cholera pernah berdjangkit dalam tahun 1962, 1963, 1965 dan terakhir dalam tahun 1971 di Abepura dan Djajapura. Sedjak bulan September 1971 penjakit ini sudah tidak dilaporkan lagi. Penjakit kelamin, terutama gonorrhoeas makin lama makin banjak ditemukan. Penjakit2 lain jang banjak terdapat dikalangan penduduk ialah a.l.:

- penjakit2 kulit (kaskado, scabies, pyoderma dan ulcus tropicum)
- penjakit2 dajalan pernapasan (bronchitis, asthma dan radang paru2)
- penjakit2 perut/muntah-berak (dysentery basili dan amubawi)
- penjakit ketjatjangan (ascariasis dan ankylostomiasis)

Angka kematian dan terutama angka kematian bayi adalah sangat tinggi. Angka kematian umum berkisar antara 15 - 50 o/oo, sedangkan angka kematian bayi berkisar antara 100 - 350 o/oo.

Tugas dan tanggung djawab jang dihadapi dinas kesehatan di Irian Barat adalah sangat berat. Luasnja daerah dan djaranuja penduduk menjebatkan sehingga usaha kesehatan di Irian Barat mendjadi relatif mahal.

Untuk mentjapai perbaikan kesehatan dibutuhkan koordinasi dan kerdjasama jang lebih baik antara dinas kesehatan dengan dinas2 pemerintahan lainnja, organisasi2 internasional, geredja2 dan jajasan2 keagamaan. Pendwuk Irian Barat sendiri perlu turut serta melalui aktivitas gotong rojong dan pembangunan masyarakat.

Introduction

Health conditions in West Irian in former times used to be such that the territory well deserved its reputation of being "the devil's own country". The first government settlements in the 19th century had such high mortality rates that they had to be abandoned.

Modern medical care was started at the beginning of this century and many changes have since taken place. The Department of Public Health was very active in the period 1953-1962 and much improvement had been achieved, especially in the more accessible areas, but the over-all health situation is still far from satisfactory.

In this article, a brief characterisation will be given concerning the main diseases and health problems present in West Irian. Most of the data were collected from reports and records of the provincial health service. In the absence of reliable data, frequently the writer has to make his own estimates.

Malaria

Malaria is still the most dangerous disease in West Irian. It is a major cause of death (especially among children) and is the most serious contributor to chronic ill-health.

In order to give an impression of the severity of malaria, I cite the figures which the WHO malaria consultant team has found in several places in 1970. Parasite rates among the population examined varied between 66% in Hamadi (Djajapura), 41% in Babrongko (Sentani), 37% in Klademak (Sorong) and 21% in Mokmer (Biak). The over-all spleen rates for the same places were 43%, 61%, 75% and 43% respectively.

Recent surveys have also shown that malaria transmission can occur in altitudes up to 1650 metres. Many regions in the highlands are found to have high parasite and spleen rates. Bokondini, at an altitude of about 1400 metres, has a parasite rate of 33% and a spleen rate of 62%.

The principal malaria vectors in West Irian belong to the punctulatus group. These mosquitoes breed indiscriminately in all types of water collections, their only demand being sunshine. The mosquitoes are particularly found in man-made surroundings. Wherever

a clearing in the jungle is made for human settlement there result puddles and pools which are exposed to sunlight and form ideal breeding places for these mosquitoes. Kangkung beds around the houses are another important breeding source.

DDT residual house spraying, which has been carried out since 1954 in the more accessible coastal areas, can lower the incidence of malaria, but it has not been able to interrupt the transmission of the disease. A pilot project to control malaria with medicated salt has been a failure because of operational difficulties and the appearance of resistant strains. Malaria control, at least in and around the urban centres and locations of development projects, is an economic necessity. An increase in malaria would seriously impede development.

Current malaria control operations protect about 125,000 people in and around the urban centres. FUNDWI has provided DDT drugs, vehicles, spray equipment and laboratory apparatus to the worth of U.S.\$179,000. The annually recurrent costs provided by the central and provincial government are high and in 1971 totalled U.S.\$150,000.

Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is becoming increasingly important as a public health problem. The population appears to be very susceptible to this disease. The spread of the disease is favoured by poor social conditions and particularly by the custom of sleeping close together in dark and dusty dwellings. The poor nutritional standard is an other important factor. The disease is particularly prevalent in areas where contact with the outside world has been closest. It hardly occurs among the population in isolated areas such as the central highlands and Asmat region on the South coast.

The prevalence of tuberculosis reveals great local variation. In the more accessible coastal areas, the tuberculin index has been found somewhere around 50%, while the prevalence of active tuberculosis was in the order of 2%. A survey in the Sentani district in 1959 gave a prevalence of 4%. It was also found that 3% of the population above the age of six years were excreting bacilli and thus acting as sources of infection.

Almost 30% of all the hospital beds in West Irian are occupied by tuberculosis patients and about 50% of the long sickness leaves given to government personnel are a consequence of tuberculosis. A total of 1984 new cases were reported in 1971. There are enough reasons to assume that the actual number must be 2 or 3 times as high.

Before 1963, the Dutch had organized a specialized and costly tuberculosis control programme. This programme could not be maintained since it is quite beyond the financial and personnel resources of the present administration. The present programme is integrated into the general health services and consists of the following main activities:

1. BCG vaccination for children below the age of 15 years. Freeze dried BCG vaccin is provided by UNICEF. A total of 36,677 vaccinations had been performed in 1971.
2. Case-finding and chemotherapy. A total of 4,024 patients were receiving ambulatory treatment while the number of hospital admissions amounted to 616 in 1970.
3. Health education with respect to nutrition and hygiene.
4. The "Interior Quarantine Ordinance" requires people entering the central highlands to have a certificate signed by a government physician stating that they are not suffering from diseases which can be a danger to the health of the people in those areas¹.

Leprosy

Leprosy was introduced during the end of the 19th century on the Radja Ampat Islands near Sorong. It has since spread to other parts of the territory, mainly in coastal regions, notably the West coast, Tjenderawasih bay (including Biak and Japen) and the South coast (Merauke). The interior, the central highlands and the isolated Asmat region are still free from the disease.

¹It should be noted that in practice the above ordinance is difficult to carry out. Many cases of tuberculosis have been discovered in the central highlands among coastal and non-Irianese people, notably government and military personnel.

It was possible to examine the greater part of the coastal population and a total of 5,424 leprosy patients had been registered in 1971, of which 1,398 were of the infectious lepromatous/borderline type. About 400 patients are being treated in the leprosaria in Sorong, Wasior, Kaimana and Merauke, and about 700 patients are receiving ambulatory treatment, while the rest are not receiving any treatment.

There are sufficient reasons to believe that the disease is advancing and a more effective control programme is urgently required. The former expensive programme of segregation in leprosaria has made no impact on the prevalence of the disease. An extension of the facilities for domiciliary treatment integrated with the general health services must be developed. The health service in co-operation with the Leprosy Mission will start a leprosy control project on modern concepts by the end of 1972.

More effective drugs and treatment methods are now available and it is possible to cure this once hideous disease. The prevention of an introduction of leprosy to the central highlands and other isolated areas is a matter of continuous concern.

Yaws

Yaws is still prevalent in West Irian, especially in the interior and central highlands. It is closely linked to primitive hygienic conditions. Although seldom causing death, it seriously undermines energy and causes much suffering.

As a result of a WHO and UNICEF campaign between 1956 and 1959, the incidence of yaws has been greatly reduced in most of the coastal areas. Inevitable contact with the interior and insufficient surveillance however have caused several outbreaks in some of the formerly consolidated areas, notably in Biak and Japen. A total of 124,289 people have been examined in yaws resurveys in 1971, and 5,422 or about 4.5% were found to have yaws, 3,027 cases of which were of the infectious type. A total of 5,953 cases of yaws were reported by policlinics during 1970.

In order to bring the disease under control, systematic examination and treatment of the whole population by mobile teams should be carried out at regular intervals. In view of the difficult terrain,

scattered population and poor communications, this requires much money, time and effort. It is immensely worthwhile, however, as it creates much good will among the population, thus paving the way for other development projects.

Nutritional status

The food patterns in West Irian show much variation. In the coastal areas the staple food is sago, while in the mountainous areas it consists mainly of root crops like sweet potato, taro or yam. In and around the towns rice is gradually becoming the staple food. Several useful foods, common to other parts of Indonesia, like beans and pulses are conspicuously lacking.

The shortage of protein is the basic nutritional problem. The low protein diet, especially during the weaning period is a very critical aspect in survival for the Irianese child. This is probably also an important factor for the low resistance of the population against infectious diseases. Vitamin deficiencies are rare among the Irianese living in their original surroundings. Beri-beri, xerophthalmia and other vitamin deficiencies are more frequently observed in the towns and artificial communities, like prisons, barracks for labourers and boarding schools.

The health department tries to improve the nutritional condition mainly through health education and the training of village health aides. The improvement of nutrition should be the joint effort of several departments such as agriculture, fisheries, animal husbandry, health, education and administration.

Endemic goitre

Endemic goitre is a serious problem in certain parts of the central highlands and Arfak mountains in the Bird's Head region. It is mainly observed in valleys which consist of mesozoic sedimentary rocks (sandstone, slate and schists) like the Mulia, Beoga and Bilorai valley. A recent survey in the Bilorai valley gave an over-all goitre frequency of 60%; 85% of the adult women and 40% of the adult men had goitre. Cretinism and deafmutism are very common; about 4% of the population have this congenital abnormality.

All the goitrous regions are difficult to reach and it is not feasible to provide the population with a sufficient supply of iodized salt. In the Australian part of New Guinea, promising results have been attained by the use of iodized oil injections.

A control programme with FUNDWI and WHO assistance is in preparation and it is expected that operations will start in the middle of this year.

Influenza

Influenza is recurring as an epidemic almost every year and is accompanied by high mortality, especially in isolated communities. A total of 165,850 cases were reported during the epidemic in 1970 and the number of deaths due to complications amounted to 2,572. The poor nutritional status, lack of immunity and lack of adequate medical care were responsible for this high attack and mortality rate.

Cholera

Outbreaks of cholera (El Tor type) have occurred in 1962 (Asmat and Mimika), 1963 (Japen and Waropen), 1965 (Biak and Mumfur) and in 1971 (Abepura and Djajapura). The last outbreak was mild in comparison with those of earlier years. A total of 88 cases were recorded with only 2 deaths. No convincing evidence was obtained as to the source of this outbreak. It is supposed that healthy carriers brought the disease from South Selawesi.

Vaccination does not give adequate protection against the disease. The prevention of cholera and other intestinal diseases depends upon good sanitation, notably the provision of a safe water supply. There are plans for the improvement of urban water supply with the assistance of FUNDWI and ADB.

Smallpox

The last smallpox epidemic in West Irian occurred in 1917. As smallpox is still present elsewhere in Indonesia it is necessary to adopt strict quarantine measures and maintain the vaccination level of the population. In 1971, a total of 156,344 vaccinations were performed, 48,824 of which were primary vaccinations.

Venereal diseases

Venereal diseases are rare, but gonorrhoea and syphilis are reported with increasing frequency, mainly from the ports and urban centres. A total of 262 cases of gonorrhoea and 93 cases of syphilis were reported in 1970.

Venereal granuloma (Donovanosis) was a serious problem in the South coast a few decades ago. It was held responsible for causing a considerable decrease in population. Over a short period of time venereal granuloma spread appallingly because of promiscuous sexual relations in connection with religious practices. Thanks to the intensive efforts by the government and missions the disease has now practically disappeared, except in some isolated areas in the interior and in Frederik Hendrik island.

Other diseases

Bacillary dysentery and to a lesser extent amebic dysentery are very common, with occasional local outbursts.

Hook worm disease or ankylostomiasis is very prevalent too. Serious anemia can result if the number of worms per infected person is very high.

Other worm diseases are caused by *Ascaris lumbricoides*, *Trichuris trichiura*, *Enterobius vermicularis*, and *Strongyloides stercoralis*.

Respiratory diseases: the population is highly susceptible to lobar pneumonia and the mortality is very high. Bronchopneumonia is a frequent complication of influenza, whooping cough, measles and other infectious diseases. Bronchitis and asthma are very common.

Tropical ulcers are sharply margined, ghastly and foul smelling ulcers, mostly on the lower parts of the legs. A total of 13,291 cases were reported in 1970.

Cascado or tinea imbricata is one of the most prevailing skin diseases. No serious discomfort or itching is present and as a rule the patients do not seek treatment, but there is a growing demand for treatment from the more urbanized part of the population.

Scabies and ringworm are other frequent skin diseases. They cause much more itching and scratching often resulting in small wounds, ulcers and secondary pyogenic infections.

Infectious hepatitis, poliomyelitis and diphtheria occur sporadically.

Tetanus is reported with increasing frequency.

Filariasis is prevalent in some parts of West Irian. Elephantiasis is the most striking defect caused by this disease. These are prodigious swellings of the legs and sometimes of the genitals, arms and breasts.

Scrub typhus or mite born fever occurs sporadically. The indigenous population seems to have a high degree of immunity against this infection. Scrub typhus is transmitted by the bites of certain mites. This disease was raging seriously among American soldiers during the war. There were about 9,000 cases with over 500 deaths. Dibutylphthalate when rubbed into the clothes is the best repellent against the bites of the mites.

Trachoma is found in a mild form in West Irian. Most of the patients do not complain and the disease can heal spontaneously. Surveys in several parts of West Irian gave a prevalence of 10% - 50%.

Vital statistics

Vital statistical data cannot be collected easily in West Irian. Registration of births and deaths is carried out only in the urban centres and then on a voluntary basis.

In the absence of reliable birth and death figures, estimates based on less dependable methods must be made. One can obtain a general idea by combining the information from limited censuses, health service records, baptismal registers and interviews with mothers about their children. Based on those methods, the following estimates can be made :

Crude birth rate	35 - 50 o/oo
Crude death rate	15 - 50 o/oo
Infant mortality rate	100 - 350 o/oo

Owing to great diversities within the province and the considerable variability in demographic events which may occur from year to year (such as epidemics and famines), generalizations for small population groups have only limited value.

The demographic survey sponsored by the European Common Market between 1959-1962, gives some insight into the mortality pattern in

six specific areas of West Irian. In the more developed areas, with more public health facilities and other development activities, the crude death rate fell from 50 to 15-20 o/oo and the infant mortality rate fell from 350 to 100 - 150 o/oo. It is assumed that malaria control made the biggest contribution, but some findings indicate that curative and MCH services are also capable of bringing about improvement.

Major causes of death

Not much is known about the causes of death which occur outside the hospitals; even deaths in hospitals are often not properly certified. Major causes of death as reported by hospitals in order of frequency for 1971, were as follows :

1. Malaria
2. Gastro-enteritis
3. Stillbirth/neonatal diseases/prematurity
4. Tuberculosis
5. Lobar pneumonia
6. Bronchopneumonia
7. Accidents and violence
8. Malnutrition
9. Anemia
10. Complications of pregnancy, labour and puerperium.

About 50% of the deaths were of children below the age of 5 years.

Summary and conclusions

A brief characterisation has been given of the main diseases prevalent in West Irian. Major endemic diseases are malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, yaws, protein malnutrition and endemic goitre. Quarantinable diseases like small pox, plague and yellow fever are absent. Outbreaks of cholera have occurred in 1962, 1963, 1965 and 1971. Venereal diseases, especially gonorrhoea are reported with increasing frequency.

Other major causes of morbidity are :

- skin diseases (scabies, ringworm, cascado, tropical ulcers and pyoderma)
- respiratory diseases (bronchitis, asthma and pneumonia)

- diarrheal diseases (bacillary and amebic dysentery)
- worm infestations (ascariasis and ankylostomiasis)

The following diseases occur sporadically: tetanus, infectious hepatitis, poliomyelitis, diphtheria and scrub typhus. The crude death rate is estimated between 15 - 50 o/oo and the infant mortality rate between 100 - 350 o/oo, depending on the area.

The public health service is facing an enormous task and heavy responsibility with very limited resources. The extensiveness of the area and the low density of population make the costs of health care extremely high. It is gratifying to note that more funds have been available since 1969. With the PELITA budget and the assistance received from FUNDWI and other international organisations, it was possible to stop a further deterioration and attempt some improvements.

Money and materials alone are not enough. Greater efficiency and dedication is needed if good intentions and available funds are to be translated into practice. All the activities of the various government services and agencies, the international organizations and the several missionary and religious foundations should be coordinated and mutually supplemented if present conditions are to be improved. And above all, the people themselves of West Irian have to participate and make their own voluntary contribution through activities of self-help and community development.

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Operasi Koteka: Suatu Usaha Mempertjepat Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman Irian Barat.

Abstract:

Oscar M.T. Siregar

In an endeavour to develop the social and economic life of the people living in the interior, especially the people in the Central Highlands, the Government together with the armed forces in West Irian have initiated a developmental project called Operasi Koteka. The project is aimed at helping the people to upgrade their economy and social conditions by providing practical training in such matters as improved gardening methods, animal breeding, better housing, health and hygiene and so on.

The initiative in establishing the project was taken by Brig. General Acub Zainal (Army commander in West Irian) who, as V/Chairman of the West Irian Development Board (LAKBANGDA) is concerned to achieve rapid development in the interior. By this project General Acub is attempting to show that the Indonesian Government is able to achieve progress in a relatively short period of time. This is in recognition of the fact that it would take 100 years or more to bring the interior to the level of cultural progress such as is found in Java and other parts of Indonesia.

Operasi Koteka will be carried out in a number of phases, each phase involving varying lengths of time in different areas. The first phase, which will be for two years, was initiated in August 17, 1971, in the Baliem Valley and Wissel Lakes regions. This phase is divided into four terms each of six months. There are thirty teams for each term each team consisting of seven or eight persons. Eight teams have been stationed in The Baliem Valley, twelve at Enarotali and ten at Wagete. The teams are sent to villages where members live and work with the people. Teams are made up of students from Tjenderawasih University, government officials and volunteers.

Before being sent to the field personnel are given brief training in horticulture, animal husbandry, inland fishery techniques, building construction, handicrafts and hygiene. They also receive instruction on the cultures and customs of the Highlands, geography, and methods of introducing social change. In the field they are to train people in a practical way by working with them in the gardens, helping to construct new houses, building fish ponds, latrines etc., while in the field teams are kept fully supplied from Djajapura. Each member receives a daily allowance of IB Rps.10 (US\$0.50)

To maintain communications with headquarters, each team is supplied with a radio transmitter and receiver. Command headquarters are located at Djajapura with branch offices at Wamena and Nabire. Headquarters staff is made up of government officials and military men who have been recruited on a part-time basis.

