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IX

ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AFTER 1950

IX. 1. Introduction

Until World War II, Irian was the most underdeveloped part of Indonesia. After the war, and more particularly since 1950, the territory and its population have gone through a process of rapid development and change. Some of the main documents concerned with this process have been listed in Chapter VI, sections 3 and 4. Details and information on more recent developments had to be left aside there. They will find a place here, in the sections dealing with education, economic development, migration and resettlement, health care and social development. For a general orientation on the development policy with respect to the area are recommended J.C.M. Bakker (1965), Werkplan 1954-56 and Ontwikkelingsplan 1961-63 (see Chapter VI.3.3. and 3.4.), and Verhoeff (1956), Development (1968), and Garnaut and Manning (1974).

IX. 7.7. Bibliography

Development

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IX.2. Education

During the colonial period the system of native school education was developed jointly by the government and the missions. The final phase of this course can be followed by reading the successive Reports on Netherlands New Guinea submitted to the United Nations over the years 1949-61. Extensive information on the policy pursued and on the problems at issue can be gathered from the reports of the Raad voor Volksopvoeding from 1951 on. A comprehensive study devoted to the place and problems of school education in the framework of the socio-cultural development of Irian is sadly lacking, though some of the problems have been discussed in the doctoral dissertations of Lagerberg (1962) and

J.C.M. Bakker (1965) mentioned in subsection VI.3.3. and 3.4. On the role of the missions in school education see also section VI.4. Other contributions to the discussion on education during the colonial period are Van Baal (1953), Heynes (1954, 1955, 1959-60), Van der Stoep (1954a, 1954b, 1956, 1959-60), Schoe (1955-56), Van Doorenmalen (1956a, 1956b, 1956c), Coreelmont (1958), Kroeskamp (1958, 1962), Verslag onderwijsconferentie (1958), Plenter (1959), Kijne (1961), and Huizenga (1962).

Since the Indonesian take-over of West New-Guinea from the United Nations in 1963, the rapid development of education has been one of the main concerns of the administration. A general statement on the strategy in this connection has been given by Soekisno Hadikoemoro (1972), a senior functionary of the Ministry of Education in Jakarta and a former deputy vice-chancellor of the University of Cenderawasih.

In the development of elementary education, the provincial government has cooperated closely with missionary organizations, and although there was a remarkable increase in public primary schools in urban as well as rural areas, in 1970 85 percent of the provincial enrolments were still at mission schools. The growth in enrolments, which, as statistics show for primary schools have almost doubled in less than 10 years - from 58,913 in 1963 to 107,058 in 1970 - has placed severe strains on teaching resources and has gone at the expense of the quality of education. The relevant figures can be found in Irian Barat dalam angka (1970) and in Masalah pendidikan (1970).

Within the framework of the rapid expansion of education there has been some discussion at the Teachers' Training College of the University of Cenderawasih, about the current context of the Indonesian educational programme for Irian Jaya. In an economy where self-employment is widespread and even a large proportion of unskilled jobs are filled by immigrants, a special system should be devised for the education of the rural indigenous population of the province. It was argued, for instance, that special vocational training courses should be introduced for students not continuing beyond the primary grade. This discussion is dealt with by Duynstee (1972) and Spicer (1972). The subject of literacy is discussed by Ellenberger (1971) and Mohanty (1971).

Much more intensive scientific research needs to be done on the problems of education in Irian Jaya. Only a few limited studies have been undertaken by students of the Teachers' Training College of Cenderawasih University in fulfilment of requirements for B.A. and M.A. examinations, or for reports such as Laporan penelitian (1981).

At the beginning, in 1963, the Indonesian government established a university in the area called Universitas Cenderawasih (UNCEN), with a faculty of law, a faculty of agriculture, a teachers' training college and an institute for anthropology. During the first decade of its existence, staffmembers of the large universities of Java were given assignments to teach at the Irian Jaya University for a number of years or were flown over at regular intervals. A major proportion of the students were initially Indonesian immigrants, because there were only few Irianese who had graduated from high school in the early sixties. This situation has gradually changed in the course of the sixties and seventies. A brief outline of the history of UNCEN and some information on its role in the development of the province are contained in an academic address delivered by its first vice-chancellor, Poerbakawaja (1977).

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IX. 3. Economic Development

IX. 3.1. General

Speculations about Irian's potentials for economic development date back to the third decade of this century. The problem of how to promote economic progress in this remote and unpromising backyard of the tropical world soon attracted academic attention. Between 1933 and 1965 no less than six doctoral dissertations were devoted to the subject, viz. Bruynis (1933), Winsemius (1936, see also 1955), Leslie-Miller (1952), Stratenus (1952), Cannegieter (1959), and Bakker (1965). Of all these works, the last-mentioned is the only one which does not concentrate on what should or could be done in a more or less foreseeable future, but on what has been done in the recent past. Most of the other dissertations represent attempts at giving a more scientific foundation for the schemes evolved in such circles as the Nieuw-Guinea Comité and the Nieuw-Guinea Studiekring, where people met who, lured by the challenge of Irian's vast wilderness, were of the opinion that its hidden treasures and unexplored potential called for development by a determined colonizer. Though many of their ideas on colonization were far from realistic, they were men of imagination rather than wild dreamers. In their numerous contributions to their journal, TNG, men such as Klein and Feuilletau de Bruyn put forward a good deal of information and a wealth of ideas that could lend support to practical development. The two editions of Klein's handbook Nieuw-Guinea constitute a reliable source of information and inspiration which have proved their worth.

