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EDITORS:
Indonesian Manuscripts
Drs. Anwar-Ikandar
Lenbagas Anthropologi
Universitas Tjenderawasih
Kotak Pos 120
Abepeura-Djajapura-Irian Barat

Sekretaris/Bendahara
Drs. Samuel Patty
Lenbagas Anthropologi
Universitas Tjenderawasih

English Manuscripts
Dr. Malcolm T Walker
UNDP/FUNDWI or UNESCO/FUNDWI
Room A-215 United Nations
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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 individuals, 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 published on a regular basis have been unsuccessful. In some instances 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 foundation 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.

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 Ajan, Amat, 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 cooperative 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 Amat. However, in presenting this material some comments are also offered concerning the nature of social change among the Amat. The first part of the article provides a brief summary of the principal focus of the Amat 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 which appear to be prerequisites for the development of this type of programme here in Amat. 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 Amat.

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 programmes. This is covered more fully in the Easter letter of the Bishop of Agats, Mgr. Sonada, 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 Amat 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 through the arousing of new motivations with the coming of all the "good things" produced by the outside world, makes no difference. The Amat involvement in this new world is a fact and those who are here bear the heavy responsibility of providing the Amat 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 Amat to come to terms with the new world opening around them.

The Amat people face 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 by no means the only 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 Amat 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 insidious 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 Amat area, a number of guidelines have become apparent that are really matters of common sense. 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 it 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 fistful 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, vis., a readiness to create numerous 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 much 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 Asmat and Indonesian personnel from other areas. To build an "Asmat Co-operative" would be neither realistic nor desirable. Certainly development is focused upon the Asmat but not to make of Asmat something unique; rather, it is to create a situation which places the Asmat 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 Asmat 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 Asmat 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 Asmat 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 Asmat.

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 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.
Within the co-operative itself, there can only be so many specific duties, and once those positions are filled (which

Cultural problems are not the only difficulty, however. At the
time of the group's formation, there was a desire for a more democratic
structure. The initial idea was that all members would have equal
representation. In the event, however, it was difficult to achieve this
due to the small size of the group. The needs of the group were
often conflicting, and it was difficult to reach a consensus.

The initial enthusiasm for the co-operative was high, but it soon
became apparent that the continual division of tasks and the
freedom to work at one's own pace was leading to conflicts. The
responsibilities of the group were often unclear, and it was
difficult to decide who was responsible for a particular task. As
a result, the group found it difficult to achieve its goals.

The group also struggled with financial issues. The initial
members, who were all enthusiasts, were nomadic in their
approach to work, which made it difficult to maintain a stable
income. The group had to rely on external funding, which
was often scarce.

The final problem was the lack of support from the
outside world. The group was not well known, and it was
difficult to attract members from outside. The group was
also not well known to the authorities, who were not
interested in supporting co-operative ventures.

In short, the co-operative was a failure, and it was
difficult to maintain its goals. The group disbanded after
a few months, and its members went their separate ways.
Most activities of the Amnat people are carried out as part of a group and the Amnat 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 Amnat 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 Amnat will attempt to comply. By the same token it is not always easy to find out what the "child" is really thinking.

In effect then, the Amnat 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 Amnats now have 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 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 Amnat 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 Amnat 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 Amnat 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.
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.

There 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 these 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 much 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 agriculturists, 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, as 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, i: 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 I) is now recognised as perhaps the only worthwhile path to follow in underdeveloped 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.

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.
Inland Village Education: a Suggestion for Change

A.J.H. Dujardin

Iktisar


Anak2 jang drop-out atau tidak lulus semimbulkan persoalan jang paling besar dikampung, sebab mereka diasikkan dari kehidupan kampung, djuga dikotai diyentai dimana mereka sendiri kaua muda jang tidak bekerja. Anak2 jang sampi untuk melanjutkan sekolah SMP db., menjadialah pendidikan sekolah dasar dipulai seorang tontok jang ditjantjok dengan kebutuhan pendidikan disekolah landjutan.

Untuk itu kami mengusulkan pada 'Diskusi Pendidikan' jang diadakan pada tanggal 16-18 Desember di Djajapura, supaya sesuah opet tahrn pertama, jang merupakan dasar umum bagi semua anak, ada perintjalan. Supaya anak2 jang sampi melanjutkan sekolah, dikeluarkan dalam suatu sekolah Sentral, dimana mereka diasikkan untuk sekolah landjutan. Supaya anak2 jang sesua melanjutkan sekolah tinggal dikampung diberi pelajaran chusus sesuai dengan kebutuhan2 dan kemungkinan daerah memungking; seperti pertanian, petersakan, koperasi, dsb.