In accordance with an instruction from the Ministry of Home Affairs in Djakarta, as from the end of February, 1972, Operasi Koteka was placed under the control of Task Force, the special organization under the control of the Ministry for the development of West Irian.

Dalam usaha untuk mempertjepat pembangunan Irian Barat, khususnya pembangunan masyarakat di daerah pedalaman, Pemerintah Daerah Propinsi Irian Barat bekerja sama dengan Angkatan Bersenjata telah memulai suatu langkah baru untuk memajukan rakyat yang masih terbelakang di daerah pedalaman. Langkah tersebut ditempuh dengan mengadakan operasi civilisasi dengan nama OPERASI KOTEKA yang dimaksudkan sebagai sarana untuk mempertjepat dan sekaligus memperluas usaha pembangunan masyarakat di daerah pedalaman guna dapat dengan segera merombak keterbelakangan rakyat serta mewujudkan kondisi sosial yang lebih baik di daerah tersebut. Operasi civilisasi ini bertugas membimbing rakyat dengan memberikan pendidikan dan latihan yang praktis yang setjara langsung atau tidak langsung dapat mendorong mereka untuk meningkatkan taraf hidup dan mengembangkan kebudayaan mereka ke arah yang lebih maju.

Usaha mengadakan operasi civilisasi ini diprakarsai oleh Brigadir Djenderal Acub Zainal (Panglima Kodam XVII/Tjenderawasih) dimana dia selaku Panglima dan selaku Wakil Ketua Badan Pelaksana Pembangunan Daerah Irian Barat tidak sampai hati melihat dan membiarkan rakyat di daerah pedalaman "menderita" lebih lama dalam keadaan terbelakang dan karena itu berusaha untuk memajukan mereka dalam waktu setjepat mungkin. Disamping itu Acub Zainal dengan operasi ini ingin membuktikan kepada dunia bahwa bangsa Indonesia sanggup menghapuskan keterbelakangan dari bumi Irian Barat dalam jangka waktu yang relatif singkat sebagai jawaban terhadap suara dari orang luar (negeri) yang mengatakannya bahwa keterbelakangan rakyat di pedalaman Irian Barat baru dapat lenjap dalam jangka waktu 100 bahkan mungkin 200 tahun yang akan datang. Dengan alasan tersebut maka Acub Zainal mentjetuskan datu gagasan untuk mengadakan operasi civilisasi ke daerah pedalaman, gagasan mana kemudian mendapat persetujuan dan dukungan dari Presiden Suharto dengan mendjandjikan bantuan biaya sebesar 100 djuta rupiah setiap tahun jaitu untuk penjediaan pakaian yang akan diberikan kepada rakyat di pedalaman.

Adapun pelaksana dari operasi civilisasi tersebut akan dilakukan setjara bertahap, masing2 tahap dengan suatu jangka waktu yang tertentu pada daerah2 lokasi yang berlainan. Tahap pertama sudah mulai dilaksanakan sedjak 17 Agustus 1971 dan direntjanakan akan berlangsung selama 2 tahun. Daerah2 yang didjadikan sasaran operasi tahap pertama ini ialah Wamena (Lembah Balin), Enarotali (sekitar danau Paniai) dan Wagete (sekitar danau Tigi). Daerah2 tersebut diambil sebagai sasaran pertama karena ketiga daerah itu termasuk daerah2 yang paling terbelakang dan paling padat penduduknja; selain itu ketiga daerah tersebut agak mudah ditjapai karena sudah ada hubungan lalu lintas udara setjara rutine dengan Djajapura sehingga tidak terlalu sulit untuk penjalaran personil, perbekalan dan perlengkapan operasi.

Struktur badan pelaksana operasi

Operasi Koteka dikoordinir oleh satu komando (Komando Operasi Koteka) yang berpusat di Djajapura. Komando operasi ini merupakan badan gabungan antara unsur2 sipil dan militer, dimana anggota2nja diambil

dari berbagai instansi sipil dan kesatuan ABRI. Komando terbagi dalam 4 kelompok staf, yakni:

- Staf Operasi dengan tugas menjelenggarakan perentjanaan dan pengendalian operasionil.
- Staf Administrasi/Personil dengan tugas menjelenggarakan administrasi dan urusan2 personil.
- Staf Logistik dengan tugas menjelenggarakan perentjanaan dan penjaluran logistik.
- Staf Khusus/Ahli dengan tugas memberikan saran2 dan petunjuk2 yang dapat menundjang kelantjaraan djalannja operasi.

Guna mendjamin kelantjaraan hubungan antara Komando dengan para petugas dilapangan maka diadakan 2 komando pembantu (Sub Komando Operasi) masing2 berkedudukan di Wamena dan Nabire. Sub Komando Operasi di Wamena bertugas mengkoordinir pelaksanaan operasi didaerah Balim, sedangkan Sub Komando Operasi di Nabire mengkoordinir pelaksanaan operasi didaerah Enarotali dan Wagete. Anggauta2 Sub Komando Operasi diambil dari instansi2 pemerintah dan kesatuan2 ABRI ditingkat Kabupaten dan terbagi kedalam 4 kelompok staf jaitu: Staf Operasi, Staf Administrasi, Staf Logistik dan Staf Security/Intelligent.

Chusus untuk daerah Enarotali dan Wagete berhubung karena letaknja djauh dari Sub Komando Operasi maka diadakan Komando Sektor Operasi masing2 berkedudukan di Enarotali dan di Wagete. Kedua Komando Sektor ini mempunyai tugas dan susunan staf yang sama dengan Sub Komando tetapi dalam ruang lingkup yang lebih ketjil jaitu hanja untuk daerah sekitarnja. Anggauta2nja diambil dari instansi2 pemerintah/kesatuan ABRI setempat.

Tugas pokok operasi :

Dalam usahanja meningkatkan taraf hidup dan mengembangkan kebudayaan rakjat didaerah pedalaman, Operasi Koteka merupakan suatu operasi pembangunan yang serba guna yang mempunyai berbagai matjam tugas yang meliputi bidang2 ekonomi, sosial dan politik. Dari sekian banjak tugas2 itu maka tugas pokok yang harus dilaksanakan adalah:

- bidang ekonomi : - mendidik dan melatih rakjat setjara praktis dalam berbagai kegiatan yang dapat mendorong peningkatan ekonomi rakjat.
- bidang sosial : - mendorong rakjat untuk menghilangkan tjara berpakaian tradisionil yang hampir telanjang dan menggantikannja dengan pakaian yang pantas.
 - mendorong masjarakat untuk meningkatkan kebersihan diri dan lingkungannja.
 - mendorong susunan masjarakat yang berkelompok ketjil2 dan ter-pentjar2 disertai dengan fanatisme kelompok kearah susunan masjarakat yang tertib dan teratur serta saling tolong menolong.

- bidang politik : - menanamkan kesadaran nasional, kesadaran ber negara dan berpemerintahan didalam wadah Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia.

Tjara melaksanakan operasi:

Kegiatan pelaksanaan operasi didaerah sasaran dilakukan dalam 4 gelombang, masing2 gelombang berlangsung selama 6 bulan. Tiap gelombang dilaksanakan oleh para petugas yang terdiri dari Team2 Pelaksana Operasi dimana Team2 tersebut tinggal di-tengah2 rakjat dan bekerja bersama rakjat selama 6 bulan terus menerus. Sesudah 6 bulan maka Team2 Pelaksana gelombang I diganti dengan Team2 Pelaksana gelombang II dan begitu seterusnya sampai operasi tahap pertama selesai.

Para petugas yang tergabung didalam Team2 Pelaksana diambil dari tenaga2 pegawai instansi pemerintah/swasta yang setjara sukarela mau ditugaskan ditambah dengan tenaga2 sukarelawan dari masjarakat serta tenaga2 mahasiswa yang diperbantukan oleh Universitas Tjenderawasih. Sebelum mendjalankan operasi dipedalaman, para petugas lebih dulu di beri pendidikan/latihan2 yang diperlukan dan sebelum itu mereka ditest untuk mengetahui apakah kesehatannja mengidjinkan, mentalnja kuat di samping dasar pengetahuannja tjukup untuk mendjalankan tugas berat dipedalaman. Didalam pendidikan/latihan(jang berlangsung kira2 3 minggu) para petugas diberi pelajaran kedjuruan a.l.pertanian, peternakan/perikanan, pertukangan, keradjinan, pendidikan butahuruf/kesehatan, ditambah dengan pengetahuan tentang adat istiadat penduduk didaerah sasaran, keadaan alam didaerah sasaran dan tjara2 meng-approach masjarakat. Pelajaran diberikan oleh orang2 yang ahli dalam bidangnya masing2. Disamping pelajaran2 tersebut para petugas selama pendidikan itu mendjalani latihan2 fisik yang tjukup berat yang dimaksudkan untuk menambah ketahanan mereka menghadapi keadaan alam didaerah pedalaman.

Djumlah Team Pelaksana yang bergerak pada setiap gelombang operasi ada sebanyak 30. Dari djumlah itu 8 team ditempatkan didaerah Balim, 12 team didaerah Enarotali dan 10 team didaerah Wagete. Menurut rentjana semula tiap Team Pelaksana akan terdiri dari 10 orang tetapi oleh karena tenaga yang memenuhi sjarat tidak mentjukupi maka Team2 Pelaksana gelombang I rata2 hanja 7 sampai 8 orang. Didaerah sasaran Team Pelaksana ditempatkan saling berjajuhan di-tempat2 dimana penduduk masih kurang sekali mendapat pengaruh dari dunia luar. Daerah operasi tiap team meliputi radius yang tjukup luas dimana masing2 team diperkirakan menggarap 4500 sampai 5000 penduduk.

Selama mendjalankan tugas Team Pelaksana diberi bahan makanan dan perlengkapan2 setjukupnja. Disamping itu para petugas mendapat uang kantong sebanyak Rp.10,- Irian Barat setiap hari dan mendapat penbagan rokok. Guna mendjaga agar noril para petugas tidak sampai merosot maka mereka dilengkapi pula dengan alat2 olah raga (alat2 olah raga sekaligus merupakan perlengkapan operasi) dan radio. Untuk memudahkan pemberitaan antara team dengan team dan antara team dengan Sub Komando/Komando Sektor, setiap Team Pelaksana dilengkapi dengan sebuah alat pemantjar berupa pesawat PRA-33.

Teknis pelaksanaan operasi :

Kegiatan pelaksanaan Operasi Koteka dibagi menjadi 3 fase, yaitu fase I disebut Operasi Perintis, fase II disebut Operasi Inti dan fase III disebut Operasi Pembinaan.

Pada fase Operasi Perintis kegiatan operasi dititik beratkan ke pada pendekatan (approach) terhadap masyarakat terutama pendekatan terhadap golongan tua agar mereka dapat menjabarkan maksud dan tujuan operasi dan selanjutnya tidak menghalangi jalannya operasi. Approach kepada golongan tua ini dilakukan melalui petugas2 putra2 asli pedalaman yang sengaja diikuti sertakan untuk maksud tersebut dan juga sebagai juru bahasa, disamping itu pendekatan terhadap golongan tua dilakukan juga melalui para pejabat pemerintahan setempat dan guru2 sekolah yang ada di daerah itu. Selain pendekatan kepada golongan tua maka golongan muda terutama anak2 diapproach dengan mengadakan permainan olah raga atau dengan mengadakan pertemuan2 dimana para petugas menggunakan pengetahuannya untuk menarik simpati mereka. Disamping mengadakan pendekatan terhadap masyarakat, pada fase Operasi Perintis dimulai usaha2 yang dapat mendorong peningkatan ekonomi, a.l. dengan membuka kebun pertjontohan, kolam ikan pertjontohan, tjontoh2 pemeliharaan ternak yang lebih efisien, memperkenalkan alat2 pertanian yang lebih baik, misalnya tjangkul, sekop, parang dan lain2 alat keperluan sehari2 yang belum dikenal oleh masyarakat. Dalam fase ini dimulai pula usaha2 peningkatan kebersihan/kesehatan a.l. dengan memperkenalkan kebiasaan mandi, memperkenalkan tjontoh perumahan yang lebih baik dan lebih sehat, memperkenalkan alat2 membersihkan rumah/pekarangan, memperkenalkan tjara memasak makanan yang lebih sehat, memperkenalkan tjara berpakaian, dan dimulai mengadakan pendidikan buta huruf kepada anak2 yang tidak mendapat kesempatan memasuki sekolah/sekaligus memperkenalkan penggunaan bahasa Indonesia. Disamping itu pada fase ini dimulai mendidik kader2 pembangunan yang terdiri dari pemuda2 setempat yang nantinya dapat meneruskan usaha2 yang telah dirintis oleh para petugas operasi bilamana operasi telah berakhir.

Pada fase II (Operasi Inti) kegiatan operasi ditekankan kepada usaha2 intensifikasi dan ekstensifikasi usaha2 yang telah dirintis dalam fase I. Intensifikasi dan ekstensifikasi tersebut dilakukan dengan memperluas dan memperbanyak usaha2 dalam bidang2 yang telah dirintis sebelumnya sehingga lebih banyak penduduk yang merasakan. Disamping itu pada fase ini mulai diadakan kegiatan tambahan yaitu:

- pengadaan pakaian/barang2 lainnya yang disukai penduduk (penda daan perlengkapan kebutuhan yang baru bagi masyarakat).
- pengadaan tempat mandi dan tempat membuang kotoran (WC).
- mendirikan balai kampung ditiap kampung.
- mengusahakan penyaluran hasil produksi rakjat. dan lain2.

Pada fase III (Operasi Pembinaan) maka titik berat kegiatan adalah memantapkan dan lebih meningkatkan serta memelihara hasil2 yang telah ditjapai pada Operasi Inti.

Adapun target yang akan ditjapai dari tiap fase operasi ialah :

- Fase I :
1. Bangkit dan meningkatkan kesadaran/keinginan rakjat untuk :
 - membersihkan diri/membersihkan lingkungan
 - berpakaian yang pantas
 - bekerdja produktif
 - mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia
 - mampu berhitung.
 2. Terpilih kader pembangunan setempat.
 3. Sirkulasi lokal mulai hidup dalam masyarakat.
 4. Penjurusan kampung yang lebih tertib dan lebih teratur mulai terlaksana.

- Fase II :
1. Sebahagian besar penduduk di daerah sasaran telah bisa untuk :
 - membersihkan diri/mandi
 - berpakaian dan dapat memelihara pakaiannya.
 - berumah bersih.
 - bekerdja produktif
 - berbahasa Indonesia dan mampu berhitung.
 2. Hasil produksi rakjat dipedalaman sudah makin meningkat.
 3. Susunan kampung yang teratur dan tertib meningkat jumlahnya.

- Fase III :
1. Hasil2 operasi sebelumnya bertambah meningkat.
 2. Masyarakat telah dapat mengenal pokok2 sederhana tentang Negara Pantjasila.
 3. Terdapat susunan masyarakat yang tertib dan teratur dengan kehidupan yang bergairah untuk menudju/sebagai landasan pembangunan selanjutnya.

Sesudah operasi berakhir maka semua usaha2 yang telah dikerdjakan diserahkan kepada Pemerintah Daerah cq. Dinas/Djawatan yang berwenang untuk dibina dan dikembangkan.

Evaluasi operasi

Setiap fase kegiatan operasi dievaluasi oleh team ahli yang terdiri dari tenaga2 ahli Dinas/Djawatan yang ada sangkut paut dengan bidang2 yang dilaksanakan dalam operasi. Bilamana dalam penilaian tersebut terdapat hal yang negatif maka kegiatan operasi ditempat Team Pelaksana yang bersangkutan akan diberhentikan untuk sementara untuk diadakan analisa. Bila dari hasil analisa ternyata bahwa keadaan masih bisa diperbaiki, operasi akan diteruskan dengan mengadakan beberapa perbaikan/perubahan sesuai dengan letak sebab2 yang menimbulkan sifat negatif tadi; bila mana keadaan negatif disebabkan oleh hal2 yang tidak dapat diperbaiki lagimaka kegiatan operasi ditempat tersebut dihentikan sama sekali.

Penutup

Diatas penulis menjelaskan setjara ringkas tentang beberapa hal mengenai Operasi Koteka, yang menurut penulis perlu dikemukakan mengingat banyaknya timbul kesalah fahaman mengenai tjara2 pelaksanaan

maupun tugasnja. Mudah2an dengan tulisan jang singkat ini kesalah fahaman itu dapat dihilangkan dan mudah2an tulisan singkat ini dapat memberi gambaran jang agak djelas mengenai usaha2 jang didjalankan Operasi Koteka untuk meningkatkan taraf dan tata penghidupan masjarakat di daerah pedalaman jang hingga kini kebanyakan belum mengenal kemajuan meskipun mereka hidup dalam "djaman apollo" dimana manusia sudah ada sampai kebulan. Rakjat dipedalaman masih banjak jang hidup dalam "dja man batu" dan merupakan satu2nja peninggalan dari masa "stone-age" jang sudah lenjap dibagian2 dunia lainnja sedjak ribuan tahun jang silam.

Penulis menjadari bahwa apa jang di-tjita2kan dengan Operasi Koteka tidaklah mungkin ditjapai 100% dalam djangka waktu jang demikian singkat, namun demikian makna jang tersirat dalam tudjuan operasi ini patut mendapat penghargaan.

Pada waktu tulisan ini dimuat maka Operasi Koteka berdasarkan keputusan Menteri Dalam Negeri telah digabungkan dalam Task Force jaitu mendjadi Task Force Pembangunan Masjarakat Pedalaman Unit IV dengan nama Bimbingan Masjarakat Pedalaman.

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Art is not Dead but Alive and
Doing Well on the Sepik River¹

Jorgen Peterson

Ichtisar :

Artikel ini merupakan suatu usaha untuk memberikan kesan jang masih merupakan teka-teki jang sukar dipetjahkan tentang hasil kesenian dan keradjinan tangan dan penduduknja dari daerah sungai Sepik jang ditulis berdasarkan pengalaman penulis jang tinggal selama 4 tahun di Papua New Guinea.