Nevertheless, the problems were manifold. When at last the task was really taken in hand, the first obstacles to be overcome were not those of reclamation but of the construction of housing facilities for the necessary personnel and of the organization of means of transport and communication between the many isolated bigger and smaller centres of

activity. Taking a retrospective view of the last decade of the colonial era, it may be stated that the problems of communication and housing were successfully solved and also that a promising start was made with rural development and health care. On the other hand, one ardently pursued goal was never achieved. The metropolitan government had set great hopes upon foreign investment in mining as the surest way of supporting public finance. Towards that end geological and mining surveys were promoted, with the encouraging result that worthwhile quantities of copper, nickel and chromium ores were discovered. In 1959 the Government even published a preliminary report on the potentials for hydro-electric power. But all to no avail. Potential investors showed themselves interested in the opportunities offered but were put off by the political uncertainty ensuing from the Dutch-Indonesian conflict. All mining remained restricted to the activities of the one petroleum company, the NNGPM. To make matters worse, the great expectations raised by the latter's early (partly pre-war) surveys were at best only partly answered. Although the NNGPM made a praiseworthy contribution to vocational training, the contributions of mining to the economic development of Irian fell short of the initial expectations, and will not be further discussed here. For relevant literature the reader is referred to section II.2. of this book and to the bilingual report on hydro-electric potential by Brouwer (1959).

The development process was interrupted by the transfer of the sovereignty over Irian to Indonesia. The almost total withdrawal of Dutch colonial managerial and technological expertise from Irian Jaya at the Indonesian take-over, the exorbitant rate of inflation during the years 1963 to 1965, the chronic foreign exchange shortage, and, consequently, the almost total breakdown of the central Indonesian economy in the mid sixties, have had devastating effects on the development work in West New Guinea, which was initiated in the last decade of the Dutch colonial administration. At the micro, grass roots, level, in the rural village communities the deterioration of public utilities and the breakdown of transport and marketing services, causing a scarcity of consumers goods, reached extreme proportions in 1964. A specially focused in-depth study of, for instance, the decline of indigenous copra growing in the Sami subdivision (Koentjaraningrat 1969) has demonstrated, however, that part of the fault also lies with the attitudes of the local population, which do not seem to be conducive yet to rapid economic development.

When, after the change of government in 1965, Indonesia embarked on a more serious and realistic scheme to develop its economy, the economic restoration and integration of Irian Jaya also received special attention. Separate development programs were designed during the years 1967, 1968 and 1969, and extensive international aid channelled through FUNDWI, the United Nations Fund for the Development of West Irian, constituted the main item of the budget. Despite the fact that overzealous Indonesian administrators have sometimes applied themselves to "faulty" development programs, United Nations' reports and published macro-studies by qualified economists have indeed shown accelerated improvement in the money, labour and commodity markets and in transport and communications during the seventies, which at the same time, however, seem to have had dramatic or even traumatic effects on the indigenous population of the province. More information on these development processes is included in the publications of Bernander (1971),

FUNDWI (1971-72), Hutagalung (1971), Zainal (1971), Manning and Garnaut (1972, 1973), Siregar (1972), Abubakar (1974), Abdul Bari (1974), Carnaut and Manning (1974, 1979), and Hanggaibak (1974).

IX.3.2. Rural Development

a. General

The first, in many respects authoritative, formulation of the colonial government's rural development policy is found in *Agrarische Commissie* (1955). It was drawn up by a committee of prominent experts nominated for the task by the Minister of Overseas Territories. The committee paid a lengthy visit to Irian in 1953, and subsequently made the following recommendations:

- that an elaborate community development plan should be realized in 25 different areas;
- that an agri- and sylvicultural research station should be set up at Manokwari;
- that medium-sized farms should be created in the Geelvink Bay area;
- that a rice and a meat project should be started in the vicinity of Merauke in order to make Irian independent of rice imports;
- that saw-mills should be established at Manokwari and Merauke.

Although the Commission's recommendation to concentrate the better part of the supervision of the execution of its suggested plans at The Hague met with considerable criticism from the government at Hollandia, the plans themselves were sound enough. With the exception of the Geelvink Bay medium-sized farms, an experimental cacao station at Ransiki, and the Merauke saw-mill, they were all realized in one form or another.