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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. Those 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 realised. 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.
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 first four 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
envision a three year course in sedjuruan with as specialised 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 specialise 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 Kaguruan" 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 those who will become the future leaders of development.

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Strategi Pendidikan di Irian Barat : Topik untuk Pertimbangan

Dr. Sotikono Radikoesoro

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 Politia II (14% by 1976) is 15%.

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 1976, 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.

Tjataten singkat ini dinakadukan untuk dapat menjadi pedoman, yang mungkin bersifat sementera sampai dapat dibuktikan ataupun disangah kebeharianan, dalam Diskusi 12 oleh Peserta Diskusi dalam rangka Symposium Pendidikan di Irian Barat dengan informasi setuju kupnya dari Study Center. Seperik dua atau tiga orang dari Study Center dapat berarti; oleh karena berbagi tanda dimana Symposium ini sebagian besar akan tergantung pada kisah serta kesungguhan Center ini dalam mentjari data pelengkap, mengolah, meng-sentoker mengarahkan topik, mengarahkan diskusi diib.

Fakta

A. Kwantitatif


Mensurut keterangan keadaan yang seimbang (satu murid PT:SLA: SLP:= 4,46% : 4,70% : 18,76% : 75,09%) maka bisa dipergunakan dasar djumlah mahasiswa yang ada sekarang sebagai petokan, djumlah murid sekarang saluruhnya seharusnya berdjumlah 70.000 orang; seadangkan djumlah yang sekarang ini ada 123.700 orang. Dalam apa itu bila yang diambil sebagai petokan adalah murid 30 yang sekarang-
tantunja ini bila diambil oleh karena tidak mungkin djumlah yang sudah ada ini dikurangi maka djumlah saluruh murid seharusnya 147.000 orang.

Keadaan di Indonesia sekarang ini, jaitu tahun 1971, djumlah murid adalah 10,46% dari djumlah penduduk. Dalam perentijakan Penguwangan Pendidikan di Indonesia tertjuran sanmer2 berikut:


Bila dipelajari keadaan untuk Irian Barat pada tahun 1971 ini maka sekarang ini djumlah murid saluruhnya sudah menjepi 14% dari djumlah penduduk (sensus 1971: 862.000 orang). Adapun proyeksi-
aja untuk beberapa tahun mendatang ini, disusun sekarang pada tahun 1977; 13% dari djumlah penduduk, jaitu 123.700 orang.

Bila dipelajari keadaan untuk Irian Barat pada tahun 1971 ini maka sekarang ini djumlah murid saluruhnya sudah menjepi 14% dari djumlah penduduk (sensus 1971: 862.000 orang). Adapun proyeksi-
aja untuk beberapa tahun mendatang ini, disusun sekarang pada tahun 1977; 13% dari djumlah penduduk, jaitu 123.700 orang.

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aja untuk beberapa tahun mendatang ini, disusun sekarang pada tahun 1977; 13% dari djumlah penduduk, jaitu 123.700 orang. Adapun proyeksi-
aja untuk beberapa tahun mendatang ini, disusun sekarang pada tahun 1977; 13% dari djumlah penduduk, jaitu 123.700 orang. Adapun proyeksi-
aja untuk beberapa tahun mendatang ini, disusun sekarang pada tahun 1977; 13% dari djumlah penduduk, jaitu 123.700 orang.
Irian Barat sebagaimana ini sudah melibati masalah Polita II dan untuk masajenakan dengan masalah maka sampai achron Polita II digunakan perlu dipertahankan – dalam arti tidak diadakan yang berarti – kejelas distribusi yang harus diperbaiki.

B. Kualitatif

Salah satu dari kriteria yang dipergunakan adalah data yang masalah hasil udian. Bilamana dilihat data hasil udjian2 sampun pemanfaatan maka diseluruh djenis sekolah grafiknya semuanya karena ke natakan. Alasan tetapi bila dipelajari ratio lulusan; peserta nom berada pada SD dan DBD sekolah (kematian konstitus 1.500, termasuk mori kit), sedangkan pada SD ratio itu sedak 1.965 tinggi sekaran ter us memurni dengan penurunan jang tukup tjuwan, jaitu rata2 - 10% setiap tahunnya (data 1965 - 1970). 