Pengarang menulis berdasarkan atas penjaksiannja pada berbagai peristiwa jang disaksikannja sendiri, djuga berdasarkan laporan2 jang dikemukakan oleh pegawai Pemerintah, Penjebar agama, antropolog dan pedagang2 barang2 kesenian.

Sebagai kesimpulan dari tulisan ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa hasil kesenian dan keradjinan tangan merupakan sumber pendapatan jang terpenting bagi daerah papua New Guinea jang belum berkembang ini. Di Sepik tidak ada usaha untuk merenungkan setjara mendalam terhadap nilai2 artistik, jang terpenting bukanlah segi keindahan tetapi bagaimana mendapatkan uang kontan.

The Sepik is one of the worlds great rivers, navigable for nearly 300 miles by small boats and by cannoes, even further. It runs from the central mountain range to the coast in the western part of the United Nations Trust Territory called New Guinea. Along this big muddy snake of a river live some 60.000 people. These people have produced and are still producing art work, which is broadly termed Sepik art. This art is represented in all major museums throughout the world. The Basel Museum for Volkerkunde in Switzerland, for example, has more than 100.000 pieces and the Berlin Museum for

1. The title for this paper is a quotation from a speech by Sir D'Argy on the occasion of the opening of the Sepik Mask Competition held in Port Moresby, 1970.

NOTE: The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the writer and are not connected with his work for ILO.

Volkerkunde has about the same quantity from this region¹

On arrival at Wewak, the gateway to the East Sepik District, one stands face to face with some carved poles painted with shiny oil paint. As a newcomer I was not particularly impressed. One then proceeds by road (the last ten miles of this journey took three hours in a four wheel drive vehicle although the road has since seen improved) until suddenly at Pagini one catches first sight of the Sepik River. There was a further three hour journey by speed boat up river before arriving at Ambunti, a small subdistrict station about 200 miles up the Sepik. The first night in Ambunti I consider my baptism into Sepik Art and the mystery that surrounds the river.

Over a bottle of whisky an Irish Australian Government official told me the stories and myths of the Sepik and spoke of the art work, many examples of which were hanging on his walls. The next day I had talks with traders. Traders in the Sepik are Europeans, mostly Australians, who are dealing with everything imaginable including artifacts, crocodile skins, rice, tinned meat, transport and labour recruiting for work on the many plantations throughout Papua, New-Guinea. One of the traders pointed to a carved female figure and claimed that he had been offered A\$1000 for it from a museum.

Another trip by canoe then my first real encounter with a Sipik village. I entered the mens' secret house (haus tamberan) and examined the carved posts, big slitgongs (drums), carved chairs, masks, and every night listened to the men playing their secret flutes - both small and large bamboo instruments decorated and carved. The canoes, I noticed, had carved crocodile heads and the pottery which was in everyday use was decorated. Many of the pieces were masterpieces of art and yet they were produced by these people as a matter of course to be used, for example, to cook sago. I was baffled that anyone could survive in these dirty villages infested with mosquitos and then on top of this produce this amazing variety of pottery, masks, drums, canoes, bark paintings, carved house posts- the list goes on and on.

¹ Many books have been written about Sepik Art. Some of the better known works are listed in the bibliography.

I remember walking into the haus tamberan in Angoram. This house was built by men from all the villages on the river, each village making a post or a bark painting. This Haus Tamberan is now used by the Local Government Council which provides a sales outlet to overseas buyers and tourists for all the major villages making wood carvings. After walking around there for a few minutes my head was spinning; the hundred of carvings, figures, shields and paintings stacked on the floor, all of them different, was too much to absorb. The next evening I listened to the traders and crocodile hunters talking about the poor quality, the low prices and how much rubbish was produced nowadays. The work rubbish would be repeated again later interminably in my discussions with people involved in some way or other Sepik Art. One trader told me Sepik Art is dead; what he probably meant was that profits in dealing with artifacts had dropped from several thousand per cent to below 1000 per cent. This may seem an exaggeration but those interested can read the survey made by Dr. R. Kent Wilson and K. Menzies which shows that profits are incredibly high¹. A few months after having declared Sepik Art to be dead, the same trader sold an old hook figure for A\$1000. It is unlikely that he paid more than A\$100 for it.

I heard stories about the Christian Missions dealing with artifacts: how they confiscate carvings as objects symbolizing satan and then sell them at enormous profit. These stories, of course, were told to me by traders. There was also a story about an American buying a drum for A\$1200 on the spot, thereby ensuring forever that prices for drums in that particular village would be \$1200, whether they be new or old. There was also an account concerning a man who found a very old house post which had been thrown out by the people because it was rotten and of no use to them. He bought it very cheaply and was happy because it was a genuine old carving. One can imagine his chagrin when he finally took delivery of the post. The village people had taken pity on him for buying such a useless item and had recarved it completely.

¹ "Production and Marketing of artifact in the Sepik District and the Trobriand Island", in New Guinea People in Business and Industry. New Guinea Research Bulletin No. 20.

I left the Sepik confused, to put it mildly. Over the next four years I took much interest in Sepik Art and followed its ups and downs closely. In 1967, when I had arrived, Sepik art was perhaps at its lowest ebb. The Local Government Council outlet was nearly at a stand still due to lack of trained personnel. The old traders had largely stopped buying because most of the valuable historical pieces were gone and they were flooded with sloppily made new pieces. The village people were utterly confused. For them a drum is a drum whether old or new, but to the art dealer an old drum is worth perhaps A\$500, a new one A\$25. This confusion about new and old pieces is one of the rather unhappy aspects of Sepik Art. Of course, the traders want old pieces because it means more profit. But the village people are beginning to realize that older pieces fetch higher prices and, not being stupid they have started manufacturing "new" old pieces carved in rotten wood. Sometimes they put carvings in river mud for a few months or smooth down handles so that they look used. Many of these carvings are, in fact, of brilliant quality. Some carvers began to make primitive carvings so that they resembled carvings made with stone axes and pigs teeth. I have also seen a trader shooting arrows into a shield and then breaking them off. Subsequently the shield was smoked for a few days and there you have it - a genuine warriors shield picked up on a battlefield of long ago!

It is small wonder that many of the village people are confused. However, in 1968 a new type of trader began to appear on the Sepik. These people were satisfied with less profit and they knew more about Sepik Art. They showed books with pictures of Sepik Art to wood carvers; they paid higher prices and they refused to accept poorly made carvings. They bought new carvings that were small, thereby catering to the developing tourist industry, and they also established artifact shops in the main towns. The Local Government Council, by chance, employed a young Austrian girl who was interested in the people and their art. She bought selectively and paid even higher prices for good carvings. As a result, the turnover of the Council increased rapidly from approximately A\$3000 in 1967, to A\$42,000 in 1969. Then she was more or less dismissed through jealousy and rumourmongering by traders.

During this period certain people at the university of Papua, New Guinea, and others from overseas, began a campaign to protect the cultural property of the Territory- in particular Sepik art. It was argued that the carvers were not receiving their share of the big profits made on carvings sold by missionaries and traders. To my mind, this concern was expressed about fifty years too late, but one result was that certain men's houses on the Sepik were declared national cultural properties and therefore no parts were to be sold. However, five of the carved house posts from one of the best haus tamberans disappeared and were later found in a mission warehouse. Questions asked in the Papua, New Guinea House of Assembly revealed that the posts were sold before the law came into force, although they were removed after that date. Until 1970, the Australian Government had refused to give enough economic aid to the Museum of Papua, New Guinea, where valuable collections of artifacts from all parts of the Territory are stored under impossible conditions.

Also during this period Mr. D. C. Dunham, UNDP, Sydney attempted to make some order out of the chaos of profits and prices, old as opposed to new art, what was or was not 'art' and what was simply rubbish. The thing to keep in mind is that notwithstanding all the confusion the Sepik carvers were still busily carving or painting masterpieces, fakes, copies, sloppy work, sophisticated items and pornographic art all at once. One question was, could some of the hitherto unknown carvers be identified? Could they be asked what they thought about the things they were producing? Did they consider themselves artists or did the village people recognize men producing good carvings as artists? This interested to the organizing of the Sepik Mask Competition by the Art Committee of the Papua, New Guinea Cultural Centre, Port Moresby. The purpose of the competition was twofold. Firstly, to make a collection of contemporary Sepik Masks to be exhibited in various centres such as Sydney and New York to show the world what Sepik art is like today. This would perhaps refute the notion that old carvings are good and new carvings rubbish. Secondly, to identify individual carvers. This would perhaps help good individual artists to obtain higher prices for their products,

thereby helping other carvers and prospective carvers to appreciate what is good and bad. In this way, it was hoped, Sepik art would survive despite the impact of Western civilization.

Preliminary trips were undertaken to explain the competition to the carvers. Later, about fifty masks were selected to be taken to Port Moresby. Of course, the river was buzzing with rumours. Some traders and art dealers were angrily denouncing the whole venture as interference with their business. Others who were more astute went around and bought masks that had been made for the competition. Some village carvers misunderstood the purpose of the competition and suddenly tripled their prices; it had filtered down to them that there was money in art. Others misinterpreted the competition and thought a good mask must be big, so they produced enormous masks two to three metres long weighing up to half a ton.

The carvers were paid a flat rate of A\$20 for each mask selected and promised that if masks were sold overseas, they would receive the profit. An exhibition was arranged in Port Moresby. A jury composed of well-known art specialists from Australia and Papua, New Guinea selected three prize winners, who received as first prize A\$100, second \$50 and third \$25. The Australian National Art Trust proceeded to buy a collection of masks from one village at an undisclosed price. In this case a private art dealer was brought in to determine the value of the masks. Unfortunately, I was not able to see the final outcome of this first attempt to improve the lot of the Sepik artists. However, in the last months the writer spent in Papua, New Guinea, I learned that large quantities of poor quality carvings were thrown on the overseas art markets, in the hope of quick profits. These were not realized; rather, prices were declining and dealers in general were becoming wary of Sepik art. This was an unfortunate incident because at this same time the quality of Sepik art had risen tremendously due to higher prices paid to carvers and selective buying practices. The last chapter, of course, has not been written on Sepik art which somehow seems to have a dynamic instinct for survival.

To sum up, in spite of all the conflicting statements and the talk about declining quality and the production of rubbish, art and craft work with its consistent outburst of dramatic artistic quality provide, in fact, a major source of cash income for the Sepik people; for many of the village people it is the only source. The five year development plan, drawn up by the Australian Government for Papua, New Guinea, forecasts that by 1973 the annual turnover in the field of woodcarving will be 1.2 million Australian Dollars, a major part of this coming from the Sepik. If it appears that too much stress is being laid on money profits and the business aspect of art, it might be argued that it is this factor that explains why Sepik art is doing so well. The Sepik people have always traded masks and pottery: today they are doing this for money.

As to the confusion over the value of old as opposed to new carvings, is it not the traders and art dealers who have caused this? The genuine old pieces are desired not so much out of concern for artistic quality (new pieces are of the same quality) as for increased profits. Hence, the Sepik people comply by producing fine new (old) carvings. One can hardly complain about this. Perhaps it is time to recognize Sepik art as art, and not as an investment.

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Looking Westward: Work of the Australian National University
on Languages of West Irian

Don Laycock

Ichtisar

Karangan ini berisi suatu ichtisar pengetahuan kita pada dewasa ini tentang hubungan linguistik antara bahasa2 di Irian Barat, teristimewa pengetahuan yang merupakan hasil penjelidikan ahli2 bahasa yang bekerdja pada Universitas Nasional Australia di Canberra.

Pola hubungan2 linguistik di Irian Barat menunjukkan persamaan dengan pola hubungan bahasa2 yang terdapat dibagian timur dari pulau New Guinea (Papua Timur): Bahasa2 Austronesia (Melayu-Polynesia) dipantai laut, dan bahasa2 yang termasuk rumpun bukan Austronesia didaerah pedalaman.

Kebanyakan bahasa2 yang terdapat disebelah Selatan termasuk satu kelompok yang besar, yaitu kelompok yang disebut: Trans-New Guinea Phylum- sedangkan beberapa bahasa yang terdapat disebelah Utara dan Barat djuga termasuk kedalam kelompok2 yang tjukup besar. Dalam pada itu, masih terdapat banjak bahasa2 yang terpentjil, yaitu bahasa2 yang belum dapat digolongkan kedalam salah satu kelompok yang lebih besar. Banjak bahasa2 di Irian Barat yang setjara linguistik djuga masih belum diketahui, terutama bahasa2 yang terdapat didaerah dataran Utara disebelah Timur Teluk Geelvink.

Karangan ini diachiri dengan suatu andjuran agar supaja dikumpulkan data yang lebih banjak tentang bahasa2 di Irian Barat.

In West Irian, as in the Australian-controlled Territory of Papua, New Guinea, one finds an incredibly large number of languages in proportion to the size of the population. On both halves of the island the languages fall into two basic divisions: Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian), and Non-Austronesian. The boundary between the two groups is described for the Djajapura area of West Irian by Cowan (1952).

The Austronesian (AN) languages are a large family of languages which extend from Madagascar to Easter Island; the main subdivisions are Indonesian, Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian. The AN languages of West Irian, like those of Australian

New Guinea, are Melanesian.

The Non-Austronesian (NAN) languages have in the past been called "Papuan": but this name is unsatisfactory at the present stage of classification because it has not yet been shown that all members of the NAN group are related to each other, as the name "Papuan" would imply. The problem of the classification of NAN languages has been taxing linguists in the Pacific area for many years, although the field of AN, especially the exact nature of the relationships and subdivisions within it, has by no means been neglected.

What is probably the earliest extant recording of a NAN language comes from West Irian: a short Kamoro¹ vocabulary recorded by a crew member and a passenger on board the vessel Triton (Modera 1830). Even earlier, an AN language of West Irian from one of the islands in the Kumamba group had been recorded during the 1616 voyage of Le Maire and Schouten (quoted by Dalrymple 1771)² (See Appendix I).

Since that time work on the languages of West Irian has continued but has been sporadic, and has tended to deal only with readily accessible languages. Most of the work has been carried out by Dutch linguists, although missionaries of other nationalities have contributed valuable material. (The literature of 1969 is surveyed by Laycock and Voorhoeve (1971), and our knowledge of linguistic relationship to 1969 by Wurm (1971)).

The languages of West Irian are also the concern of members of the Department of Linguistics at the Australian National University (A.N.U.). For over ten years now these linguists have been working on a long term project aimed at describing all the languages of the island of New Guinea and the neighbouring islands of Melanesia, without regard to international and other political boundaries³.

The staff linguists engaged in descriptive and classificatory work on languages of New Guinea are Professor S.A.Wurm, Drs. D.C. Laycock, C.L.Voorhoeve and T.E.Dutton. Dutton's work has been mostly confined to the area east of Port Moresby in Papua, but the

work of the three other linguists has led them to examine carefully the material, published and unpublished, on languages of West Irian.

As a natural result of geography, the A.N.U. linguists for the most part have confined their fieldwork to Australian New Guinea. Only Voorhoeve has actually worked in West Irian. His early fieldwork, prior to joining the A.N.U., was carried out among the Asmat in 1960-62 and resulted in the publication of a detailed Asmat grammar (Voorhoeve 1965). Since joining the staff of the A.N.U. in 1965, he has worked mainly in Australian New Guinea (Nomad area); however, the languages he has dealt with have extensive relationships across the border. The first documentation of this relationship was in his announcement of the group known as the Central and South New Guinea Phylum (Voorhoeve 1968), which was followed by the incorporation of this phylum into an even larger phylum, the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970). In the course of this research he demonstrated the relationship of the Sentani and Asmat languages (Voorhoeve 1969) and the inclusion of both into the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

In 1970, Voorhoeve carried out further fieldwork in West Irian in the northwest and southwest corners; this resulted in the publication "Miscellaneous notes on languages in West Irian, New Guinea" (Voorhoeve 1971), where the linguistic classification is taken a step further. Much of the data below is summarised from this work.

Laycock has been working mostly in the Sepik District of Australian New Guinea and has been able to confirm the existence of linguistic groups extending across the border of West Irian and eastern New Guinea. Some languages, such as Waris and Dora, are spoken on both sides of the border while a knowledge of village Malay is not uncommon in the Waris-Amanab areas, which border on the Arso subdistrict of West Irian. The languages on the Australian side of the border in the Amanab subdistrict have been surveyed by Loving and Bass (1964).

For some of the more primitive groups inhabiting the border area the frontier hardly exists as a political entity; inter-village trading is still carried on across the border. It is to be expected that such visits may become less frequent in the future but in 1970 it was possible for Laycock to obtain survey material (basic word lists, basic grammar) in six languages of West Irian from such transient visitors. Four of these languages (Awji, Taikat, Manem, and Morwap) were also recorded by Voorhoeve and earlier writers, while two of them (Pyu and Biksi) seem never to have been noted before and are here mentioned for the first time⁴. (See Appendix II). These two last languages are spoken immediately west of the border at about latitude 3°55'S over the watershed at the headwaters of the Pauwasi River. They appear at present, though data are incomplete, to be more closely related to languages in Australian New Guinea than in West Irian; the former has been tentatively included in the Kwomtari Phylum (see Loving and Bass (1964)) while the latter seems to form part of the a proposed Sepik-Ramu Phylum (Laycock 1972).

The work of Professor Wurm on West Irianese languages has been to coordinate the work of the Department of Linguistics. An attempt has been made to draw together all research into languages of the entire island of New Guinea in order to study wide-scale genetic relationships of the NAM language. A recent study of the whole island of New Guinea (Wurm 1971) is already somewhat out of date in the light of some of the new data cited in this paper; a revised version will appear as Wurm (1973).

As a result of the collecting of language samples by A.N.U. linguists and comparing them with each other and with older published sources, a general picture of the language pattern of the whole island of New Guinea is beginning to emerge. Around the coast and on the offshore islands are spoken up to fifty languages of the Melanesian subdivision of the Austronesian family. Some of the best known of these in West Irian are Tobati (Yotafa), Biak-Numfoor, Waropen, Windesi-Wandamen, and Tarfia.

Laycock has extensive unpublished materials on the language of the island of Mor in Geelvink Bay, obtained from a former West Irianese employee of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra. Published data on some of the other languages is available, but is rarely extensive enough to allow of detailed comparisons of grammar and vocabulary with other AN languages, especially those to the immediate east of West Irian (Sera, Sissano, Tumleo, Ali). This is a pity, for the internal subgrouping of AN languages is still far from resolved.