A different form was given to the community development plan. The then Governor had his own ideas about community development. Before coming to office as such, he had had a hand in the Nimboran community development plan, the results of which did not satisfy him. He strongly felt that community development is a too strictly localized and too restricted form of government. Good government should promote economic development everywhere, and integrate it into routine forms of local self-government. He also objected to the emphasis placed on communal action which, he argued, did not do justice to the Papuan preference for individual activity and ownership. The policy adopted under his administration conducted to rubber planting in the Muyu area, the laying out of coconut and cacao plantations in the Mappi area, the promotion of improved nutmeg plantations in Fakfak, cooperative vegetable-growing in Biak, and a model project involving individual cacao gardens in Yapen. For the latter, the credit goes to agricultural officer M. de Vries, who all by himself designed a perfect scheme combining subsistence gardening with the preparation of cash crop plantations. In other subdivisions (notably Ayamaru) comparable activities were started. Very little has been published about them, and most of the relevant information has to be gathered from either the Annual Reports to the United Nations or from *Memories van Overgave* and a few reports specified in the selected papers mentioned below. The only project which has enjoyed satisfactory publicity is the Nimboran project. For discussions and relevant literature see *Op 't Land* (1970, in particular pp. 205-86). This does not mean that little has been published during this period. In the first place mention must be made of the agricultural series published by 'Economic Affairs' at Hollandia as a more technical, special issue

of the Department's Bulletin of Economic Affairs. Seven issues appeared, five in 1961, two in 1962. The essays written in Dutch are followed by a summary in English. The official title is: *Mededelingen van Economische Zaken, Landbouwkundige Serie* (abbreviated as MEZ). We would mention the contributions of Johnston (1961), Moll (1961, 1962), Schreurs and Simon Thomas (1961), Simon Thomas (1961, 1962), and Wttewaall (1961).

Other publications which appeared between 1953 and 1962 and are concerned with rural development generally are Jansen (1953), Van Gogh (1954), De Wilde de Ligny, Ham and Van Loenen (1954), Brantjes (1955), De Jongh (1958), De Haan (1958), Van Beek (1959) and De Vries (1959). Publications on specific subjects are Poyck (1956) on cacao, Barrau (1958) on the virtues and drawbacks of shifting cultivation (for other papers of Barrau see subsection III.3.), Wttewaall (1958) on Biak, Van Dooren (1959, 1962a, 1962b) on cooperative societies, Flach (1959) on nutmeg cultivation, Huizenga (1959) on Yapen and Waropen, and Huizenga and De Vries (1960 and 1962) on cacao and on Yapen and Waropen respectively.

Of the unpublished reports listed in Nienhuis, special mention must be made of those of M. Zwollo (1950, 1953, and 1955) on sago, on Numfor, and on Mappi respectively; of A. Perk (1953a and 1953b) on the development projects for Mappi and Muyu; of De Wilde de Ligny (1954) on Muyu; of Wttewaall (1954) on industrial sago preparation in the Inanwatan region; of Ham (1955) on cacao on Yapen; of Hofman (1955, 1956) on rural development on Yapen and in Teminabuan respectively; of De Haan (1957) on rural development in Ayamaru; of Reyniers and Hofman (1957) on the agricultural potentials of the Wissel Lakes district; and of Moll (1959) on coffee cultivation in this same district. Finally, we call attention to the papers presented in Nienhuis under nos 208-215 concerning the Numfor development plan.

Recommended papers on agriculture and rural development after 1962 are Landskroner (1967), Tiga tahun pembangunan (1972), Foster (1973), Howay (1973), Walker (1973a, 1973b), Rumbiak (1974), and Karafir (1981a, 1981b).

b. Estate Farming and Agricultural Research

Estate farming never struck roots in Irian. Almost all that can be said about it has been said by De Wilde de Ligny, in his article in Klein's *Nieuw-Guinea III* (1954, pp. 288-91). After the war Irian counted no more than two coconut estates, one on Wakde (Sarmi) and one on the coast to the west of Merauke, which latter was owned by the R.C. Mission. More successful was the Government Rice Project at Kurik (Kumbe) in South New Guinea. The project, proposed by the 'Agrarische Commissie', had been inspired by the successes of a pre-war colony of Javanese rice-growers near Merauke, described in the *Memories van Overgave* by Van Baal and Klaus (Nienhuis nos 310 and 327). The new project is described by Kool and Vollema (1957).

The pre-war experimental estate of the NEGUMIJ (a private company formed by a consortium of big Netherlands-Indies estate firms) had continued in existence, but never extended its plantation beyond the 100 hectares it had originally rented in Ransiki (cf. *We is dat?*, 1958: 65ff.). On estate farming the reader may further consult Van Dunne (1941), Eysvoogel (1954, 1955), and Van Baal (1958).

Very little has been written about the Agrarian Research Station,

first established at Kota Nica (Sentani), and later, in conformity with the recommendations of the Agrarische Commissie, at Manokwari. Since 1959 it has published Mededelingen van de landbouwkundige afdeling van de Stichting voor Agrarisch Onderzoek. On the Stichting (Foundation) itself see the Rapport Agrarische Commissie, and Coolhaas (1954). What the Stichting actually did can be found out by skimming through Nienhuis' Inventaris, where under the names of individual researchers time and again the Stichting is mentioned as their sponsor. The few publications mentioned here provide an incomplete picture of the activities undertaken during this period. Far more information can be gleaned from the Annual Reports submitted to the United Nations. The last one of these (for the year 1961) gives a detailed enumeration of the various projects then in progress, in particular in connection with native agriculture and forestry.