Penjempurna Data

Untuk membutuhkan kebenaran itu ataupun untuk mengamati soalnya, dirl, dipergunakan data dari berbagai sari. Dijuga untuk tuduhan penjempunan strategi pendidikan diperluakan data pengembang mengenal hal2 yang relevan dengan itu yang peranannya ada pada Study Center.

Beberapa aspek dapat diambilkan misalnya:

A. Umur : Protota Irian Barat dan projeksinja untuk 10 ta hun mendatang (rentjana pembangunan Irian Barat); profil umur dan djenis kelemb dari Irian Barat; in venterisasi komposisi tanah kerja; tempa administrasi ip jang ada dibantu pendidikan; pengembang: bentuny kepada murid; pengelolaan sekolah (Negeri, Jajaran); cost of schooling, % anggaran yang dipergunakan untuk peng didikan didasari ini; proporsional pembagian untuk masing2 kelompok sekolah; kesejahteraan guru; kominaran guru.

B. Kuantitatif : Projeksi population growth sampai achron Polita II beserta implikasinya; perkembangan jumlah murid, guru, kelemb, sekolah sedak 1950 - 1971; penjelasan etn sekolah2; size dari sekolah2; persentase ratio G/K, G/N, G/S, S/K, S/N, K/N, baik setien kesejahteraan murid pada fragmentasi kedalam sekolah sekolah Negeri dan Jajaran; piramid penduduk; piramid baju/murid; penduduk untuk Propinsi dan untuk per Kabupaten; kurang pada kaidas dan status bangunan2 se kolah; umur petugas2 pendidikan; lamanja berbungh di Irian Barat bagi seraya jang nas dalam kaidas; penurunan jumlah petugas2 pendidikan dan puna daerah; perkiraan produksi STG sampai tahun 1978; data dari dinas2 lain mengenai pendidikan jang ditengkarkan maupun pengasan belajar.

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Data tersebut, untuk persoalan jang asas, hendaknya dapat dike makan selain untuk Propinsi djuga per Kabupaten, dan djuga pe misahkan setajaran lain jaitu untuk kota dan daerah pedesaman.

C. Kualitatif : Kualifikasi guru2; ratio peserta udjian : lulusan bahan2 pagangan guru (djundul, pengarang, tahun terbit); methoda mengadju; persentase ratio pe serta udjian lulusan per kabupaten, djuga untuk kota dan daerah pedesaman; partisipasi masajenkat; pengertian masajenkat; literacy diantar drop-outs; pelajaran para drop-outs.

D. Inovasi : Fungsi sekolah dalam masajenkat; fungsi guru da lam masajenkat; pengetahuan ilmiah dari masajenkat jang perlu diketahui pura guru dan djuga guru; peranan PDP; peranan Educational Broadcasting; peranan Universitas Tjonderawasih.

Strategi Pendidikan Irian Barat

Dengan fakta jang ada sebagai pedoman djuga bahwa – sampai penelitian oleh study Center dapat membutuhkan lain – perantjana/strategi pendidikan Irian Barat, se-tidaknya sampai achron Polita II, harus berfikir selektif jaitu:

untuk SD – diutarakan peningkatan mutu, tanpa membahas djumlah murid yang berarti; dalam hal ini diperlukan peneli tian tinggi Kabupaten; diusahakan agar peningkatan mutu itu dapat dilakukan pada djumlah sekolah jang lebih sedikit yang terdapat harus ditujup melalui pengga bungan sekolah2 jang dawasa ini dan djuga projeksinja termasuk tidak efisien (size-nya teri.1a kotj11 se dgangkang kaidas murid meneng djuga kurang sejauh yang 1cada ada dibherangi tempat); djuga per hatian diarahkan kepada penjempurnan bangunan2 dan facilta.

untuk SL – peningkatan proporsional djumlah anak2 jang diberi ke kompeten sampah pendidikan landjutan atau dengan kata lain expansi SL diperlukan; usaha kearah Sokolah Komprehensif dengan skill jang disesuatu dengan keadaan daerah ini beserta kewajibannya masa menda-