However, the linguists of the A.N.U. have been concentrating more on the much less well known NAN languages and large groupings of these have been discovered. At present there is no way of relating all the NAN languages of the island of New Guinea to each other, but the number of large groups has been reduced to about twelve, most of which are represented only in eastern New Guinea. These twelve groups show no definite relationship to each other; in addition there are some forty "isolates" languages which show no clear relationship to any other. With further research the number of these groups will probably be reduced and many of the isolates be absorbed into larger groups. However, it may never prove to be the case that the NAN languages are all part of one large genetically related group.

By far the largest group established to date is the Central New Guinea Macrophyllum, a name which is rapidly becoming equated with the Trans-New Guinea Phylum mentioned above. In the extended form discussed by Wurm (1973), this group takes in some four hundred languages; it includes nearly all the languages spoken along the central highlands of New Guinea, in both east and west. Some of the more important members in West Irian are: all the languages of the Asmat and Frederik Hendrik Island areas, of the Dani and Baliem valleys, the Marind languages, the Goliath languages and the Sentani languages. From the data in Voorhoeve (1971), it seems that the Tami languages of the Arso District and the languages of the upper Tor may also belong to this phylum. As these languages are part of the North Papuan Phylum postulated by Cowan (1956), this means that the North Papuan Phylum may have to be reclassified as a submember of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

Other potential members of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, though the evidence is not conclusive, are the languages of the Senagi family (Dera, Duka-Skor in West Irian, and Senagi on the Australian side of the border), and those of the upper Pauwasi River area (named Pauwasi Phylum by Voorhoeve (1971)).

The next largest group in West Irian is that of the West Papuan Phylum, postulated by Cowan (1957a, 1958, 1960). Much more needs to be known about this group which takes in all the known NAM languages of Vogelkop and Halmahera. The possible extensions eastward in particular need to be established. It is noteworthy, for example, that one of the distinguishing characteristics of this group - the use of pronoun prefixes in verb conjugations - is shared by the languages of the Sko group and also by the fifty or so languages of the Torricelli Phylum in Australian New Guinea; a group of languages extending along the Torricelli mountain ranges to the north of the Sepik River (Laycock 1968). Links here are not impossible although the lexical evidence given by Cowan does not lead one to suspect any clear relationship. The grammar of the Sko group in particular is so unusual that a relationship is improbable.

This Sko group ('Sko Stock', Laycock 1972; 'Sko-Vanimo Group', Voorhoeve 1971) consists of the Sko and Sanke languages in West Irian, and of the languages Vanimo, Wutung, Krisa, Rawo, Puari and Warapu on the Australian side of the border. The languages are unusual in that they are highly tonal, have a very complex grammar, and make extensive use of prefixes. Current indications are that the ancestors of the present speakers of the languages must have been fairly late arrivals on the island of New Guinea, and that there may be linguistic relatives to be found further to the west, perhaps even in Southeast Asia.

The remaining known languages of West Irian, on which there is data in, e.g. the works of Anceaux, Drabbe and Galis, as well as other scattered sources reviewed in Laycock and Voorhoeve (1971) are still regarded as being 'unclassified'. Such languages include Morwap found to the Southwest of the Awji (Tami Stock) villages; Molof, Usku, and

Tofanna, in the area between the Pauwasi and Nawa rivers; and Kaure, to the West of the Nawa River. Little is known of these languages and they remain isolates. Four more isolates, spoken along the Mamberamo and its tributaries are known only from a set of worldlists published anonymously in Anthropos 1913. The rest of West Irian remains virtually unplaced on the linguistic map of the island of New Guinea. The least known area of all is the northern lowland region from the Bomberai peninsular to the Australian border; it seems that virtually all the languages south of this region are ultimately to be classed as members of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

This account must end, therefore, with an appeal for more information on the languages of West Irian from indigenous speakers, officials, educators, or missionaries. The first and most basic requirement is the simple mapping of the distinct languages; after that will come the detailed comparisons that will permit us to establish the wider relationships of many languages⁶.

Notes

1. Language names cited are those of the source quoted and may differ from those currently in use in West Irian.
2. The vocabulary, labelled 'Moo', appears to have been obtained from the inhabitants of the island Liki, the most easterly island of the Kumamba group. Though only a few words are available for comparison, it is very similar to the vocabulary from Wakde Island given by Galis (1956) and may be a dialect of the same language. As the list is short it is here given in full as Appendix I; those interested may compare it with the language today. There are obvious errors and the French spelling is unusual, but it should be possible to identify most of the words.
3. This is the world's most complex linguistic region - see Laycock (1969). To date, almost 700 NAM languages have been identified in Melanesia; the full total is not likely to be less than 750 when the as yet unknown languages are described. To this figure must be added the approximately 250 AN languages of West Irian, Territory of Papua, New Guinea and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.
4. A brief vocabulary of Pyu and Biksi is given as appendix II so that the languages may be identified. The villages of the former were given as Biake 2 (in Australian New Guinea) and Yibu (further up the Biake River); the villages of the latter region were named as Kwutiye, Afene, Raru, and Rapre, all towards the headwaters of the Biake River.

5. Material may be sent to Professor S.A.Wurn, Department of Linguistics, I.A.S., Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600, Australia. Extensive linguistic material can be considered for publication in the Department of Linguistics series Pacific Linguistics, in which many of the results quoted in this paper have already appeared.

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Appendix I

Vocabulary of 'Moo' (island of the Kumamba group, West Irian), recorded on the 1616 voyage of Le Maire and Schouten-exact transcription from Dalrymple (1771) :

Arrows	Bare
Bananas	Tandani
Beads	Sassera
Bread	Sagu
Bread baked in cakes	Soome
Bone-comb	Marmauw
Bird, quite white	Mavi:Kacketoua
Certain Bands which they tie round their arms	
Bow	Sabre
Coconuts	Partina
Dog	Lieu
Fish	Aroue
A certain four-footed animal	Ani
Women's Garments	Pari-wou
Hog	Maije
Hog's tooth	Paro
Iron	Sona
A Nail	Bee
A Knife	Bee
No	Koijna
There is nothing }	Taop, Taop
The name of another island	
A yellow root like Cur cuma	Arti
5	Aou
Sun	Weer-faut
To Sleep	Arduic
To shoot at fish	Moune
Water	Tine anij
	Nanou

Appendix II

Wordlist of the Pyu and Biksi Languages

<u>English</u>	<u>Pyu</u>	<u>Biksi</u>
man	talf	nam
woman	runwas	nanya
child	naou	nsl
eye	bamf'	i'
nose	tepli	nder
ear	kwé	wal
tooth	roné	rwa
head	wiri	fran
hair	lisi	fra may
hand	kabyí	faul

English

Pyu

Biksi

breast	yibwi	nun
skin	ka e lé	tel
blood	kamí	ndwal
bone	bélf	fan
sun	agwi'	melfl
moon	agiya	rurnelzl
water	yi	kfl
ground	kube	promei
stone	siri	tekoup
fire	kamis	yau
tree	kae	yau
dog	nakwu	say
pig	wé	mvalé
bird	máru	ráwi
mosquito	ayi	pitamsó
louse	ni	ni'n
house	næ	nam
village	kwa wuglí	nyamf
one	téfiye	kesá
two	kasi	ndyssfí
three	handankasi téfi	ndayikesá
four	asubwi	aingof
five	kábra má fe	lubufrán
red	asitéki	klé
black	kelisí	is
white	ka	ror
I	kwa	nya
thou	no	pa
he	na	nda
we	wela	nana
you	no	so(?)
they	na	ndwa
eat	?	ga
come	tæ	ti
go	ku	la
see	kagi	lam
hear	yikini	i
there is none	mónni	téla

.....

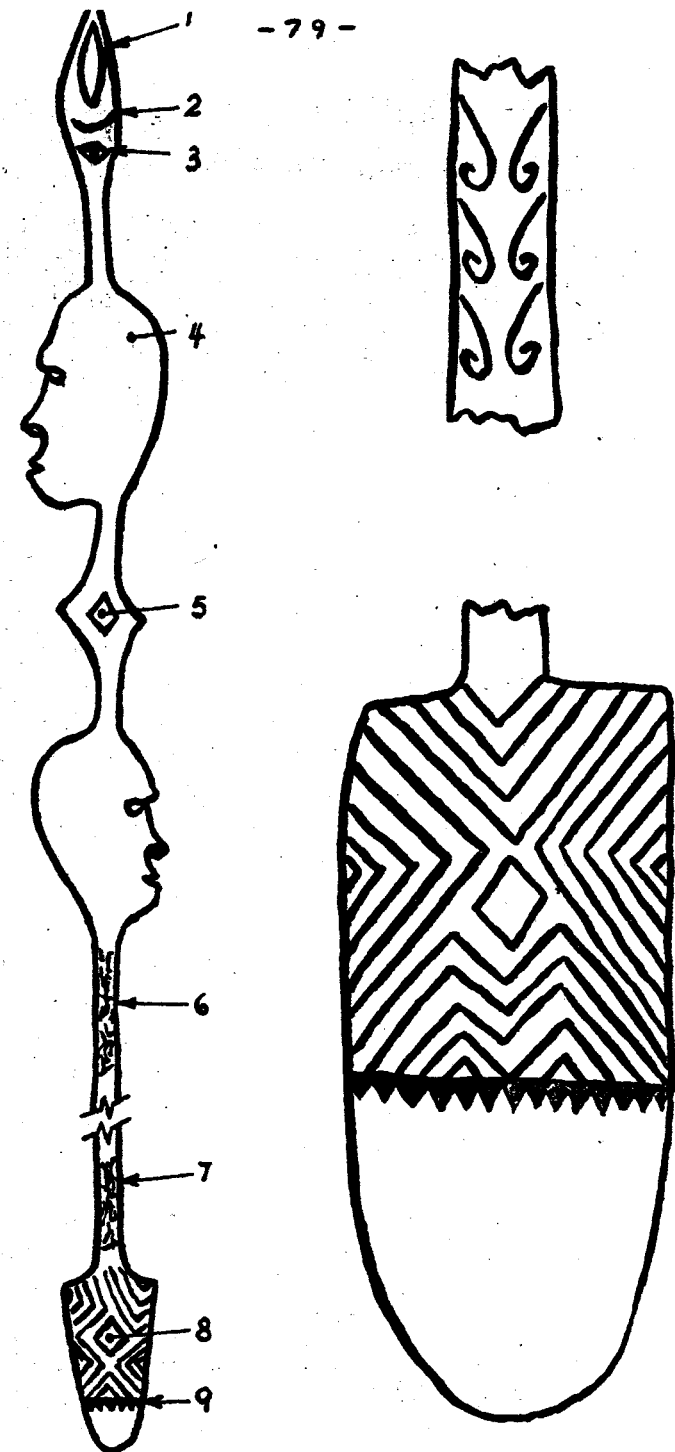
Dajung Asmat
(An Asmat Oar)

Jeremias Mbait and
Br. Martin Mc Quire, O.S.C.

Beberapa hari jang lalu seorang dari kampung Beriten bernama Komantsji membawa dajung berukiran kepada kami Projek FUNDWI delapanbelas di Agats. Dia bawa dengan maksud untuk didjual. Dia adalah kepala suku dari Kampung Beriten. Dia adalah sekelompok dari keturunan Mbisman termasuk kampung Sjuru, Jepem, Ewer, Per, Uwus, dan Beriten. Adalah sekelompok keturunan Mbismam. Umur Komantsji tigapuluh lima tahun. Nama daripada Komantsji artinja adalah seorang mata2 untuk meluputkan semua serangan dari musuh lain. Artinja Tsji perahu.

Dajung ini dibuat dari kaju besi. Dajung jang berukiran manusia ini Kawenek po artinja dajung berukiran manusia. Po arti nja dajung. Kami sudah membuat dalam buku "Wowipitsj" dari Bapak Adrian Gerbrands, mengenai artinja daripada Kave.Kave atau Kawenek adalah nama khusus sendiri untuk patung manusia. Kami ingin memberi keterangan jang tjukup djelas atau terang mengenai patung2 atau ukir2an dari Asmat (Nomor 1 sampai nomor 6 menerangkan gambar A).

1. Kami memberi keterangan mengenai Irimbi. Irimbi adalah paruh daripada nama seekor burung tahun2. Irimbi adalah punja satu tjeritera dahulu tetapi sekarang kami tidak bisa kasih keterangan lebih landjut karena tjeritera Irimbi lebih pandjang maka dengan ini kami akan memberi keterangan tentang Irimbi lebih landjut djika kami mendapat waktu jang tjukup.
2. Garis daripada paruh Irimbi adalah artinja tidak lain dari pada batasan daripada mulut atau paruh Ir.
3. Mata Ir tidak ada punja artinja lain daripada mata.
4. Kalau seorang pelukis atau pengukir mengerdjakan satu dajung ada perhiasan dengan kemauan sendiri adalah untuk didjual sadja. Lain daripada dajung berukiran manusia jang tidak ada punja nama adalah untuk didjual sadja selain daripada jang ada punja gambaran manusia dengan ada punja nama masing2. Adalah termasuk jang sudah dibuat dengan upatjara tersendiri atau pesta. Nama Kus adalah kepala.
5. Mbi Unam itu batu jang ada punja lobang persegi empat.
6. Kami terangkan mengenai O okos vo artinja taring babi djantan.
7. O okos vo arti lainnja ukiran lingkaran (Gambar B)



8. Mbi Unam djuga sekali lagi (Gambar C)
9. On sis gigi ikan ju (Gambar C)

Kami ingin sekali lagi menerangkan mengenai dajung jang berukiran manusia. Dajung jang ada punja manusia dua atau tiga diatas Irimbi, adalah untuk didjual sadja, akan tetapi, selain daripada dajung jang pandjangnja dua atau tiga meter itu, khusus untuk manusia berdajung. Itu khusus untuk sendiri. Djikalau kita melihat satu ukiran jang berbulu kasuari bulu kakatua dan lain2 matjam bulu burung mereka menghias supaja ukiran lebih baik dari pada jang belum dihias bermatjam bulu burung2.

Just a few days ago an Asmat man by the name of Komantsji brought an oar into the FUNDWI Project 18 building in Agats. He offered this oar for sale.

Komantsji is the head of a family group called a Jeo, and comes from a village called Beriten. Beriten is part of a Jeo grouping called the Mbisman, which group includes the villages of Ewer, Sjuru, Jepem, Per, and Uus. Komantsji is about thirty-five years old and is not one of the regular wood carvers. I asked the man what his name meant and was told that it meant, "a man who has relatives in both villages, and warns the other village when it is to be raided by the village in which he lives"; tsji, the last part of his name, means canoe or prauh.

This particular oar, illustrated on the previous page, is carved from iron wood, and is called in the Asmat language kawe nak po, an oar that has the carvings of human beings on it. Adrian Gerbrands in his book, Wowipitsj, talks of the kawe (pria mapun dialect) or ancestor which is the same as kawe nak which in turn is the same as Asmat; all these are the same as man. Po is the asmat word for oar. It is our intention in this article to give the Asmat names for the representations on this oar, and a partial explanation of the meanings involved¹ (Number 1 to 6 refer to Fig.A).

¹ When Asmat terms are used we have attempted to follow the same spellings as those of Fr. Peter Drabbe, MSC, in A Dictionary of the Asmat Language

1. Irimbi, the beak of the hornbill. In the Asmat culture, according to Gerbrands in Wowipitsj, the human is equated with the Sago tree. The feet being the root system, the trunk is the body, the branches or palm fronds the arms, and the amos you, the fruit, represents the head. Therefore any animal which eats the fruit is equated with headhunting and hence is a recurrent theme in the Asmat carvings.
2. Clearly defined here as in most Asmat carvings of the irimbi is the beak or mouth line.
3. The eye, usually represented as a circle, here has the human form.
4. The carving of the head of a human figure. If this is carved by an individual for his own use, it would be an ancestor, or someone to be avenged. However, since this oar was carved for sale, it represents no one in particular. The proper name for head in the Asmat language is kus.
5. One term for this diamond shaped figure in the Asmat language is mbi unam, which could be translated as club, or stone, or wooden head. In this case the hole is the receptical for the axe stone.
6. O okos vo : this figure which happens to resemble the figure six represents the tusk of the wild pig. The pig is fairly common in the Asmat area.
7. This series is again of the o okos vo or pig tusk that is represented in Fig.B. These figures are carved all around the shaft.
8. Again also the mbi unam or the hole for the axe stone (Fig.C).
9. The last figure is the line of shark teeth on the vane or blade of the oar and these are called in the Asmat language on sis (Fig.C)

One noticeable thing in the carving of the head is the hole in the nose for the nose piece. While this was a very common thing in the old days it is no longer so. It is very interesting when people gather for a feast to observe the older men dress up with their nose decorations. The two most common are the mbi pane, the tusklake decoration that is made from the tsiou, or shell pieces, and the otsj, the nose decoration made from the leg bone of the pig.

This particular oar is a carving only. The carved part takes up half the length of the oar. Since Asmat men paddles standing upright it requires an oar at least two metres and usually two and a half or three meters long. The carving, if there is one on a working oar, would be at the top for easier hand ling.

Most of the oars in use are simply pointed at the end and have a plain shaft. Another means of decorating the oars is to make sleeves of thin strips of bark from the fum tree, and decorate them with the feathers of the Cassowary bird, or from the cockatoo - jur in Asmat. These feathers are sewn into the sleeve of taki, the strips mentioned above.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DUGUM DANI, A Papuan Culture in the Highlands of West New Guinea, Karl G. Heider (1970). Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology: No.49

Ichtisar

Pater Jules Camps dalam uraian diatas ini memberi kesan2nja tentang buku karangan Prof.Karl Heider, jang berdjulud The DUGUM DANI. Pater Camps telah bekerdja sebagai misionaris di Irian Barat sedjak tahun 1953, mula-mula didaerah Mimika Barat (selama k.l.8 tahun). Kemudian selama 1½ tahun di Djajapura. Pada tahun 1963 ia tiba di-Lembah Baliem. Ia fasih berbitjara dalam bahasa Baliem. Ia telah tiga tahun mendjalankan tugas di Jiwika, tempat research Prof.Heider.