XL3.3. Forestry

Irian is a forest-covered country and its wealth of forest products represents an enticing object of timber exploitation and resin- and rattan-collecting. Its hardwood (intia and pometia species) is much sought after, and such trees as the resin-producing agathis and the araucaria of the Kebar are valued sources of plywood. However, the way from the habitat of a particular tree to the sawmill is always long and difficult. This is aggravated by the fact that most of Irian's forests are extremely heterogeneous. In the more easily accessible areas timber with a market value is usually limited to two or at best three trees of a specific species per hectare. One of the forestry department's first tasks was to find out whether the numerous tree species surrounding the superior timber quality ones were good enough to be included in the harvest of an area allocated for timber-felling. If this were so, a wholesale clearing of the terrain and its reforestation with one or two valuable species only would be a payable and promising proposition. Where this is not the case, selective timber-felling is called for - an often disastrous method which excludes the possibility of replanting and leads either to erosion or to the permanent impoverishment of the composition of the forest in the process of its natural rehabilitation. As long as selective timber-felling is limited to the fulfilment of local needs, the damage done may be acceptable; if the method is applied to satisfy the insatiable demands of the world market, in other words, for export purposes, it definitely is not.

Considerations of this kind have determined the policy of the Irian Forestry Department. It was concentrated on the surveying and inventorization of the forests of Irian. The best remembered explorers were, before the war, Salverda, and after the war, in chronological sequence, Zieck, Van Royen and Kalkman. Nienhuis' inventory of the Rapporten-archief of the Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken mentions well over 20 reports written by Zieck alone. Many more such reports must lie stored away in the files of the Agricultural Research Station at Manokwari.

Another task of the Department was the development and extension of such natural, fairly homogeneous complexes as the araucaria forests of the Kebar Plain and the agathis forests of Biak, which, under responsible management, would constitute promising objects of permanent and profitable exploitation. The Forestry Department also kept a watchful eye on the forestry activities of others, such as the timber-felling activities of the large Government saw-mill at Manokwari and those of the

small, privately owned mills which, in such places as Hollandia, Manokwari, Sorong, Agats and Merauke, worked mostly to satisfy local needs (the one in Agats excepted). Finally, in areas where the collecting of resins and rattan constituted a remunerative source of cash income for the local population, the foresters organized courses to provide information on better methods of cutting and collecting. This was, alongside the Department's contribution to the cash income of the local natives as their employer, its only activity which was of direct benefit to the local native economy. A general introduction to the subject is Beversluis (1954).

In general, publications on forest management and exploitation in Irian are scarce. Information on this subject can be gathered from the Agrarische Commissie (1955), Fokkinga (1954), and, above all, from the Annual Reports submitted to the United Nations. Publications on forest research are numerous. Apart from those mentioned by Prof. Kalkman in sections II1.2. and II1.3. of this volume, and the numerous reports listed by Nienhuis under the names of Zieck and Kalkman, mention should be made of Salverda (1937), Van Son (1937), Westermann (1951, 1951-52), Jutte (1958-64), Rappard (1958a, 1958b, 1958c, 1960, 1961), Rappard and Van Royen (1959), and Nienhuis nos 887-902. On the awakening of public awareness in Indonesia with regard to responsible forest management in Irian, see the Bulletin of the Indonesisch Documentatie- en Informatiecentrum (INDOC) in Leiden (Indoc, 1982).

IX. 3. 4. Animal Husbandry

In Irian the domestic animal par excellence is the pig. It is of the same species as the wild pig. Pigs are bred primarily for ceremonial occasions, the traditional pig-feasts. Although in the central mountains this kind of celebrations combine ritual with trade objectives, pig-breeding for purely economic purposes is alien to the Papuan tradition. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why attempts to improve (enlarge) the native strain by crossbreeding with imported boars have been unsuccessful.

Cattle-breeding was originally unknown in Irian, where the largest indigenous mammal was the wild pig. The import of cattle in Merauke by the Government and in Manokwari by Indo-European colonists has since aroused the interest of local natives in cattle-breeding without, however, making this really popular. The introduction of poultry, mostly by mission teachers, had more success over a wider area. Until World War II little attention was given to Irian's potentials for stockraising. The second edition of Klein's Nieuw-Guinea still ignores the subject. After the war this changed. The department of agriculture then was extended by the addition of a new subdivision for animal husbandry and cattle-raising. A government cattle station was established at Merauke.

The best source of information on this subject are the Annual Reports to the United Nations. Publications on animal husbandry are Huitema (1947-48, 1949-50), De Jong (1954), Zwart (1958, 1959), Hoekstra (1960), and Kafior (1979).