Strategi semajin tersebut diatas mungkin diikuti oleh Menteri Masuri dalam pelemahan alternatif pendidikan maseh pendidikan di Indonesia. Pendapat jang sedakal djuga diikuti oleh Smith dalam arcen untuk perantjana pendidikan di TPG.
Daftar Bacaan :
Gerasak konsepil dalam pendidikan, Dalam Express p.16-22
6 Desember 1971
Kewajiban belajar dalam Pembangunan Pendidikan di Indonesia.
Tjersman menteri P dan K di Fakultas Hukum U.I., tanggal
p.5-6, 1971.
Menteri F dan K Basic Memorandum tentang Pendidikan, November 1970
Menteri P dan K Kehidupan Masyarakat umum Departemen Pendidikan dan Ke
budayaan dalam tahun anggaran 1971/1972. Dikemasukan
Smith, G.E. Population growth and education planning in Papua

Collecting Ethnographic Specimens
Philip J.C. Dark

Ictisar

Dalam article ini penulisan dikenal sebagai soorang yang
ahli didaaka kasemuan Primitif didarae Melanesia, mengandikurkan
untuk bagaimana mengadakan pengumpulan benda2 kebudayaan untuk
museum. Adalah sangat penting untuk dengan teliti mengadakan pe-
guupulan benda2 kebudayaan (artefacts), supaya dibat quantities apakah
benda2 tersebut baik untuk dipertahankan di dalam museum.
Walaupun Primitif"nya ataupun sedarahannya benda2 tersebut, na
mun daripada aparat diperhatikan sesuatu tingkat kebudayaan
sesuatu manajerat tertinggi pada suatu art tertentu, sehingga
dengan demikian adalah penting untuk disimpan di dalam museum.Pada
tahun 1970, Presiden Indonesia telah menunjuk mendirikan sebuah
museum dilinggungan Universitas Tsjonderawasih di Abepura, Djaja
pura Irian Barat.

Pengumpulan benda2 kebudayaan memang telah dilakukan, namun
apabila Museum itu telah siap untuk dibuka sokitar bulan July
1972, sudah tentu lebih banyak lagi pengumpulan benda2 kebudayaan
harus dilakukan.

Dibayangkan para petugas peserintah, Missionaris, dan petugas
lembaga jang berada di Irian Barat dapat membantu pengisian museum
tersebut dengan mengadakan pengumpulan hasil2 kasemuan dan hasil2
kebudayaan didarae walaupun nara pada daera. Didada melalui pe-
guupulan benda2 kebudayaan tersebut, bebarapa hal dibawah ini
perlu dipertahankan:

1. Mengadakan anotesi:

Setiap benda yang dikumpul harus diberi nomor. Nomor2 tersebut
harus ditulis pada kartu. Nomor benda2 tersebut juga perlu di
wirul dalam suatu dartar. Dijika mengkin keterangan yang diberikan
dibahah (1-5) djuga ditulis dalam dartar, tetapi disimpan beberapa
bar. Keterangan ini diperlihatkan sesuatu djuga dalam 2 ditulis dalam buku
tjatatan sipengumpul. Lebih baik lagi dibuat tjatatan tjedangan
untuk mendidik djangan sampai tjatatan asli itu hilang.

2. Tanggal Pengumpulan:

Tanggal ketika benda2 tersebut dikumpulkan djuga ditulis dalam
dartar. Tanggal itu ditulis sebagai berikut: Hari, Bulan, dan
tahun. Dalam ditulis dengan menggunakan angka Roman, umpamana

1, IV, 1972.

3. Tampat pengumpulan:

Djika mengkin sipaja dierusakan umpamana: Besar Pikho, daerah
pedalaman Djajawidjaja, Irian Barat.

4. Nama2 dari benda2 tersebut:

Ini sipaja ditulis dalam bahasa sipengumpul dan djuga didalal
bahasa bahasa penduduk dan nama benda tersebut didapat.
5. Orang dimana benda itu diperoleh:

Jangan penting untuk mencoba mempelajari nama dari orang yang selalu menggerjakan benda2 tersebut, dan darimana benda2 itu berasal. Sebagian tontohi ada kemungkinan orang yang menjual ben da tersebut bukan menggerjakan sendiri, tetapi memperolehnya melalui perdagangan dan pertukaran.