Dalam ulasan buku Prof.Heider jang disebut diatas, Pater Camps mengeritik a.l. mengenai tjara pengedjaan, jang dipergunakan oleh Prof.Heider. Pada tahun 1962 telah ditetapkan suatu ortografi untuk bahasa Baliem oleh beberapa ahli bahasa. Heider memakai pengedjaan itu seenaknja dan ia tidak konsekwen waktu ia menjimpang dari penge-djaan resmi itu. Selain dari itu banjak bahan tambahan diberikan tentang adat istiadat saudara2 kita didaerah Baliem. Dan Pater Camps menundjuk djuga kepada beberapa kechilafan dan kekurangan dalam karangan Prof.Heider. Menurut Pater Camps apa jang ditulis tentang sikap orang Baliem terhadap seks dan djuga interpretasi tentang latar belakang "perang"-suku jang petjah dalam bulan Djuni 1966, tidak dapat dibenarkan. Bab mengenai konflik antara kelompok2 sosial dianggap sangat penting dan baik sekali. Djuga apa jang ditulis Prof. Heider mengenai manusia dan "supernatural" dikatakan sangat menarik.

Meskipun terdapat beberapa kesalahan paham dan kekurangan dalam buku Prof.Heider, pada umumnja karangan itu sangat dipudji. Bagi orang jang harus mendjalankan suatu tugas untuk perkembangan saudara2 kita didaerah Baliem, buku The Dugum Dani merupakan suatu sumber istimewa mengenai adat-istiadat rakjat Baliem.

The Peabody-Harvard Expedition visited Irian Barat in 1961. The expedition worked for about six months in Baliem Valley. It may be said that the results of the expedition in certain respects have been quite spectacular. The film "Dead Birds" (1963) has received prize awards and has drawn much attention. The maker of the film, Robert Gardner, assisted by Karl Heider, also published a very attractive book of photographs entitled, Gardens of War, Life and Death in the New Guinea Stone Age (1969).

From some 25.000 available photographs they built up a collection of pictures about the life of the Baliem people at which one will look again and again.

To be mentioned with credit is also the first publication which resulted from the expedition, the book by Peter Mathiessen Under the Mountain Wall. A Chronicle of Two Seasons in the Stone Age (1963). The life, work and warfare of some Dani people is rendered in an objective yet sensitive manner.

The two anthropologist who accompanied the expedition have also published the results of their research. The Dutch anthropologist Jan Broekhuysen wrote his thesis, De Wiligiman-Dani. Een cultureel anthropologische studie over religie en oorlogsvoering in de Baliem vallei (1967). Earlier, the American anthropologist Karl G. Heider had already written his dissertation about the same people. The Dugum Dani. A Papuan Culture in the West New Guinea Highlands (1965), but at that time the dissertation was not published. Heider waited until 1970 before he published his book in an undoubtedly improved and supplemented version. It is this latter work which we intend to review in this article.

An holistic approach

Heider introduces his study as "a descriptive ethnography of the Dugum Dani; a Papuan society in the Central Highlands of West New Guinea (Irian Barat, Indonesia)" (Preface vii). Despite the trend towards more specialised anthropological research, he has chosen to present a broad descriptive introduction with a holistic approach. The holistic approach implies that one begins with the assumption that all traits in a culture are interrelated in one way or another. It is an attempt to establish where the interrelationships between the traits are to be found. In other words, the holistic approach does not set out to make the description as detailed as possible. Rather, it is to indicate the connecting elements in a culture. The reviewer does not consider himself competent to judge whether or not Heider has been successful in his 'holistic' approach.

When the writer, at the end of his book formulates his conclusions he is quick to admit that his work represents only the beginning of research on the Dani (p.295). Altogether, Heider spent about two and one half years in the Baliem Valley. We must admit that the material he collected is impressive in quantity as well as in quality. However, as a missionary who has lived and worked for eight years among the Baliem people, one feels competent to express a judgement and certain criticisms about some aspects of this book.

The name "Dani"

Heider informs us that we should regard the name "Dani" as a "convenient" term, although "some what inappropriate" (10). He adds furthermore, that the Baliem people have already begun to use the name. I do not believe this. Several times I have heard from Baliem people that they are not "Dani". They always call themselves "nit (akuni) Pallimeke"; that is, "we (people) of Baliem". Yet, it seems to be true that "Dani" is the term by which the Baliem people are indicated by tribal groups outside the Baliem area (this is also borne out in a personal communications from D. Zonggonau). In the same way that the Ekagi have not agreed to the use of the word Kapauku, no more do the Baliem people like to be called "Dani". Certainly not if the word should have been derived from the Moni term "ndao" (which means "stranger") as suggested by van Nunen, or from a certain clan name, the Diani-Matuan. Apart from this, the introduction of Indonesian has made things easier on this point. Today, one just as often hears people saying "Orang Baliem", as "Orang Dani"; both words equally nice for the ear. Why not choose the name the Baliem people themselves prefer?

The spelling of Baliem words.

The reviewer's most serious objection and one that is a source of continuous annoyance throughout the book, is the spelling of Baliem words.

In his preface (viii) the author devotes half a page to an exposition and justification of the adopted orthography. It is true that in 1961 a number of government and missionary linguists established a method of transcribing the Baliem language on scientifically based principles. However, it seems to me that one is not justified in using this orthography if one has not mastered it fully. I regret to say that Heider appears to lack this mastery. The result is that he makes mistake after mistake and causes much confusion for the reader. This can be demonstrated, as will be shown by a number of examples. Before proceeding to this, I have first indicated the most important rules for the scientific spelling (Peters: 173)¹

Symbol	stands for	example	pronounced
b	p	abe	(apé)
p- at beginning of word	b	pakai	(bagai)
- between vowels	b	epe	(ébé)
- at end of word	p	ap	(ap)
d	t	dok	(tok)
t- between two vowels	r	bete	(péré)
- at end of word	t	nogot	(nokot)
g	k	egal	(ékal)
k - between vowels	g	ake	(agé)
- in consonant clusters	k	hakse	(haksé)
- at end of word	k	wetek	(wérék)
etc. etc.			

¹ Peters, H.L. (1965) Enkele Hoofdstukken Uit Het Sociaal Relieuzen Leven Van Een Dani-Groep. Venlo: Dagblad voor Noord-Limburg N.G.

To begin with the title of the book, "The Dugum Dani". According to the scientific spelling it has to be pronounced "TUKUM". Very well, but why should not "Dani" be pronounced as "Tani"? No, this is not correct. Dani is to be pronounced as it is written, but please, Dugum has to be pronounced scientifically. To go a step further.

It can be forgiven that words like "ap" (24) for "man" and "nep" (54) which means "blood" are spelled by Heider as "ab" and "neb". But the matter becomes more serious when at one time the written "b" has to be pronounced scientifically as "p", at another time as "b"; e.g. "Subula" (88) is to be pronounced "Supula", but "Dutabut" (183) is "Turabut".

Completely objectionable is the use of his orthography when in one and the same word two "b's" are found, one of which is to be pronounced "p", the other "b", as in "Abulobak" (112), a village name, which is pronounced "Abulopak". In the same manner the symbol "g" quite often wrongly used. According to the scientific orthography "g" is to be pronounced "k". That the author forgets this when he writes words like "weligat" (136) and "jugunat" (181) as he hears them is understandable. But when one finds "eleg negal-negal" (181) which is to be pronounced "eleg nekal-nekal", it is to be regretted that Heider did not give preference to a system of spelling Baliem words as he heard them pronounced, which he fortunately followed in Gardens of War. The inconsistent application of spelling rules is especially apparent with proper names e.g. Fugima (69), Jailige (146), Mapilatma (119) etc.,. Sometimes the scientific orthography is partially followed e.g. Jibiga (65) (pronounced "Jibika"), Makmatugi (141) (pronounced "Makmarugi"), Dlugigin (146) (pronounced "Dlukigin"), but in a few instances it is completely adopted as in Widipko (65) which is to be pronounced "Witipko", or Asuk Palek (102) for "Asuk Palek" and Subula (188), pronounced "Supula". It is also to be regretted that the author does not seem to hear the difference between "i" and "y", and also does not know what to do with "h" which is heard quite often. "I" has to be pronounced as in the Indonesian "pikir", where- as the symbol "y" stands for "i" in the Indonesian "lindung".

There is no point in dwelling further on this matter. Even if one is fairly familiar with the language the spelling used by Heider causes confusion. The pronunciation of words which occur rarely or which one does not know, has to be guessed.

Following this criticism which concerns the spelling and therefore has to do with the book as a whole, it is now intended to discuss a number of Heider's assertions and suggest corrections or at least indicate where doubt exists.

"The tuber is practically never eaten raw" (31).

When in the afternoon one sees the women washing the sweet potatoes near a creek or pool, it can often be remarked that they eat a raw potato. Also, the men or boys while waiting in the afternoon for the return of the women frequently lose patience while the potatoes are being broiled or stewed, and they may take a raw potato to eat.

"The ceremonies of birth" (49)

That ceremonies of birth exist at which pigs are slaughtered is an assertion which, in my opinion is unfounded. Such ceremonies do not exist. On the man's part there is a kind of an obligation to make payments to the family of his wife, for example, on the occasion of death etc. The only birth "ceremony" that is sometimes performed is the eating of a special meal of stewed potatoes on the occasion when the "amun", the umbilical cord end falls off.

Which girls are married on the occasion of the pig feast (71)

According to Heider, it is all the girls who have received the "hodalimo". Another name for this is "hotalyma", and it means purifying (hosin) of the saly (girls skirt). It is the feast which is given on the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl. The highlight of the feast is a mud contest between men and women. If Heider means only those girls are married who have received the "hodalimo", then this is not entirely true because there are also many girls who have not yet reached this stage, but who have begun to develop physically who are married at the time of the pig feast. It might also be added that nowadays at each pig feast the girls who are married appear to be younger. This may be viewed as a reaction on the part of the people against school. People do not want girls to attend school. To avoid this, girls may undergo the "jokal-

isin" as soon as possible: the putting on of the skirt of married females.

"However, often even young widows do not remarry at all" (72).

This assertion goes too far. It may be true that sometimes a young widow will not remarry but as a rule they almost invariably do. If the women herself should be reluctant there are always many men who are eager to marry her and social pressure will be exerted. That many older widows do not enter a second marriage is easily understood.

"There is no indication that abortion actually occurs" (74)

Also, "it did not seem to be a cause of tension in normal husband-wife relations" (74).

Anyone who has lived for a longer time among the Dani people has been able to learn that abortion occurs frequently. One thing that can be done is to count the number of deaths caused by abortion over a number of years. A middle aged woman once told me that she had given birth to four children, of which only one is still alive. Furthermore, she had committed abortion five times. She considered this quite normal, "because almost every woman does it". This woman lived separated from her husband for the very reason of her repeated abortions. One indeed sometimes hears of quarrels between husband and wife which have their origin in cases of abortion. It has to be admitted, however, that men generally display an attitude of indifference towards this matter because they consider it a woman's affair.

"Role of sexual intercourse in marriage" (74)

In September 1971, a meeting was held of catechists and teachers of Baliem origin. The meeting was called to discuss marriage problems of baptised Baliem people because it has become apparent that for the men, who were trying to live according to Christian morality and were therefore denied other sexual outlets, the prolonged abstinence from marital intercourse which is sanctioned by the culture was creating serious problems. Abstinence from sexual intercourse does not begin after the birth of the child but from the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy and thereafter from four to six years: a considerable time.

Heider's opinion is that the Dani show few signs of restlessness during the period of abstinence. To us, however, it has become evident that in the case of baptized Baliem men great tensions occur as a result of this abstinence.

The non-Christian Baliem man has several outlets. First of all, there is polygyny. Heider himself has reached the conclusion that about 50% of the men are polygamous (72). Secondly, there is the possibility of divorce which is one of the greatest diseases in Baliem society. Divorce occurs with great frequency and for many people it means the solution to marriage difficulties. Finally, if the woman becomes pregnant, there is always the possibility of abortion. Heider also mentions contraceptive plants. These are the so-called "awili-oka". There are several kinds of them. Some of them are thought to cause complete sterility. My impression is that the awili-oka are only sporadically used. They are traded by people from the Jalimo area and they are rather expensive.

Because of the prolonged abstinence from sexual intercourse and the fact that Heider finds it striking that the "Dani show no overt signs of sexual anxiety during that period, it is concluded that Baliem people have "a low interest in sex (75) or that they have a "most remarkable mechanism for repressing their concern (ibid). It is apparent from Heider's conclusions to his book (296) that he is inclined to give greater credence to the "low interest in sex".

This opinion if not incorrect in our view is greatly exaggerated. The normal Baliem man has a "normal" interest in sex. It might perhaps be better to say that he has a "natural" interest but it is an interest which has not (yet) the characteristics of an illness such as has been brought about by the aberrant sex-publicity in the Western World. However, to suggest that they "are genuinely casual and unconcerned about sex" (75) is hardly believable. Two of the few baptized young men in our church have almost become frantic as a result of the prolonged abstinence which is prescribed by the culture. This is no exaggeration.

It also quite often occurs that unmarried young men become "hunik-palin". Some of them lose their heads completely for a full day running around with a spear or an axe, frightening everybody. People flee but at the same time laugh at them. Everybody ascribes this kind of behaviour to sexual tensions. In Jiwika a special term is used for it: "humugunu". Nobody will blame individuals for behaving in this way; it is considered to be a temporary phenomenon which can happen to anybody. It goes without saying that the Baliem language has many terms of abuse and expressions that are related to the sexual. This is normal enough and the terms do not need to be mentioned specifically.

If, as Heider states, "they have a most remarkable mechanism for repressing their concern" (75), does not the explanation have to be sought in the exercise of social control? This is very strong in the Jiwika area. It is almost impossible to do anything in this heavily populated valley or to meet anyone without being noticed by somebody else, even if only by a child. Notwithstanding this, if a man commits adultery and this becomes known (at times a woman herself will tell her husband) then the sanctions will be quite severe. The least demanded will be the payment of a pig, but as a rule other measures are also taken. A fight may result at which it can happen that the culprit is killed. Other social sanctions can be applied e.g. expulsion of the delinquent from society, or his village may be attacked by a party on which occasion a number of pigs will be seized. As stated earlier, the conclusion proposed by Heider that Baliem man has "a low interest in sex" is incorrect or at least greatly exaggerated. If one is thinking in terms of western society, the statement may contain some truth, but considered in itself one must say that Baliem man has a normal, healthy interest in sex.

Terms of address for an especially important man (89).

According to Heider, these terms are "namane" or "najege", both of which mean "my dog". My informants denied this most decidedly. If, for example, one addressed Kurelu, the great chief by this term he would regard it as a grave insult.

An individual who has displayed bravery in war can be addressed by this term but the correct term to use for the "especially important leaders" is "ninagoja", our mother. The chiefs who are eligible for this term are : Kurelu, Silo, Heagoi, Opinal and Hukum hearyk. They are indeed the greatest men in the valley.

Conflict (99 ff.)

The chapter on war and conflict is an exceptionally good one. It offers a very lucid picture of all kinds of conflict situations in Baliem society; we are grateful to the author for this contribution.

One of the explicit aims of the Harvard exposition was the close-up study of primitive warfare. The film "Dead Birds" shows several battles and at times the tension can be experienced by the viewer. In Gardens of War also, as the title suggests, the photographs clearly show how in the Baliem Valley the whole way of life is influenced by what may be called the "culture of war".

The distinction between the "ritual phase of warfare" (p.107 ff.) and the "secular phase of warfare" (118 ff.) which the author has made is of great importance. The distinction can be considered to refer to warfare necessitated by certain religious convictions, as opposed to warfare on the level of social relations in which killing and revenge are the main motives. In the ritual phase of war the favour of the spirits plays the most important part; warfare itself proceeds according to set rules. In secular warfare mere killing and revenge are desired and the number of victims is much higher.

The great war in June 1966 (p.118 ff.)

There has been much ado about this war. Heider is of the opinion that the origin of the first attack probably has to be sought in the war alliance itself. In earlier times the Wiligiman-Walalua had been allies of the Wittai, but they severed these bonds in order to link themselves to the Logo-Mabel, of which Kurelu was the great leader. Kurelu then became the generally accepted leader of the great war confederacy, of which the Wiligiman-Walalua became members. The assumption is that this happened during the forties.

In 1961, perhaps influenced by the presence of the Harvard expedition, the Wiligiman-Walalua made attempts to enhance their importance. It is said, for instance, that at one time they refused to hand over the "ap warek" (the trophies of war) to the recognized leader of the war alliance, Kurelu. In 1963 they attempted to organize the big pig feast which is the privilege of the greatest recognized leader. This attempt failed at that time. Another factor which furthered unrest was the presence of the police-post which was established at Mulima in the Wiligiman area at the end of 1961. The people who lived in the vicinity of the police post received more favours than others and as well, many young men from that area began to act as unofficial police boys. They set about this in a "Dani-manner".

It may be a question of opinion but it appears to me difficult to accept that the earlier splitting up of the war alliance was the cause of war in 1966. It may be true that the large numbers of victims (about 150) had something to do with it but for the following reasons I would suggest that the collapse of war alliance was not the basic cause :

1. The two events which are mentioned above, namely, the refusal to hand over the "ap warek" and the attempt to organize a pig feast on their own authority were actions directed against the authority of the leader of the war alliance. But why is it that Kurelu the leader in question had no part or practically no part in the war? Heider supposes that Kurelu met with a fait accompli on the part of the younger leaders (119). Informants, however, have told me that Kurelu knew the plans but resisted them. During the night preceding the attack he was informed of it. It is said that on that occasion he gave orders to restrict the killings to the police supporters; the action was to be directed against those who had committed all kinds of outrages in the name of the police.

2. If one reads the reports of the missionary of Jiwika during the years before June 1966, it is apparent that a point was reached such that a violent reaction was bound to occur. Repeatedly the missionary had informed authorities at Wamena about the serious state of affairs and many warnings were given. When the violent reaction did occur in June 1966, it was exclusively directed against the villages where the police and their followers lived. Five of them were killed at that time with their families.

3. Suppose that the Wiliman-Walalua had always belonged to the Logo-Mabel war alliance, does Heider believe that such a retaliation would not have taken place? Of course it would then not have been called "wim", but "umai'm". Perhaps also there would not have been so many victims. Yet a reaction against those who, in the name of the police, had committed so many crimes was bound to have occurred. It would be worthwhile in this connection to trace out what had happened the year before, in 1965, at Asuklogoima where a war had broken out also in which police boys played an important role. On this occasion there were over 30 victims.