IX.3.5. Fisheries

Before World War II little attention was given to native fishing in Irian. Among the older publications we should mention Muller (1916), Boschma (1937), and Feuilletau de Bruyn (1940-41). After the war, public and official interest in fishing rapidly grew, and the post-war colonial government of Irian contributed substantially to the development of fishery

and the construction of fish ponds. The Annual Report to the United Nations for 1961 gives a good idea of the progress made until that year. Further information and literature is to be found in D.C. Zwollo (1949, 1955a/ 1955b, 1956), Westenbergh (1951), Bottemanne (1954), Boeseman (1956), Holthuis (1956), and Van Pel (1958, 1959). Finally, there are the reports quoted in Nienhuis under nos 903-906, 32, 55, 186, 198, 210, 212, 235 and 699. The development of the fishing industry during the Indonesian period had been dealt with by Walker (1972).

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IX.4. Migration and Resettlement

The term 'migration'¹ as applied in this section refers to three types of population movement: (1) the migration to towns and cities and the subsequent urbanization of the indigenous rural population of Irian Jaya; (2) the self-financed movement of unskilled and semi-skilled Indonesians from other provinces to Irian Jaya in the hope of finding employment on arrival; (3) the movement of Indonesian or foreign bureaucrats and other skilled employees of the government and large companies to take up previously secured positions. The term 'resettlement'¹ refers to the process involving the transfer of farmers from other, densely populated parts of Indonesia or demobilized personnel of the Indonesian armed forces to take up farming in Irian Jaya under the government transmigrasi scheme; and the resettlement of semi-nomadic Irianese or Irianese occupying small isolated settlements over a large area in sizable, modern local communities.

The movement of rural Irianese to towns or cities in search of employment or education started after the war and has since continued at an increasing rate. It is a world-wide phenomenon. Many post-war ethnographies have reported on and illustrated it with detailed microstatistical data. Often such movements have led to the development of wards in towns and cities in which people from particular rural regions, villages or clans congregated in small, compact communities. The social problems entailed by this type of migration already worried the Dutch. In section IX.6. attention will be drawn to a number of reports on these and related problems. However, they have not led to adequate descriptions being made of the economic conditions, the social organization and structure, the interaction networks, the motives for moving, or the attitudes and world view of these new Irianese urban settlers. More recent research has not achieved this, either, though occasionally attempts at further research have been made by Cenderawasih students in fulfilment of the requirements for their examinations, such as Kaipman (1973, 1974), Gobay (1977), Nenebais (1977), Turat (1977), Dow (1978), Tikul (1979), and Renwarin (1980).

So far no satisfactory studies, either quantitatively or qualitatively, have been made of the second type of population movements, the immigration of individuals from East Indonesian provinces such as Southeast Sulawesi, East Sulawesi and the Moluccas to Irian Jaya.

The third type of population movement seems hardly to have been studied, either, despite the current availability of elaborate statistics on the labour force of Irian Jaya. One of the main obstacles to an adequate study of immigration patterns of Indonesians from other provinces to Irian Jaya is, apparently, the lack of specified information provided by these statistics, which fail to distinguish between Irianese and non-Irianese or to indicate the ethnic background of the non-Irianese immigrants.

Similarly, no serious, adequately planned study seems to have been made of the resettlement of farmers coming to Irian Jaya from other provinces. In the vast body of literature which exists on transmigrasi in Indonesia, only a few titles refer to Irian Jaya, while among the numerous doctoral dissertations on the subject not one is concerned with Irian Jaya, as far as we know. We must content ourselves with the papers of Poterejauw (1972), Suwondo (1972), Karafir (1974), Dopyi (1977), Suhartono (1977), Bohang (1978), and with Transmigrasi (1981-82).

The fifth type of population movement, i.e. the resettlement of semi-nomadic Irianese or Irianese occupying small, isolated rural settlements in larger local communities has a long history. It began with the introduction of schools. Long before World War II the Missions were already endeavouring to persuade people living in scattered hamlets to co-reside in larger communities which would accommodate a sufficient number of children for filling a school - a policy strongly supported by the colonial government. Many new villages sprang up this way, and with them quite a number of unforeseen difficulties arose. The semi-nomadic way of life and the preference for living in small, isolated hamlets more often than not have a solid foundation in the people's subsistence economy and in the distribution of sago groves and coconut gardens between descent groups. People prefer to live in the immediate vicinity of their gardens and sometimes feel compelled to seasonal shifts of residence. The effect of this on school attendance is, of course, adverse. A satisfactory solution can only be provided by a change in the local people's economy. Consequently, the Indonesian government is trying to combine the implementation of its nationwide program to resettle so-called suku-suku asing (isolated communities) with the likewise nationwide program for community development. It all forms part of a more comprehensive socio-cultural problem which we will deal with in the final section of this chapter. In the present context the reports listed below must suffice to make clear that the attempts at implementing the above-indicated policy are still at a very early stage of trial and error. Reports on this type of resettlement are Griapon (1972), Arfayan (1973), Hegemur (1974) and Hadisoepipto (n.d.).