6. Bagaimana benda tersebut dijumpai:

Tjatat dengan topat dan telli bagaimana benda tersebut diper 

olah. Djika benda tersebut dibeli, berapa harga yang harus dibayar; 
jika benda itu diberi, apa harga yang diberikan sebagain imbalan 
deb.

7. Benda2 yang dibuat untuk menggabungkan sesuatu objek dan siapa 

yang menggerjakannya:

Usahakan untuk mengetahui untuk objek umumkah benda itu dibuat 
dan tjatat keterangan ini didalam bahasa penduduk setempat dan 
djuga didalam bahasa aipongpum. Djika mungkin djuga ditjatat 
nama dari sipembuat dan dimana ia tinggal. Hal ini disebabkan ka 
renja banjak dari benda2 itu dibuat oleh pengukir2 dari ponduduk 
setempat untuk memorihiaten keboasaran kepribadiannya dan hal 
itu penting karena beberapa orang memperoleh panghargaan dari na 
ajarkan2 karena pelajardja mereka tersebut. Beberapa benda se 

derti perahu, dikerdjakan oleh beberapa orang lak2 dan ada djuga 
jang dikerdjakan hanja oleh satu orang; dalam beberapa hal hanja 
wanita sddha jang mengerdjakan benda2 tertentu, atau ada beberapa 
benda tertentu yang dikerdjakan hanja oleh lima lak2. Beberapa 
nama ditjatat. Keterangan jang demikan membantu kita untuk 
mempelajari kebudayaan orang lain.

8. Penggunaan:

Bagaimana penggunaan benda tersebut. Bila benda itu dipergu-
nakan? Dan oleh siapa. Pada kesempatan jang bagaimana?Apakah 
benda tersebut arih digunakkan atau dijarrang. Sudah tentu sangat 
membantu djika dapat disajikan pengambilan photo terhadap benda2 
seterbut.

When the only evidence left of man's past activities is but 
a handful of undocumented artifacts, think how limited, and gene 
ral, 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 pre 
servation of the brio-a-brac for which they are continuously hard 
pressed to find storage space.

Today's scholars generally have great difficulty in recon 
structing 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 
conspicious, for connections to be maintained.

If the picture of the state of ethnographic collections is 
not exactly ros-y 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 impossible in this literate age for collectors, 
be they curio seekers, dealers catering to tourists, art collectors, 
antropologists or any other scholars, to make some sort of reas 
able 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 envi 
roment, of the many particular ways of pursuing the livelihood 
he has chosen, of his need 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 Poly 
nesia as western man, once he had become armed with suitable navi 
ganical aids, swept back and forth through the Pacific. Molonesia 
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 path 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 Abepur, 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 there 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 confusing; because of 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 take 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 lost his hands and has arrived at a museum to be catalogued by a curator ignorant of the name, provenance, use and significance of what he has just received.

As to marking the actual specimen or labelling 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 granule, 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, e.g., 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. e.g., West Irian, Central Highlands, Balien Valley, Piloxo 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.

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 #6 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 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 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.

6. 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 memoir 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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Suriadi Gunawan

Ictiayar


Penjaki kolonis, tetanus gonorrhoea makna lama makna benjak ditomun. Penjaki2 lain yang banjak terdapat dikalam penduduk ialah a.l.:
- penjaki2 kulit (kaskdo, scabies, pyoderma dan ulcus tropicana)
- penjaki2 dajalan porapsean (bronchitis, asthma dan radang paru2)
- penjaki2 perut/muntah-berek (dysenteri basil dan amubawi)
- penjaki ketjatingan (ascarisis dan ankylostomiasi)

Angka kasusian dan terutama angka kasusian bejai adalah sangat tinggi. Angka kasusian umum berkisar antara 15 – 50 o/oo, sedangkan angka kasusian bejai berkisar antara 100 – 350 o/oo.

Tugas dan tanggung jawab yang dihadep dinas kesehatan di Irian Barat adalah sangat berat. Imanja daerah dan djreganja penduduk menjabarkan sehingga usaha kesehatan di Irian Barat mendjadi relatif mahal.

Untuk mensejahe perbaikan kesehatan dibutuhkan koordinasi dan kordjasana yang lebih baik antara dinas kesehatan dengan dinas pemrintah lainnya, organisasi2 international, geredja2 dan jajasan2 keuangan. Penduduk Irian Barat sesangsi perlu turut serta nodalk aktivitas gotong rojang dan penbangunan 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 characterization 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 Hanadi (Djajapura), 41% in Babrongko (Sentani), 37% in Kiadonak (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 at 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 35% and a spleen rate of 62%.