Without doubt the arrogance of the Wiligiman-Walalua against the war-alliance as such did play a part. However, that this factor was as responsible for the outbreak as Heider suggests, we doubt

"the two days dancing that follows the killing of an enemy" (130).

Those visitors who have come to this valley have often been scandalized by the dance feasts which are held by Balien people after they hear of the death of an enemy. In this connection it is important to listen to the explanation which Heider gives for these celebrations. Balien people do not, in the first place, celebrate the death of the enemy, but rather the intention is to draw the attention of the spirits to it. The spirits need no longer be angry with them. They have done their duty. I might add that I have heard it said that if the dancing were omitted, the sweet potatoes would no longer grow, the pigs would die and so on. One can say then the celebration is a necessity and it should also be mentioned that the enemy is in no way scandalized by such a dancing feast.

Rather the contrary is true. After a war in 1967 between the Mukoko and the Wellesi some kains (chiefs) of the Wellesi came to ask me whether the Mukoko as yet had plans to hold their "edai". They gave me the impression that they would consider it improper were it not to take place.

"Man and Supernatural" (134-168).

One who has lived in the Balien Valley for any length of time and who appreciates how difficult the subject is, will be impressed by the material Heider has gathered. Yet, by the nature of the subject the information presented is somewhat unsatisfactory. Heider is not to blame for this for the subject itself is intrinsically difficult; Balien man himself does not reflect about the supernatural and it is almost impossible then to get reliable information about the subject. The supernatural, as it finds expression in death and creation, is amply described by Heider (146-166) in comparison, at least with other matters he was able to present.

"The Sun" (210) and "The Moon" (211)

He does not deal with the role of sun and moon in Balien thought in the chapter "Man and the Supernatural". In Watlanku is a house of the sun (mo-ay) and a house of the moon (thut-ay). It seems that the house of the sun is under the authority of Kurelu (or should we say of the Logo Mabel clans?), and the moon house under that of Dlabi-Mabel.

Heider himself paid a visit to Watlanku, and he mentions the "great wusa", the power which this house possesses. The sun is considered to be something female and is called "ninagoja", The moon is male and may be called "ninompae", our father. The big chief Maitmo also seems to have something to do with the sun. About five years ago a school building was burned down because "it lay in the trajectory of the sun". Maitmo is said to have ordered the burning. The fact is, however we know only very little about role of the sun and the moon in the religious thought of the Balien people. It is one of the many riddles which yet have to be answered.

As stated above, the description of the funeral ceremonies takes up the greater part of the chapter on the Supernatural. The data here are almost complete except for the final stage, the big feast which the author had not yet witnessed. During the pig feast the "wam oat palin" takes place and the last payment is made. Among others receiving payments are those who have carried the corpse from the battle field to the village or who have helped in some other manner. In May, 1970, Heider was present at the big pig feast at Jiwika. We may expect that he will publish more about this ceremony. "Second stage of the funeral". "second day" (159).

This is called the "pelai palin" or "pelabe palin", putting off the morning, a term which is not used by Heider. In actual fact the men put on a new penis-sheath and the women a new skirt although not everybody is obliged to do so.

In connection with this we recently witnessed an interesting incident in the acculturation process. A young married woman named Keante had died as the result of an abortion. During the "pelabe palin" not only the men put on a new "holin" and several women exchanged their plain skirts for a nicer "jokal", but also a number of "sumeke" boys (boys in clothes) changed their shorts during the ceremonies and burned the old ones. There was also a young married woman who wore clothing and who is said to have changed her old panties for a new pair. It is also interesting to mention that on the occasion of this death at least seventeen people, mostly young, abandoned their old names and adopted new ones.

"Quantification" (170 ff.)

Perhaps it should be added that in order to remember a certain number of pigs or humans Baliem people often use little bundles of small sticks or cane. This has its own name. "o natok". Heider does not mention it, but I have seen it several times at funeral ceremonies when payment for nets took place. Each time a part of the payment was given one of the small sticks was thrown away. I also once met a group of Baliem men who were on their way to report a theft of pigs.

They had a bundle of little cane sticks indicating the number of the stolen pigs.

"There are also specific terms for rain" (214)

Heider says that there are specific terms for rain coming from different directions. If it comes from over the mountains it is called "dligigen", from the southwest "wam aik", from the northwest "gog mio". When he wrote this chapter Heider perhaps found notes from the early period of his research when he had little knowledge of the language. When at one time it rained, he may have asked what the rain was called. Perhaps it was hail. For "dliligen" (correctly spelled "dleegeeken") is hail or very cold rain. It may have come from over the mountains and Heider perhaps then noted rain coming from over the mountains is "dligigen". But in fact not all the rain which comes from over the mountains is "dligigen". Hail is very rare. Ordinary rain, even if it comes over the mountains, is simply called "o mio".

As to the second term mentioned by Heider, "wam aik", none of my informants is able to explain it. It means literally "pig-tooth". Nobody knows how to connect it with rain. The third word "gog mio", according to Heider is used for rain from the northwest. Perhaps the same thing happened as in the case of the first word. When it rained from that side Heider may have asked what the name was. Perhaps the informants answered that it was "gog mio", which means a heavy rain. Heider may then have noted rain from the northwest is called "gog mio". But the fact is that rain from the southern direction or coming from over the mountains, when it is a heavy rain, is called "gog mio".

Diagram 9.3 of the family-house (264)

In the diagram a second fireplace is drawn on the sleeping left; this gives a wrong impression. Only in very exceptional circumstances is a fire made at this place although, in the case of the Jale, a fireplace here seems to be the rule.

"the jabbing spears" (280)

According to Heider they are "two to three meters long. This is certainly a mistake for the normal jabbing spears are mostly four meters or longer.

"Conclusions" (295 ff.)

"why the Western Dani are so receptive and the Grand Valley Dani not" (296).

This is one of the problems which occupies everybody who is working in this Valley. Why does ... Baliem man so strenuously keep to his own culture and customs and only very slowly come to adopt new elements on the social, political, economic and religious levels?

In comparing them to the Western Dani Heider believes that this intriguing question has to do with basic differences between the two cultures. One may indeed make such comparisons but it is perhaps unnecessary. That the Baliem people do not think about change and that change comes so slowly may be because Baliem man is completely content with his way of life, his culture and his customs. He is self-sufficient and content in his natural environment. In no part of Baliem society are there any groups which are seeking change. This is borne out by the fact that young men who have been at school, or who have spent a considerable time outside the valley living in the urban centres have no trouble at all in re-adapting to the old way of life after their return. Sometimes they give the impression that after having seen so much they prefer their own traditions to everything new. This self-sufficiency as regards their own culture is the main obstacle to rapid and sweeping changes.

Quite another question is why Baliem man is so satisfied with his own culture and way of life. One may then make comparisons with other groups such as the Western Dani and ask why these people are dissatisfied in that they look for change and accept change. The answers to both questions will not be easy and require detailed research. It should be added that despite the fact that change is slow in the Baliem Valley it is under way and likely to accelerate.

Those who bring about change should exercise patience and endeavour to see that change occurs as smoothly as possible.

"... and the chances are slim indeed for the Dani to become other than detribalized parasites."

With pessimistic words Heider comes to the end of his conclusions. Is he right? Perhaps it is true if we look only at the possibilities for future economic development. The outlook is indeed quite gloomy but the same holds for all other areas in the Central Highlands of Irian Barat, from the Paniai division, peopled by Ekagi and Moni, up to the most eastern part of the Star Mountains. Actually, compared with all other areas the prospects for the Baliem Valley are better.

I think that Heider has overlooked one thing which may be very important. The Baliem people are characterized by a personality trait which gives much hope for the future: they are "realistic". Everyone who has had the opportunity to work among these people for any length of time is impressed by their attitude of realism. This is revealed in their daily life and the way in which they accept the inevitable. Heider himself on several occasions takes note of this attitude as, for example when he describes the mourning ceremonies. Sorrow is truly felt but when the mourning ceremony is over normal life resumes.

Realism is perhaps one of the best traits the Baliem people possess and there is reason to hope this attitude will help them in facing problems that will arise in the future. If one is careful not to arouse expectations that cannot be fulfilled, the matter of fact attitude of the Baliem people should save them from disillusionment. "Detribalized parasites", I believe that this expression indicates a misunderstanding of the character and disposition of Baliem man. Let us hope that in this respect the future will prove Heider wrong.

Epilogue

Despite the lack of a consistent orthography, notwithstanding also the criticisms of certain parts of Heider's book, this study makes an outstanding contribution to the literature on the Baliem people and Dani culture. Indeed, it is the first comprehensive description of Baliem culture. Heider states in his conclusions that his study is no more than the beginning of research among the Dani, but he has made a good start. To be sure, on many points additional information is needed and some matters are to be elaborated further. But on some matters, the attempt has been a complete success - particularly the description of conflict and of "funerals".

The author states in his introduction (15-16) that he had often been asked if he liked the Dani. His answer is "a complicated yes". He explains that he liked many individuals whom he could call his friends, but never "friends in the usual western use of that term". The culture of Baliem man with its emphasis upon "war, farming and pigs", stands in reverse proportion to the culture which he calls his own. This confession indicates the objectivity with which the author carried out his fieldwork - an objectivity which enabled him to view both the broad outline as well as the details of Baliem culture. Anyone committed to a task in the valley who wishes to obtain a thorough knowledge of the culture of Baliem people will find Karl G. Heider's book a most useful introduction and guide.

Jules A.E. Camps c.f.n.

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THE SEARCH FOR MICHAEL ROCKEFELLER.

Milt Machlin (1972). New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons (256 pages with Bibliography and Index)

Ichtisar

Jang menjanggah buku ini ialah Father Trenkenschuh seorang misionaris Amerika dengan djabatan bishop dan ia telah tinggal ber-tahun2 di antara penduduk Asmat. Dalam kritiknya terhadap buku itu, The Search for Michael Rockefeller, Father Trenkenschuh mengemukakan banjak sangga hannja.

Penulis dari buku itu Milt Machlin, seorang Amerika menjatakan bahwa Michael Rockefeller tidak mati tenggelam ketika ia hilang sekitar tanggal 18, 19 November 1961, tetapi telah dibunuh oleh penduduk Asmat, seperti tindakan mereka dalam melakukan pembunuhan terhadap petugas2 Belanda.

Machlin tidak pernah berada di Irian Barat dan tidak dapat mengemukakan bukti2 tentang pembunuhan itu. Sebagian besar para misionaris dan petugas2 lainnya jang bekerdja didaerah Asmat yakin bahwa Michael Rockefeller mengalami kematiannya karena tenggelam dan dibawa arus.

Sipenjanggah mengemukakan bahwa buku ini bukan buku batjaan jang bernilai dan sudah tentu tidak akan diterbitkan. Buku ini diterbitkan hanya karena mentjeriterakan salah satu anggauta Amerika jang ternama. Buku ini tidak lebih dari suatu sensasi murahan.

I. Introduction to an American Idea

I do not like this book from any vantage point. Should the author read this reviewer's comments he would probably place me among those who know the truth but are afraid to talk (p.246) or who have entered a "covenant of silence"(p.248) motivated by fear. If the author cares to refer to my An Asmat Sketch Book-II he will find an account of the various historical events associated with the disappearance of Mr. Michael Rockefeller.

A review of this book by an anthropologist is called for only because it deals with the Asmat people among whom I happen to work. However, this cannot be considered a definitive review. A definitive review could be written, I think, collectively by Fr. van Peij, Fr. v.d.Wouw, Fr. Zegwaard, Dr. Karl Heider and others who are referred to in this book. This review would mainly deal with the accuracy of Machlin's reporting since the whole content of this book rests upon their reported convictions concerning the disappearance of Rockefeller. I can only say here, that I know each of these men. I know, too, how easily a long interview can be edited to follow an author's pre-set convictions.

Needless to say, this book is of the caliber of an endless procession of pulp type books fed to the American public about its prominent men and their families. I refer here to the case of

President Kennedy as an example of this type of book. After Nov. 22, 1963 an endless and boundless curiosity about the death of the President began to find its way into publication. One bizarre explanation suggested that the President wanted to quit the job. The assassination was merely a "show" to get him out of the office. He is still, according to this version, alive and hiding somewhere. Another version which was published suggested that the bullet hit the President, but did not kill him. He is now incapacitated and living on a Greek Island. His wife, according to this version, staged a marriage with Onassis in order to explain why she was spending so much time there with President Kennedy (whom everybody thought was dead).

Machlin's book, then, is intended for the curious American people who will buy it because it deals with the famous Rockefeller family. The Rockefeller family, like the Kennedy family, has long been victimized by the obscene curiosity of the American public. This book, neither science nor history, is part of that prying into the lives of famous Americans. Accordingly, this book which lacks literary style or any claim to excellence will probably sell well in the American bookstores. Had the book been titled, "The Search for Herman Schmelz" it would not have come before any publisher. My first comment, then, is that this book is part of the sickness of American Society. That it would be written at all, that it should be published, and that it should be read outside the Asmat area are all symptoms of a sick society of which I, as an American, am ashamed.

II. Review of a theme: Anthropologist vs. Missionary

Frequently in this book, Machlin suggests an irreconcilable hostility between anthropologists and missionaries. "The anthropologists as scientists, generally speaking, dislike and distrust the missionaries and the administration officials - each of whom, in turn, despises the other" (p.148) cf. also p.157 for "traditional coolness between anthropologist and missionary. As both anthropologist and missionary I reject this generalized claim for, at least, Irian Barat. Almost every anthropological study carried out in Irian Barat before

and after the Indonesian Administration of the area gives credit to the aid of the missionaries. This aid is physical and practical, for example, transport into an area, building of homes, finding translators, etc., and theoretical. Almost every anthropologist who has worked in this area of Asmat, for instance, has depended upon Fr. G. Zegwaard's insights and writings.

There are articles and books written by missionary anthropologists such as Zegwaard, Boelaars, van Nunen, v.d. Stap, Sowada and Drabbe. There are also anthropologists who depended upon the aid and friendship of the missionaries. For example, Karl Heider associated with Fr. Franz Verheijn and Fr. Camps during his three stays in the Dani area. David Eyde depended upon Zegwaard's writings and the interpretations of Fr. D. Hesch and Mgr. A. Sowada. Voorhoeve (linguist) depended heavily upon Fr. P. Drabbe.

These are but a few examples but the idea is clear enough. If there are any problems from the side of the missionaries, these problems arise because the missionary spends his life with the people. The anthropologist, concerned only with the ethics of his science and not generally responsible beyond that, spends only one or two years in the area and probably never returns. The missionary tends to take a long-term practical view. The anthropologist tends to take a short-term practical view with a long-term theoretical view. Machlin does a disservice to both science and religion by attempting to place these in mock combat. It is merely a cover for his own lack of insight.

III. Mistaken Lot -- a lot mistaken

Machlin, although he only indirectly alludes to visa problems, never visited Irian Barat or Asmat. He blames the government for his problems. This is, however, no excuse for blatant ignorance which often could have been corrected by reference to a map. For example the Balien Valley is approximately 120 to 150 miles from the Asmat coast not 500 miles (p.8). Djajapura is the correct spelling of the Provincial Capital not Djayapura. Rev. Heckman would be the first to point out that he is not a priest of the Roman Catholic Church

(pps.46; 185) or a Dutch Citizen (p.226) subject to Fr.Frank Pitka who is not a bishop (p.140) but who was subject to Mgr.H.Tillemans of Me-rauke. Nor was van Kessel a Crosier (p.131). Fr.J.Smit did not live in Pirimapun but in Jamasj - the most distant outpost near the sea from Pirimapun (p.226).

There has been no evidence ever found that the Asmat people obtain their stone for axe heads from the Yali people (p.205). Such a fabrication obviously fits the sinister need of the author to link Rockefeller in Dani to Rockefeller in Asmat - but such need does not indicate truth. Also, there has never been any solid evidence of homosexuality in Asmat (p.105). Considering the cultural complexity of the entire south coast of New Guinea and the prevalence ritual homosexuality this absence of homosexuality in Asmat is clearly unique and of importance to the anthropologist.

Again, the list could be expanded to write a review dealing only with inaccuracies. However, those mentioned are sufficient to make the point. More care, more careful study and commitment to accurate interpretation and reporting could have, at least, resulted in Machlin's not misinforming the readers of his book.

IV. Toy Anthropology

A toy is something you play with. Machlin uses anthropological data for a game he plays. The game seems to be a matter of accumulating enough verbage to publish a book rather than a pamphlet; he had already published this Rockefeller story in a 1969 Argosy magazine. He finds this verbage in the serious studies of anthropologists from Papua, New Guinea and Irian Barat. He discusses the Kula trading ring (p.63) and the Madang cargo cult (p.91). Neither of these two items of serious research have anything to do with the theme or purpose of the book. We are apparently given this information to help us understand the "stone age buggers" (p.27) and "rock apes" (ibid) who inhabit the island of New Guinea. Machlin himself asserts that, "In early years it was so little known (i.e.New Guinea) that explorers would bring back forceful reports which were swallowed without a murmur of protest since there

was no one to contradict them" (p.50). The mistake Machlin makes is that there are now many people - including educated inhabitants of New Guinea - who can contradict him.

The Papuan people who have lived for centuries on this island of New Guinea were and are a proud and fun-loving people. Although their cultural patterns, before contact with the outside world, included headhunting and cannibalism they were never arbitrary killers. Although some cultures (as mentioned above, especially the south coast) ritualized homosexuality, there were no sexual deviates. The "grotesque primitive carvings" (p.9) from the "land of the lapping death" (ibid) show much spiritual and creative depth often lacking in Western "art". Although revenge for death was a practice found in many Papuan cultures this was not a blind and driving force which knew no bounds. In Asmat we find that villages would separate into two or three villages rather than stay together and destroy their harmony through the desire for revenge which threatened to get out of hand. For example, Per, Owus and Ewer separated about 1950 for this reason. The people were masters of their own culture more often than we, in the west, are masters of ours. If revenge for the deaths of their compatriots at the hands of government officials (of England, Germany, Australia, Holland and Indonesia) were a tremendously motivating force then, I think, no outsider would be safe anywhere on the island.

The people of Papua New Guinea and Irian Barat have no reason to be ashamed of their past. They had no racism. They had no World War I or World War II except where the West intruded into their world. Change has come to these people now but they have, by and large, retained their pride. Machlin could have, as most anthropologists do, shown the truth and order of their traditional way of life without harming the basic direction of his book. I apologize, for him, to the anthropologists and missionaries who have been offended by his playing with their insights into human behavior.