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IX.5. *Health*

The Irian lowlands were in 1950 an unhealthy, malaria-ridden area. In the years that followed a concerted effort was made to improve health conditions. What is really important is the effect of preventive medicine rather than the fact that existing hospitals were enlarged or improved and new ones built. The near-simultaneity of elaborate anti-malaria measures, the anti-yaws campaign, and the fight against leprosy and tuberculosis with positive steps in the fields of health education, mother and child welfare and the introduction of village welfare workers has had a spectacular effect on general health conditions throughout the territory. Besides, the close cooperation of the territorial health department with the health section of the South Pacific Commission and the WHO had a stimulating effect on scientific activities of local health officers. The Annual Reports to the United Nations, though instructive, describe only part of these activities. A more vivid picture is painted by the mimeographed periodicals published by the Netherlands New Guinea Health Service, namely the *Mededelingen van de Dienst van Gezondheidszorg in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea*, (abbreviated as MDGZ), Hollandia, a quarterly which from 1954 appeared in issues of some ninety-odd pages each, and the *Jaarverslag Centraal Ziekenhuis Hollandia*, an annual report of c.60 pages which first appeared in 1957.

There are quite a number of other publications besides, among them at least a dozen doctoral dissertations. As introductions to the subject of this section the following articles and books are recommended: De Rook (1938), Bierdrager and De Rook (1954), Bierdrager (1960), Van Amelsvoort (1964), and Vogel (1965).

It is of some interest to note that the authors of the introductory articles here mentioned were leading medical officers in the territory, and that both had experience with the primitive health conditions here in the pre-war period. Bierdrager was director of health from 1954-59. Further publications of these authors are De Rook (1930, 1957a, 1957b,

1957c) and Bierdrager (1934).

A very great deal has been written on malaria and mosquito-borne diseases generally, amongst others by Van Thiel (1955), Van Thiel and Metselaar (1955), Metselaar (1957, 1959a, 1959b, 1961), and Meeuwissen (1963). A spectacular success was achieved by the anti-yaws campaign started in 1955, which has been described in the doctoral dissertation by Kranendonk (1958).

More resistant were leprosy and tuberculosis. On leprosy see, in addition to Vogel (1965), Leiker (1958 and 1960). Preventive measures against tuberculosis are discussed by Wijsmuller (1963); see also his articles in MDCZ of 1956 and 1961, nos 3-4:4-18, and 8-2:61-94. For further literature the bibliography in Vogel (1965) should be consulted.

A recurrent condition in the highlands (though occasionally also occurring in the lowlands) is goitre. It was made the object of special research by the medical officer Van Rhijn, who reported on this in his Leiden dissertation (1969). Another report on goitre is that by Adams, Kennedy, Choufoer and Querido (1968).

Apart from the annual reports of the Central Hospital at Hollandia (since 1959 a perfectly equipped modern hospital; cf. the description by J.S. de Vries in Schakels NNG 36(1960):22-27; and by G. Hoekstra in SPC Quarterly Bulletin 9(1959) no. 4:37-40), little has been written about hospitals in the area. Even the special issue of Mededelingen van de Dienst van Gezondheidszorg devoted to hospitals (1958 no. 3) lacks descriptions of hospitals in our area, combining articles on how hospitals should be fitted out with essays on special diseases. The interest of the Health Service has focused on preventive medicine and mass treatment rather than on curative medicine and the individual. One of the major problems it had to contend with was nutrition and its influence on mother and child welfare, a problem which could only be solved by better health (and nutrition) education. In these two fields the Health Service has been lucky to receive the support and cooperation of two leading Dutch specialists, Oomen and Luyken, whose inspiring work has exercised a lasting influence. Oomen wrote a booklet which every social worker or student in the area should read carefully (1958; see also Oomen 1959, 1961a, 1961b, Oomen and Malcolm 1958, and Oomen et al. 1961). Luyken participated in SPC project no. S 18, 'Depopulation of the Marind-anim' (Luyken 1961, Luyken and Luyken-Koning (1955), and Luyken, Luyken-Koning and Pikaar (1964), The interest in nutrition and in health education as means of improving the health situation was shared by local medical officers. Four of them, all practitioners, have recorded their experiences in doctoral dissertations, viz. Van der Hoeven (1956), Jansen (1959), Veeger (1959), and Voorhoeve (1965).

It is not only medical officers who have given systematic descriptions of their experiences. Nurses, too, were inspired workers who did their job under often very trying conditions. An example is Bartels (1967). Other authors writing about nutrition and health education are Voors (1957), Biersteker (1962), and De Vries (1962).

On other diseases than those mentioned before reports have been written by Van der Hammen (1956), Vogel (1958, 1962), Smits (1960), Van der Hoeven and Rijpstra (1962), Schubert (1964), and Van Amelsvoort (1976).

Finally, mention should be made of the papers and articles listed by Nienhuis under nos 797-809, in particular those by Van der Hoeven,

Voors, and Luyken. A popular description of a doctor's work is given by Boelen (n.d.).