V. Rockefeller Killed in Asmat: True or False?

Michael Rockefeller disappeared at the mouth of the Betsj River,

Asmat, on November 18-19, 1961. This is certainly a true statement. After all the verbage, the main point of Machlin's book comes on p.246. The conclusion is that the people of Otsjanep (particularly the war leader Ljan) killed Rockefeller as an act of revenge on the Dutch Government officials Dias and Lapre. This fact has been unknown, until now, the author claims, because of a conspiracy of silence cloaked in fear.

I reject the notion that fear could be a motive strong enough to keep missionaries silent. If this were a motive respected by missionaries the two men working in Dani (pps: 190-205) would yet be alive. If fear could bring missionaries to enter into a covenant of silence, then Fr. Jan Snit (226-228) would still be working in Asmat.

I do not personally know van Kessel. I do know that he claims to be certain that Otsjanep killed Rockefeller (cf. pps. 134-145). I do know Fr. van der Wouw and Fr. van Peij and I have heard them say that they think Rockefeller was killed by the people of Otsjanep. Fr. van Peij however, thinks that the gossip and rumors about Lapre's role in the killings which were avenged on Rockefeller was not as great as most people suggest. All of these men know the Asmat people well. They have all worked for years among the people of Asmat and know their culture, customs and language. All of these men have slept peacefully at night, unafraid among these people. None of these men claim that any concrete proof exists that Rockefeller was killed by the Asmat people. Other missionaries, also interviewed by the pseudonymous John Campbell (including myself, incidently) do not think that Rockefeller was so killed. Fr. Frank Pitka (pps: 206-211) who wrote the first "on the scene" report, did not think so. Bishop Alphonse Sowada, who often discussed Asmat art and culture with Rockefeller, does not think so. Delmar Hesch (p.243) does not think so. Others here in Asmat do not think that the people of Otsjanep killed Rockefeller. They were hardly mentioned.

Leo and Simon did make it to shore. They were Asmaters who knew the rivers, the currents and the tides (incidently, the Betsj River

does not have a 20 foot tidal bore - p.10 and p.246. This is probably referring to the Digul River almost 100 miles down the coast from where Rockefeller began to swim). It is not unthinkable that Rockefeller no matter how good a swimmer, would not have succeeded in reaching the shore and help.

Was Michael Rockefeller killed by the Asmat people? I personally do not know. I have visited these villages (Omandesep and Otsjanep) and heard nothing even from the teachers who live daily among these people. This does not mean that the killing never took place. The one certain fact is that this book convinces me less than a science fiction novel would convince me of the existence of other worlds. The latter type of book makes no pretence or claim to proof. Personally I do not think that Rockefeller was killed by Otsjanep. I do not expect anyone to slavishly agree with me or my opinion. I only suggest that no matter what "theory" the reader holds, he recognize that it is only a theory.

VI. Conclusion

This book is not worth reading unless you are interested in exhausting the realm of published information on Asmat. The style is less than captivating. The order is less than ordered. Inaccuracies and mistakes abound. The conclusion is less than conclusive. The reading is less than enthralling. It is neither captivating as a novel nor readable as science or history. I presume that the Rockefeller family has sufficiently good taste not to comment on it.

F. Trenkenschuh o.s.c.

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ON - GOING AND PROPOSED RESEARCH

Brazza : Expedition of the University of Heidelberg., Germany, and the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan, Indonesia.

Gunter Konrad¹

Ichtisar:

Tulisan ini menguraikan suatu tugas yang dilakukan oleh sekelompok ahli dari Universitas Heidelberg yang bekerja sama dengan Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia dan Museum Biologi Bogor di Bogor.

Ekspedisi terutama dilakukan didaerah sungai Brazza. Dengan bantuan penduduk setempat dikumpulkan koleksi berupa burung2, serangga dan beberapa jenis burung menjusui. Tjontoh2 binatang tersebut kemudian dibunuh dan diawetkan untuk keperluan penjelidikan yang akan dilakukan pada laboratorium Universitas Heidelberg dan sebagian lagi dari binatang2 tersebut dibiarkan hidup untuk penelitian selanjutnya. Disamping itu anggota ekspedisi mengambil pula photo2 dan membuat film kehidupan burung2. Dalam hal ini yang mendapat perhatian khusus ialah tingkah laku ber-djenis2 burung Tjenderawasih.

Dapat pula ditambahkan bahwa perhatian dari ahli2 seluruh dunia telah pula ditumpahkan terhadap binatang dan burung2 yang hidup di Irian Barat, terutama burung2 tjenderawasih. Burung2 yang indah ini semakin djarang. Di Irian Timur dimana burung ini djuga ada, djuga sudah terantjam bahaya kemusnahan dan undang2 memberikan hukuman yang keras pada setiap orang yang membunuh burung2 ini. Peraturan ini diadakan dengan maksud menyelamatkan burung2 yang masih hidup. Setiap usaha hendak dilaksanakan untuk melindungi burung2 Tjenderawasih dari bahaya kemusnahan.

¹ The author wishes to take this opportunity to thank Bishop Alphonse Sowada and Superior Greive for their hospitality and help at Agats which went far towards making the expedition so successful. Thanks are also owed to Fr. A van de Wouw for his help and the great interest he took in our work. At Jiwika Fr. Camps provided much assistance and we also wish to thank Mr. Fahner and his family at Abenago for their hospitality. In Djajapura the Catholic Mission provided much assistance; here I would like to mention the help of Frs. Munninghoff and van Munen. Last, but not least, I warmly thank Fr. Franz Verheijen for his tireless efforts in organizing so much for us and for the time he expended on our behalf. I also wish to express my appreciation to our Indonesian colleagues and the Indonesian authorities who made it possible to carry out the expedition.

The Brazza River has its source in the 3500 to 4000 metre high mountain ranges between Wamena and Sibil. For a considerable distance the Brazza is accompanied by the westward flowing Friendship River and the Kolff River to the east. All three flow into the large Eilanden River. The Eilanden itself in its course to the south crosses the Asmat area. This broad region provided the main location for the work of the expedition.

Three departments of the University of Heidelberg were involved in the expedition: The Institute of Zoology, the Institute of Anatomy and the Institute for Electronic Microscopic Research. On the part of the Indonesians the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia and the Museum Zoologi Bogoriensis, Bogor, were involved. The joint expedition was carried out with the following aims:

1. Collecting has never taken place in this area before so it was of interest that a general collection of the fauna should be made. Collecting should lead to research on the distribution of animal species, especially with regard to bird life, and enable conclusions to be drawn as to the natural borders of the different species.
2. Bird of Paradise (*Paradisaea apoda* and *Cicoinurus regius*) were to be filmed and specimens brought home to Germany alive. This is in order to do research on the behaviour of these birds. The films and the various photos are to be compared with those of the courtship of these birds taken in our home laboratories.

In the laboratories it is intended to observe the birds under certain specific conditions to study the nature of courtship behaviour. It is expected to obtain some information on the following question. What is the function of the striking plumage and the most intricately developed courtship patterns of the different species of Bird of Paradise and Bower Birds, with regard to the many hybrids that are known? These hybrids are frequently of completely different kinds; in most cases they have nothing

in common with regard to size, colour, or in the carrying out of the courtship. So the question arises, what is of more importance, the total appearance of the birds, the shape of the feathers, bill, and so on, or the colours which they reveal in their acting?

3. Our collecting of insects will provide opportunities for various studies. For example, to study the mouth parts of dragon-flies and blood-sucking insects (horseflies) with regard to the transmission of disease. Samples of plankton obtained in several lakes and different parts of the rivers are also to be the subject of research.
4. For the Senckenberg Museum in Frankfurt we were to try to obtain a number of reptiles which are of interest to them. We actually preserved about thirty-five different kinds of snakes and also looked for the *Carettochelys insculpta*, a very old turtle, which had been a cosmopolite a few million years ago. With the appearance of the mammals this type of turtle and also most of the world's living marsupials died out; in Irian they have had a chance to survive. Being a primitive kind of mammal, the marsupials are fascinating subjects for studying comparative embryology. For this purpose embryos of different kinds of marsupials at all stages of growth are observed in 10% formalin. To obtain more exact data as to age and growth, some specimens are taken home alive to be bred.
5. In electronic Microscopic research methods have become specialized in recent years. It is most important to obtain well prepared material if clear and detailed statements are to be made.

It is not the morphology of the cell alone that is observed; rather, the functions of the cell and its principles are of main interest. Biochemical reactions are used to study the regularity of processes within the single cell. This makes it necessary to obtain fixations of the cells

undergoing their full functions without alteration brought about by death. The method we used was a fixation by perfusion, after W.G. Forssman, although under field conditions exact work such as that carried out in the laboratory is not possible. Our principal research concerns receptors and nerve endings of the skin of marsupials. From the light microscope we know that marsupials are endowed with very primitive receptors but no research has been made with modern equipment to obtain more knowledge of the morphology and function of this sense organ of the skin.

In Asmat our main base for operations was the Keuskupan at Agats. Several excursions were made to the east, west, and north, always returning to Agats to prepare for the next trip. By way of Warse, Atsj, Jow, Omadesep, Warkai and Otsjanep we travelled up the Kronkel River where we stayed at Sanepai. In Sanepai we were able to catch the first *Paradisaea apoda* and *Cicinurus regius* - Birds of Paradise. With the help of the local people it was possible to obtain a good collection. From there we went via Basin to Baous where Fr. A. van de Wouw had built a house for us. At Baous we caught another pair of *Cicinurus regius* and were fortunate in taking some remarkable films and photos of the courtship of *Paradisaea apoda*. The local people built us a little house in a tree thirty-three metres above the ground. This house was opposite the dancing-tree of the apoda and we were able to obtain an excellent view looking down on the birds with the jungle forming a colourful background.

When we returned to Agats we had a good collection of mammals, birds, reptiles and insects. On a trip to Jamas-Jeni and Saowa-Erma with stops at Momogo-Sagopo, Wejo and Pubis, we made a fine collection of birds. The Pomats River was rich water for the *carettochelys* and the local people brought us some huge specimens of 63 cm. At that point we started up the Brazza River.

Initially we had had it in mind to collect in the Brazza River area and then to obtain carriers there and walk to the Highlands. We did find people in the area but not enough to undertake

the work. In this area there are no real villages such as exist in Asmat; rather, one finds a few families living together in single houses. To our surprise, however, despite the distance, the people are still Asmaters.

These people have had no real contact with the outside since world war II. they were friendly towards us but also very shy. ~~Here we encountered the real stone age: there were no signs at all~~ of any iron in use. In their gardens the stumps of felled trees resembled discarded shaving brushes. It is amazing to see these people handle their stone axes. Within fifty-five minutes they felled a tree of almost two metres in circumference. Meeting these people was an interesting experience but so far as the aims of the expedition were concerned we could receive little help from them and had to undertake most of the collecting on our own.

One month was spent in the Highlands. For two weeks we stayed at Jiwika and then walked to Abenago where the Jale people are found. The local people brought us a large collection of marsupials and birds which could not possibly have been obtained without their help. Among some rare birds obtained was the King of Saxony (*Pteridophora alberti*) and the sicklebill (*Epimachus meyeri*).

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The Grammar of Lower Grand Valley Dani
in Discourse Perspective

Myron Bromley

A dissertation with this title was submitted in December, 1971, to the Graduate School of Yale University. When the writer left the United States to return to Irian Barat, the decision of the readers was not yet known, but if their verdict is favorable, the study will be available, like all doctoral dissertations submitted to major American universities, from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. One copy of the original study will be deposited with Universitas Tjenderawasih for the use of interested scholars in Irian Barat.

Background. Contact with languages of the greater Dani family of the central highlands of Irian Barat (formerly West New Guinea), Indonesia, is documented in explorers' word lists dating back to 1909. Some detailed linguistic observations on Western Dani were made by Paul Wirz in 1921 and C.C.F.M. le Roux in 1926. However, in 1954 when I entered the lower Grand Valley of the Balim as a member of the initial missionary team, there were no materials available in any language spoken there, so that the study in which the dissertation is rooted has been purely monolingual from the beginning. The first descriptive fruits from this research were embodied in my master's thesis on Dani phonology, and since then Father P.A.M. van der Stap has published a valuable monograph on morphology based on his work in a somewhat different dialect.

The Problem. A very considerable amount of Dani morphology, which is mainly elaborated in verb inflections, signals relationships between verbs and needs to be described in a wider syntactic context. Within sentences main final verbs may be preceded by a wide variety of subordinate verbs which are marked to indicate that the grammatical subject is either the same as, or different from, the subject of the main verb. Subordinate verbs are also marked to indicate such other categories as sequence and simultaneity. But the use of 'echo verbs' which repeat part of the preceding sentence to introduce a new sentence, and by patterns of reference to persons through a text, these phenomena extend beyond the borders of the sentence.

Most linguists including Jespersen, Sapir and Bloomfield of an older generation and currently Chomsky have treated the sentence as the largest structural unit of interest to the linguist. But experience in translating parts of the Christian Scriptures into Dani has shown that the problem of constructing well-formed sentences is much less difficult than the problem of constructing well-formed sequences of sentences in larger units of discourse. Malinowski insisted on treatment of the full utterance within its context situation, but except for isolated voices, including Pike's, that approach had been neglected until recently, when M.A.K. Halliday, of the London school, and Gleason and his associates,

formerly at Hartford Seminary Foundation and now at the University of Toronto, applying Sydney Lamb's stratificational model, have begun productive work in this area.

The Dani data indicate that adequate description of even a single verb requires treatment of interlocking elements of meaning (e.g. whether the verb describes the motion of the subject through space) and reference (e.g. whether the subject is the same as or different from the subject of the main or superordinate verb). These elements function in the chaining of clauses in sentences and of sentences in discourse in a way which proves revealing to describe in terms of a fundamental semological structure which is realized or represented in the observed grammatical units. The basic elements in this semological structure include events and the participants in those events; fundamental to the structure are the speaker and addressee or addressees.

Method. The study is rooted in familiarity with & fluency in Lower Grand Valley Dani dialects gained by constant use during thirteen years of residence in the area. Lexical files and verb paradigms assembled during those years have been available, also. About two hundred and fifty pages of text transcribed from tape recordings, including over one hundred pages in Lower Grand Valley dialects, have been the narrower base for the study. A few more than fifty pages of texts in the dialect spoken around Hetigima were multilithed on file slips, with one hundred copies of each slip, and used in an analytical filing procedure, during which all recognizable discourse units were filed in terms of unit margins and links, including all sentence links, and all syntactic structures within sentences were filed, together with the markers of those structures.

Presentation. The results of this study are presented in five chapters of description of Dani reference to events and participants, with three chapters devoted to single events normally referred to in single verbs. One chapter is devoted to multiple events as referred to in sequences of verbs within sentences; and a final chapter deals with utterances and the relationship of the speaker and addressee to these larger units. The study is supplemented by more than sixty pages of verb paradigms and one sample text.

Macassar Study

Penelitian Terhadap Orang Makassar

This proposed research which was outlined in the last issue of the IRIAN (Vol.I: 64-65) has had to be curtailed considerably because of lack of resources in personnel at the Institute for Anthropology, University of Tjenderawasih.

Some preliminary field work has taken place and it is now proposed to concentrate largely on the Macassar influence in the fishing industry at Djajapura and their impact on the fish and vegetable markets.

Penelitian mengenai orang Makassar, yang telah diuraikan pada penerbitan pertama (Vol.I No.1: hal.64-65) terpaksa dipersingkat berhubung karena kekurangan tenaga pelaksana pada Lembaga Antropologi - Universitas Tjenderawasih.

Beberapa penelitian pendahuluan telah dilaksanakan dan sekurang dititikberatkan pada pengaruh orang makassar terhadap usaha penangkapan ikan dan pengaruh mereka terhadap pendjualan ikan dan sajian dipasar Djajapura.

the Editors

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Summer Institute of Linguistics

In March, 1972 Dr. Richard Pittman of the Summer Institute of Linguistics visited West Irian to explore the possibilities for SIL staff to carry out linguistic studies on the less known languages of West Irian. The SIL proposal has been viewed very favourably by The Indonesian Government and it is anticipated that by the end of this year SIL will have ten researches stationed in various locations throughout the interior. At least ten more researchers are expected to arrive during 1973.

Dalam bulan Maret 1972, Dr. Richard S. Pittman Direktur Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) telah mengunjungi Irian Barat untuk mempelajari kemungkinan untuk dapat menjelenggarakan penelitian oleh tenaga2 terhadap bahasa2 yang belum diselidiki didaerah pedalana Irian Barat. Usul2 daripada SIL setelah mengadakan peninjauan kepedalaman untuk menjari lokasi2 daerah penelitian, telah ditanggapi setjara positif oleh Pemerintah Daerah Irian Barat dan untuk itu pada akhir tahun ini SIL akan mengirimkan 10 tenaga linguistik untuk memulai penelitian kepelbagai daerah pedalaman Irian Barat. Kemudian pada tahun 1973 akan ditambah lagi 10 tenaga peneliti kedaerah ini.

Koperasi di Asmat
Co-operatives in Asmat

Dr. Gottfried Lang seorang Professor Anthropologi dari Universitas Colorado, Amerika Serikat, sedang melakukan suatu penelitian mengenai manfaat Koperasi yang telah mulai diadakan oleh Misi Katolik di daerah Asmat. Penelitian tersebut diadakan atas permintaan Uskup Alfonso Sowada Kepala Misi Katolik di daerah ini. Dr. Lang tiba di Irian Barat pada akhir bulan Maret dan diharapkan akan berada di Irian Barat selama kurang lebih 4 bulan.

Dr. Lang telah mengadakan beberapa penelitian yang serupa di daerah Afrika Barat. Setelah beberapa penyelidikan pendahuluan maka di daerah Asmat akan diadakan serangkaian penyelidikan yang akan dilakukan oleh para petugas Misi. Diharapkan bahwa rangkaian penyelidikan tersebut akan diakhiri dengan suatu simposium bertempat di pusat Misi Katolik Salib Sutji di Agats. Dalam simposium tersebut akan dibahas paper dari hasil penelitian dan paper tersebut dirontjentikan akan diterbitkan bersama oleh Misi Salib Sutji di Universitas Tjenderawasih. Sebuah tulisan mengenai koperasi di Asmat ditulis oleh Pater Killer termaat dalam penerbitan ini.

~~Dr. Gottfried Lang, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Colorado, is carrying out studies in the Asmat region on the effectiveness of the co-operatives initiated by the Catholic mission. Dr. Lang arrived in West Irian towards the end of March and is expected to stay in the Asmat region for approximately four months. The research has been undertaken at the request of Bishop Alphonse A. Sowada, Asmat Diocese West Irian.~~

Dr. Lang has carried out a number of studies on co-operatives in East Africa. In the Asmat, after some initial studies, a series of workshops are to be held involving mission personnel. It is hoped that these workshops will culminate in a symposium at Agats, the centre for the Crozier Mission, at which prepared papers will be read. It is anticipated that these papers will be published jointly by the University of Tjenderawasih and the Crozier Mission. An article dealing with the co-operatives in the Asmat written by Fr. Keller appears in this issue of the IRIAN.

the Editors

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Berita2 Universitas dan Lembaga

Bantuan untuk Museum (Museum Grant)

Universitas Tjenderawasih telah memperoleh bantuan uang sebesar US\$23.000 (duapuluh tiga ribu dollar) dari Rockefeller 3rd Fund di New York, yang akan dipergunakan untuk kepentingan museum. Bantuan yang tersebut dimaksudkan sebagai biaya untuk pendidikan seorang kurator dan juga untuk biaya pengumpulan benda2 kebudayaan Irian Barat yang akan disimpan dan dipamerkan dalam museum. Sehubungan dengan bantuan itu maka salah seorang dari staff Lembaga Anthropologi Universitas Tjenderawasih, yaitu Sdr. Arie J. Korwa sekarang sedang berada di Hawaii untuk mengikuti training pada Bernie Bishop Museum dan setelah itu akan mengadakan perjalanannya keliling dunia untuk meninjau beberapa museum terkenal seperti di Amerika, Eropa dan lain2 tempat. Dalam pada itu gedung untuk Museum Universitas Tjenderawasih sedang dalam pembangunan dan diharapkan akan selesai pada bulan Djuli tahun ini.

Berhubung dengan bantuan tersebut maka pada kesempatan ini Rektor Universitas Tjenderawasih dan Pd. Ketua Lembaga Anthropologi menjampaikan rasa terima kasih dan penghargaan yang setinggi-tingginya kepada The JDR 3rd Fund.

The University of Tjenderawasih has been notified that a grant of US\$23,000 is to be made available to the University Museum. The grant which is from the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund, New York, is to cover the costs of training a curator, equipment purchases and the collecting of ethnographic items within West Irian for display. Mr. Korwa of the Institute for Anthropology who is to assume the position of curator is at present undergoing training at the Bernie Bishop Museum, Hawaii. Construction of the Museum building is expected to be completed in July of this year.

The Rector of the University and the Director and staff of the Institute for Anthropology would like to take this opportunity to publicly express their appreciation to the JDR 3rd FUND for this generous grant.

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Studi Tour

Drs. Anwas Iskandar, Pd. Ketua Lembaga Anthropologi sedang berada di Irian Timur untuk mengikuti pendidikan singkat pada Djurusan Anthropologi Universitas Papua di Port Moresby, dan sebelum kembali akan menghadiri Sixth Waigani Seminar yang akan berlangsung bulan April di Port Moresby. Prof. Ir. Sukisno Hadikoemoro, Rektor Universitas Tjenderawasih akan hadir pula dalam seminar tersebut, dimana beliau dan Drs. Anwas Iskandar akan membatjarkan papernya masing2. Selesai menghadiri seminar maka Prof. Ir. Sukisno akan mengadakan studi tour keberbagai Universitas di daerah Pasifik.

Drs. Anwas Iskandar, Director of the Institute for Anthropology is at present undertaking a short course of study at the Anthropology Department, University of Papua, New Guinea. He will attend the Sixth Waigani Seminar at Port Moresby before returning to Djajapura. Dr. Soekisno Hadikoemore, Rector of the University, is also to attend the Waigani Seminar and it is anticipated that both he and Drs. Iskandar will read papers. After the seminar Dr. Soekisno is to undertake a study tour of a number of universities in the Pacific.

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Simposium

Tgl. 26-29 Djuli jang akan datang Universitas Tjenderawasih akan mengadakan suatu simposium mengenai "Perubahan Pendidikan di Irian Barat". Simposium tersebut selain dihadiri oleh para fungsionaris pendidikan di Irian Barat (Pemerintahan/Dinas PDK, FUNDIS/UNESCO, Guru2 serta Jajasan2) akan dihadiri pula oleh utusan dari Djakarta dan Irian Timur: disamping itu akan hadir pula seorang wakil UNESCO dari Paris, jang sengadja akan datang untuk mengikuti simposium.

Sehubungan dengan akan diadakannya simposium tersebut, beberapa diskusi telah diadakan di Universitas Tjenderawasih jang berkisar soal situasi dan masalah pendidikan di Irian Barat. Diharapkan bahwa diskusi diskusi tersebut demikian pula simposium jang akan datang akan dapat membantu dalam membawa perubahan2 sistim pendidikan didaerah ini.

From June 26th through 29th the University of Tjenderawasih is holding a simposium on "Educational Change in West Irian". Papers will be read by educational officials from Djakarta and from Papua, New Guinea, as well as by local educational officials, UNESCO personnel and missionaries. An UNESCO prerepresentative from Paris is also expected to attend the symposium.

In recent weeks a number of discussions on educational issues in West Irian have been held at the University. It is hoped that these and the coming symposium may lead to widespread changes in the educational system in the Province.

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Perlombaan melukis untuk anak2 (Childrens Art Competition)

Universitas Tjenderawasih bekerdja sama dengan Dinas PDK dan UNESCO sedang melantjarkan suatu perlombaan melukis untuk anak2 Sekolah Dasar diseluruh Irian Barat. Diharapkan bahwa sebagian dari gambar2 hasil perlombaan ini sudah dapat dipertunjukkan pada Hari Pendidikan Nasional tgl. 2 Mei jang akan datang. Suatu pameran dari gambar2 jang dihasilkan dalam perlombaan ini akan diadakan di Djajapura pada tgl. 26 - 29 Djuli jang akan datang, jaitu bertepatan dengan diadakannya

simposium mengenai perubahan pendidikan seperti telah diberitakan diatas. Diharapkan bahwa perlombaan melukis seperti ini akan dapat diadakan setiap tahun guna membantu mendorong minat dan kemauan melukis dikalangan anak2 didaerah Irian Barat.

The University in co-operation with the Department of Education and UNESCO is to hold an art competition for primary school children in the Province. It is hoped that some of the pictures will be ready for display by May 2, National Education Day, but the main exhibit is to be held June 26th to 29th, at the time of the Symposium. It is hoped that the competition will become an annual event and that it will serve to encourage art among the school children of West Irian.

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Map of the Baliem Valley

On p.66 of the first issue of the IRIAN the price of the sketch Map of the Baliem Valley was incorrectly stated as U.S.\$1.50. The correct figure is \$.50 or Rp210,-. Copies of the Map may be obtained by writing to either of the editors. Individuals outside West Irian requesting copies should add a sufficient sum to cover the cost of postage.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Myron Bromley :

Dr. Bromley, a CAMA Missionary from the U.S.A. has spent many years in West Irian. He was one of the first missionaries to enter the Baliem Valley. There he has carried out extensive linguistic studies on Dani languages and undertaken Bible translation and also published a number of articles on these languages.

Dr. Bromley, seorang misionaris CAMA dari U.S.A. telah tinggal ber-tahun2 di Irian Barat. Ia adalah salah seorang dari misionaris jang pertama kali masuk di Lembah Baliem. Disana ia telah melaksanakan studi linguistik jang luas dalam bahasa2 Dani dan mengadakan terjemahan2 Kitab Sutji dan djuga menerbitkan sedjumlah karangan2 dalam bahasa2 tersebut.

Jules A.E.Camps :

After completing his studies in Philosophy and Theology Fr.Camps was ordained in 1951. From 1953 until 1960 he worked as a missionary in the Mimika area on the South coast of West Irian. From 1963 until the present he has been working in the Baliem Valley. Fr.Camps was born in Holland.

Ia ditabiskan sebagai pendeta pada tahun 1951, setelah ia menjelesaikan studinja dalam bidang filsafat dan theologi. Sedjak tahun 1953 hingga tahun 1960 ia bekerdja sebagai seorang misionaris didaerah Mimi-ka dipantai Selatan Irian Barat. Sedjak tahun 1963 hingga sekarang ia bekerdja didaerah Lembah Baliem. Fr.Camps dilahirkan dinegeri Belanda.

Philip J.C.Dark :

A well known authority on primitive art and the author of a number of books and many articles, Dr.Dark has carried out extensive studies on the art forms of Melanesia and West Africa. Dr.Dark an Englishman, is Professor of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University, U.S.A.

Seorang ahli jang terkenal dalam bidang kebudajaan primitip dan pengarang dari sedjumlah buku2 dan banjak karangan2. Dr.Dark telah mengadakan studi jang luas dalam bentuk2 kebudajaan Melanesia dan afrika Barat. Dr.Dark seorang Inggeris, adalah Professor Anthropology pada Southern Illinois University U.S.A.

A.J.H. Duijnstee :

Fr.Duijnstee, A Franciscan priest, studied English language and literature at the University of Gronongen where he gained his doctor-andis. From 1956 to 1963 he was Principal and English Master H.B.S. Gabungan, Djajapura. From 1964 to 1971 he was Principal of the Scholen gemeenschap Atheneum-Havo Romboutscollege, Brunssum. Fr.Duijnstee returned to West Irian in 1971. He is now the Rector, S.P.G. Teruna Bakti, Abepura and also a lecturer in English at the University of Tjenderawasih.

Pater Duijnstee, beledjar bahasa dan kesusasteraan Inggeris pada Universitas Gronongen, dimana ia memperoleh gelar Dokterandus. Dari 1956 sampai 1963 dia memimpin S.M.A. Gabungan, Djajapura, dimana dia djuga mengadjar bahasa Inggris. Dari tahun 1964 sampai 1971 dia memimpin Scholengemeenschap Atheneum-Havo Romboutscollege, Brunssun. Pater Duijnstee kembali ke Irian Barat pada tahun 1971. Sekarang ia mendjabat sebagai Rector S.P.G. Teruna Bakti, Abepura dan sebagai dosen luar biasa pada djurusan Inggris, Universitas Tjenderawasih.

Suriadi Gunawan :

Dr.Gunawan graduated from the Medical Faculty of the University of Indonesia in Djakarta in 1962. He served as a medical officer in several parts of West Irian since early 1963 and is currently acting director of the Provincial Health Service. In 1969 he was awarded a WHO fellowship to study Public Health Administration and obtained a diploma in Public Health from the International Course in Health Development and Public Health in Antwerp.

Dr.Gunawan lulus Fakultas Kedokteran Universitas Indonesia di Djakarta pada tahun 1962. Sedjak awal tahun 1963 ia bertugas sebagai dokter dipelbagai daerah di Irian Barat dan sering mendjabat Wakil Kepala Dinas Kesehatan Propinsi Irian Barat. Pada tahun 1969 ia telah memperoleh beasiswa WHO, untuk menpeladjadi Administrasi Kesehatan Umum dan mendapat idjasah dalam bidang Kesehatan Umum dari Kursus International bidang Pengerbangan Kesehatan dan Kesehatan Umum di Antwerpen.

Soekisno Hadikoemoro :

Professor Ir.Soekisno is the Rector of The University of Tjenderawasih and the Director of the Department of Education and Culture. Professor Soekisno studied in the Department of Agriculture at the University of Indonesia where he gained his masters degree in 1958. He continued his studies in agricultural climatology at Iowa State University 1958-1959. Professor Soekisno has published a number of articles dealing with agriculture in West Irian.

Prof.Ir.Soekisno Hadikoemoro adalah Rector Universitas Tjenderawasih dan djuga Kepala Inspeksi P dan K Propinsi Irian Barat. Prof.Ir. Soekisno Hadikoemoro mentjapai gelar Sardjana Pertanian pada Universitas Indonesia pada tahun 1958. Beliau kemudian meneruskan studinja dalam bidang Agricultural Klimatology di IOWA State University U.S.A. pada tahun 1958 - 1959. Prof.Ir.Soekisno telah banjak menulis artikel mengenai pertanian di Irian Barat.

Gunter Konrad :

Dr.Konrad, of the Zoologisches Institute, Universitat Heidelberg, has taken part in a number of zoological expeditions including expeditions to Papua, New Guinea. This is the first occasion Heidelberg University has carried out collecting in West Irian.

Dr. Konrad berasal dari Zoologisches Institute, Universitas Heidelberg, telah melakukan sejumlah penelitian zoologist, termasuk penjeli dikam zoologist kedaerah Irian Barat. Dan ini merupakan kesempatan pertama bagi Heidelberg University untuk mengadakan pengumpulan atau koleksi terhadap binatang2 didaerah Irian Barat.

Ken Keller :

Fr. Keller, an American, studied Philosophy and Theology at the Crosier House of Studies, Fort Wayne, Indiana. He was ordained as a priest in 1968. After ordination he studied at the University of Colorado from where he gained an M.A. in Anthropology and Linguistics. Fr. Keller began mission work with the Diocese of Agats in 1970.

Fr. Keller seorang warganegara Amerika menpeladjadi filsafat dan Theology pada Crosier House of Studies, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Ia telah ditabiskan sebagai seorang pendeta pada tahun 1968, dan sesudah pentabisan itu, ia beladjar pada University of Colorado dimana ia kemudian memperoleh gelar Sardjananja dalam bidang Anthropology dan Linguistics. Fr. Keller telah memulai pekerdjaan missionnja didaerah kouskupan Agats pada tahun 1970.

Don C. Laycock :

Dr. Laycock is a Senior Fellow in the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. Since 1959 he has been engaged in the description and classification of non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea and has written a number of papers and monographs on this subject.

Dr. Laycock bekerdja sebagai Senior Fellow (Guru Besar) di Djurusan Linguistik, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. Sedjak tahun 1959 ia bekerdja dalam rangka menpeladjadi dan menggolongkan bahasa2 non-Austronesia di New Guinea (Irian) dan sudah menulis beberapa artikel mengenai hal tersebut.

Jeremias Mbait;

Jeremias Mbait, an Asmat is a teacher of religion in the Agats region. He has also been associated with the FUNDWI project for the export of Asmat carvings. Jeremias Mbait has a keen interest in the art work and mythology of the Asmat people.

Jeremias Mbait seorang Asmat adalah seorang guru agama di-Agats. Ia djuga mempunjai hubungan dengan Projek FUNDWI untuk export ukiran2 Asmat. Jeremias Mbait merasa sedikit tertarik pada kesenian dan ilmu pengumpulan tjeritera purbakala dari penduduk Asmat.

Jorgen Peterson :

Jorgen Peterson was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, where he became a teacher of arts and crafts and also ran his own workshop. In 1966 in

co-operation with The Royal Danish Academy for Fine Arts he became a designer for the Royal Copenhagen Porcelain Factory. Since 1967 he has served as an ILO ceramics expert first in Papua, New Guinea, and now in West Irian.

Jorgen Peterson lahir di Kopenhagen (Denemarken) dimana ia bekerdja sebagai guru dalam bidang keradjinan dan kesenian sambil membuka bengkel (workshop) keradjinan. Pada tahun 1966 dalam kerdja sana dengan The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts dia mendjadi perentjana untuk Royal Copenhagen Porcelain Factory. Sedjak tahun 1967 dia bertugas sebagai salah seorang expert ILO, mula2 di Irian Timur dan sekarang di Irian Barat.

Oscar M.T. Siregar :

Mr. Siregar is a staff member of the Institute for Anthropology, University of Tjenderawasih who has been seconded to the staff of Operasi Koteka. Mr. Siregar studied Anthropology at the University of Indonesia. He has carried out field work in the interior of Kalimantan.

Oscar M.T. Siregar adalah anggota Staff Lembaga Anthropology Universitas Tjenderawasih yang diperbantukan pada staf operasi koteka. Sebelum ia beladjar pada Djurusan Anthropology Fak. Sastra Universitas Indonesia Djakarta dan pengalaman field work didaerah pedalanan Kalimantan Tengah.

Peter Spicer :

Peter Spicer was born in London where he spent most of his early life. He holds a degree in Economics from London University as well as post graduate teaching qualifications. After teaching for a time in London schools, and for a short period with the Ministry of Education, he joined the Colonial Service (Overseas Civil Service) and for thirteen years was engaged in educational planning and development in Brunei, Sarawak and Malaysia. He is currently on assignment in Irian Barat for the United Nations (UNESCO).

Peter Spicer lahir di London dan mendjalani sebagian dari masa mudanja disana. Ia memiliki gelar Doktor Ekonomi/Sardjana Ekonomi dan djuga idjasah keahlian mengadjar dari Universitas London. Setelah beberapa lama mengadjar diberbagai sekolah di London dan bekerdja sementara waktu di Kementerian Pendidikan, kemudian dia ikut dalam Dinas Daerah Djadjaan (Urusan Pemerintahan Sipil Tanah Seberang) dan telah mendjalankan tugas selama 13 tahun dalam bidang perentjanaan dan pengembangan pendidikan di Sarawak, Brunei dan Malaysia. Sekarang ini dia ditugaskan oleh P.B.B. (UNESCO) di Irian Barat.

F. Trenkenschuh :

F. Trenkenschuh osc, an American is a Catholic priest working with the Crozier Mission in the Asmat region. Fr. Trenkenschuh holds an M.A. degree in Anthropology from the University of Colorado. He is the autho

of An Asmat Sketch Book Vols. I and II and has also written a number of articles dealing with Asmat culture for the Crozier Mission. Fr. Trenkenschuh is the Social Delegate for Asmat and is stationed in the village of Ajam.

Pater Trenkenschuh o.s.c. kebangsaan Amerika Serikat, bekerja dengan Missi Crozier didaerah Asmat. Pater Trenkenschuh memperoleh gelar sarjana (M.A.) dalam Antropologi dari Universitas Colorado. Dia adalah pengarang dari An Asmat Sketch Book (Buku Sketsa2 Asmat) Vols. I dan II dan djuga pernah menulis artikel2 mengenai kebudayaan Asmat untuk keperluan Missi Crozier. Pater Trenkenschuh adalah wakil sosial dari Asmat dan berdiam didesa Ajam.

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