The take-over of Irian by Indonesia resulted in the departure of almost the entire Dutch medical staff. Although this did not involve a break-down in the exchange of ideas or exclude occasional visits, the remanning of the health service presented many problems. These were finally solved by the introduction of the national Puskesmas system (from Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat). The latter involved the establishment of dozens of small clinics in many of the subdivisional towns of Irian Jaya. In these clinics junior, newly graduated doctors are obliged to serve for a period of three years before qualifying for a licence allowing them to open private practice or permission to continue their studies for further specialization. Nevertheless, the state of public health in the province is still at a low level, and such major tropical diseases as malaria, cholera and leprosy, but also tuberculosis, yaws and influenza, are continuing to contribute to mortality rates that are considered high even by Indonesian standards.

Publications on public health after 1962 are Pitka (1963), D. Gunawan (1969), Oomen (1971), S. Gunawan (1972, 1979), Ismanoe et al. (1975), Pudyasmoro (1975), Djokomoeljanto et al. (1978), and Dani dwellings (1982).

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IX.6. Social Development

The degree of social development achieved during the last decade of the colonial regime has never been comprehensively described, neither as a whole nor in part. To find out what was done, the reader must turn

primarily to the successive Annual Reports to the United Nations. It is only natural that he will read them with the slight suspicion that they probably present too rosy a picture of the situation. At any rate, this is the accusation levelled time and again by the anti-colonial opponents of colonial powers at the meetings of the United Nations Committee on non-selfgoverning territories. These critics tended to suspect the colonial powers of doing all they could to avoid their harsh and often biting criticism and accommodating their reports accordingly. The truth of the matter is that the metropolitan countries were wise enough not to give legitimate occasion for such accusations. Of course they were reluctant to wash their dirty linen too much in public. But they hated being exposed to the criticism that they had coloured the facts or minimized abuses, and consequently presented the facts correctly and in detail, be it with a greater emphasis on their successes than on their failures. What is important is that the facts are correct, whether they are concerned with labour conditions, housing facilities, poor relief and nutrition, or with human rights - such as the right of free assembly or of associating in trade unions - and freedom of the press. The reader of chapter III of the successive volumes of the Annual Report on Netherlands New Guinea (entitled 'Social Conditions', in Dutch 'De sociale toestand¹) cannot fail to be struck by the steady progress.

One of the governments' major headaches was housing and living conditions in the various towns, not only for European workers imported from the Netherlands, but also for migrant labourers coming from the rural parts of the colony. Being initially almost exclusively bachelors, these labourers were housed in barracks. After they were encouraged to bring their families with them, houses had to be built, and in this way sprang up such native wards as Hamadi in Hollandia and similar such ones in Biak and Sorong. Houses for individual families were constructed from coral bricks. The opening of social centres followed.

The Government encouraged the Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond, one of the chief Dutch unions, to assist with the creation of native worker unions. It also stimulated research into social conditions in urban areas and - with an eye to the fixing of socially acceptable minimum wages - into family budgets. Another field of social welfare activity was that in the area of sports, scouting and the setting up of clubs and free associations generally, in all of which sorts of activity the missions and private white citizens participated.

On all these subjects little has been published other than in the Annual Reports to the United Nations. There must be numerous reports in local archives, but only a few of these have found their way to the Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken archives inventorized by Nienhuis. Presumably, more information may be found in the various Memories van Overgave. Nevertheless, a number of reports and publications can be listed here, namely Verenigingswezen (1953), Filet (1953), Lucas (1953, 1954), Schoorl (1953), Stolp (1954, 1956, n.d.), Jaarverslag Sociale Zaken (1955), Film (1956), Minimumnormen huisvesting (1956), Huizenga (1958, 1960-61, 1962), Van der Meulen (1959), Broekhuysse (1960), Heynes (1960), Dubbeldam (1962), Snapper (1962), De Bruyn (1965).

A special chapter in the history of the colonial government's development policy of the period is that of the political development - the education of the people of Irian towards self-government and political autonomy. This policy has been described and commented on in the dissertation by Lagerberg (1962). Criticism on the government's policy

has been expressed by De Bruyn (1978).

The policy of the colonial government at Hollandia was regulated by the *Bewindsregeling* 1949, which was the legal constitution for the territory. This document urged the institution of a New Guinea Council for the colony as a whole, of local councils for its parts, and of advisory councils wherever elected councils were not yet a feasible proposition. The intentions of the legislator were clear, but their realization was left to circumstances of all kinds, and rightly so, because in 1950 the colony was not ready for their implementation. All that came of them was the institution of three advisory councils, one for each of the three divisions, and of a *Raad voor Volksopvoeding* (Council for the Education of the People) for the colony as a whole in the course of the years 1950 and 1951. The results, especially those of the meetings of the Residential councils, were not encouraging. The administrative divisions of the area were so big and diversified that members were often unable to advise on matters of local policy. On this score the colonial government faced two major problems. The one was that of the constitution of local communities large enough to support such facilities as a school, a shop, or a dispensary, and small enough to guarantee the solidarity of their constituent parts. The other was that of the institution of councils for areas of the size of - maximally - a subdivision to which financial means for the promotion of area development could be entrusted. It was not long before the Hollandia government decided in favour of local experiments.

The *Raad voor Volksopvoeding* worked more satisfactorily. In it the missions played an important role, and their advice was often useful. Nevertheless, the institution as such was too obviously paternalistic to satisfy the democratic ideals of the *Bewindsregeling*. The Hollandia government preferred a representative council on the model of the Netherlands-Indies *Volksraad*. Consultations with the metropolitan government resulted in the creation of a *Nieuw-Guinea Raad* of more restricted powers than was intended by Hollandia. Little has been published on the relevant conflict between Hollandia and The Hague. Lagerberg, at the time of the preparation of his dissertation, had no admission to the secret correspondence of before the constitution of the New Guinea Council, but some of the remarks made in Van Baal (1980) in his 'Post-koloniale Kolonie', (subsection VI.3.3. and 3.4.) suggest that a further investigation of these formerly secret documents might be of interest.

Of no lesser interest is the history of the creation of the area councils (*streekgemeenschappen*) and village councils, a subject introduced in *Werkplan 1954-56* (cf. VI.3.3. and 3.4.). Soon after this local administrators started experiments. Their history can be traced in the Annual Reports to the United Nations (in chapter I of these, under D). It is a long history, which began with the institution of advisory councils for areas the size of a subdivision, which gradually gave way to area councils with financial and political responsibilities and with the power to create local village councils. Here the Biak case served as model. The minutes of the numerous meetings held by Resident Veldkamp with his advisory council of Biak (which minutes are only to be found at Biak or Jayapura) bear witness to the Biak people's determination to achieve a wholly new concept of a local community, a concept that was no longer determined by clan solidarity but by the spatial solidarity of neighbouring groups. It divided up the whole of the Biak-Numfor area,

with its formerly 160-odd village chiefs, into 16 (eventually 18) local communities, each with an elected governing council. A point of specific interest is that these councils had to be re-elected periodically. The system did away with the old, 'feudal' institution of village chiefs appointed for life.

Area councils of this type have so far been created in Biak, Yapen, Hollandia, Fakfak, Radja Ampat and Merauke. None of these councils, nor the village councils under their supervision, have had time for consolidation. After the transfer of sovereignty, the Indonesian Government gave priority to the integration of the new province into the national administrative arrangement. However, many of the administrative changes were postponed until after August 1969, when the Act of Self-Determination required by the agreement with The Netherlands was completed.

The Central Government's supervision of the administration of Irian Jaya was entrusted to the *Direktorat Irian Barat*, which after 1969 became the *Sektor Khusus Irian Jaya* (Special Section for Irian Jaya) within the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The implementation of the various development programs, such as the five-year national development programs (*Pelita*), the United Nations development programs and the special task force programs (such as *Operasi Koteka*), is coordinated at the provincial level by a provincial agency for the execution of the development plans, whereas the policy-making authority is formally vested in the governor and the Provincial People's Representative Assembly, or *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* (DPRD).

One level below the provincial administration are the *kabupaten*. These are the administrative units which the Dutch formerly called *afdelingen*, with the one major difference that to the six *afdelingen* established, i.e. Hollandia (changed into Jayapura), Manokwari, Biak, Fak-Fak, Merauke and Paniai, the Indonesian government has added three new ones, i.e. Sorong, Serui and Jayawijaya. (Of these Serui is the most recent addition. The present work still treats Biak and Serui as being united in the *kabupaten* of Cenderawasih.)

The *kabupaten* administrations after 1969 were formally granted a certain measure of autonomy (cf. Basic Act 12, 1969), and thus are responsible for the implementation of the Government's policies and for the supervision of development projects with respect to their respective areas. Judicial, executive and coordinating powers are vested in the *bupati* (the *kabupaten* heads) and the *kabupaten* councils.

Each *kabupaten* comprises four to five administrative units, called *daerah kepala pemerintah setempat* (KPS), and each KPS in turn is supposed to contain four or five subdistricts (*kecamatan*), covering an average of thirty or so scattered villages and settlements. In many areas, however, these *kecamatan* have not even been formed. In a number of areas the government has made attempts to combine certain extremely small and scattered, isolated settlements into larger village communities. However, as was mentioned earlier, these attempts at village consolidation, which kind of attempts had already been made by the Dutch administration, have had only limited success.

Very few studies have been made of this process of administrative reform in Irian Jaya. Only the Academy for Administration in Jayapura has charged and encouraged its students to study the problems of administrative reform in detail, very often in conjunction with problems of

community development at the local grassroots level. The lack of funds for serious research, inadequate supervision, and general low standard of the training school are the causes of the dubious quality of most of the reports of the studies made for this purpose. Even so, some of these papers, which are kept in the library of the Academy, are informative and worth looking at if only for the multitude of local facts which they include. Examples are Cie (1966), Arfayan (1971), Artoyo (1971), Renyaan (1971), Runtukahu (1971), Ambrauw (1972), Hallatu (1973), Isir (1973), Kayot (1973), Marbun (1973), Sjukur (1973), Soor (1973), Thamrin (1973), Diningsih (1974), Hanafi (1974), Ibrahim (1974), Mainolo (1974), Tan (1974), Usnawas (1974), Achmad (1975), Iskandar (1975), Soewarto Citrotaruna (1977), Sawaki (1978), and Fisher (1980).

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