The principal malaria vectors in West Irian belong to the punctatilus 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. FUNWID 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 50% 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 1964 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 vaccine 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 areas.  

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 (Neruuka). The interior, the central highlands and the isolated Amat region are still free from the disease.

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, Wairi, Kaimana and Neruuka, 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 4.3% 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 mesoecic sedimentary rocks (sandstone, slate and schists) like the Malia, Boga and Bilora valleys. A recent survey in the Bilora 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 PUNOAI 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 (EI Tor type) have occurred in 1962 (Amat and Minika), 1963 (Jepen and Waropon), 1965 (Siak and Mumus) and in 1971 (Abepura and Dzajapura). The last outbreak was mild in comparison with those of earlier years. A total of 89 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 Selowesi.

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 PUNOAI 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, 48,624 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 outbreaks.

Hook worm disease or ankylostomiasis is very prevalent too. Serious anaemia 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.

Cassava 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 urbanised 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.

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

Scrub typhus or hantavirus 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. Dihydropthalate 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 these methods, the following estimates can be made:

- Crude birth rate: 35 - 50 per 1,000
- Crude death rate: 15 - 50 per 1,000
- Infant mortality rate: 100 - 350 per 1,000

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), generalisations 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/o and the infant mortality rate fell from 350 to 100 - 150 o/o. 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 characterization has been given of the main diseases prevalent in West Irian. Major endemic diseases are malaria, tuberculosis, loprosy, yaws, protein malnutrition and endemic goitre. Quaran tinable diseases like smallpox, 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, cascaro, tropical ulcers and pyoderma)
- respiratory diseases (bronchitis, asthma and pneumonia)

- diarrheal diseases (bacillary and amoebic dysentery)
- worm infections (ascariasis and ankylostomiasis)

The following diseases occur acrodcally: tetanus, infectious hepatitis, poliomyelitis, diphtheria and scrub typhus. The crude death rate is estimated between 15 - 50 o/o and the infant mortality rate between 100 - 350 o/o, 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 RENITA 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 organisations 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 Mempertajam Pembangunan Manjakanat Pedalaman Irian Barat

Abstract

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 aim of this project is to help the people to upgrade their economy and social conditions by providing practical training in various matters, such 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 Abub Zainal (Army commander in West Irian), who, as Chairman of the West Irian Development Board (LAHAMUNDA), is concerned to achieve rapid development in the interior. This project is aimed at showing 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 will be for two years, and that is initiated in August 17, 1971, in the Baliem Valley and Wena Lake regions. This phase is divided into four terms, each of which will last for six months. There are thirty villages in each term consisting of seven or eight persons. Eight teams have been stationed in the Baliem Valley, twelve at Enarotali and ten at Wages. 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 fish culture, building construction, handicrafts and hygiene. They also receive instruction in the cultures and customs of the Highlands, geography, and methods of introducing social change. In the field they are to train people in practical ways with working in the gardens, helping to construct new houses, building fish ponds and terraces, etc., while in the field teams are kept fully supplied from Djaipur. Each member receives a daily allowance of 100 Rupiah (US$1.50).

To maintain communications with headquarter, each team is supplied with a radio transmitter and receiver. Command headquarters are located at Djaipur with branch offices in 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 Djaarka, as from the end of February, 1972, Operasi Koteka was placed under the control of Tank Force, the special organization under the control of the Ministry for the development of West Irian.

In usaha untuk mempertajam pembangunan Irian Barat, pemerintah Daerah Provinsi Irian Barat bekerjasama dengan Angkatan Bersenjata telah melanjutkan usaha yang telah diperpanjang pada tahun 1971 dengan mengadakan Operasi civilisasi dengan nama Operasi Koteka yang diadakan dengan mengadakan pelatihan kepada masyarakat didaerah pedalaman guna dapat dengan segera mereformasi keterbelakangan yang ada. Pelatihan ini diadakan untuk meningkatkan keterampilan hidup dan mencegah penambahan keadaan mereka kearah yang lebih miskin.

Usaha mengadakan operasi civilisasi ini dipraksisankan oleh Brigadir Djenderal Abub Zainal (Panglima Kodam XVII/Tjenderawasih) dimana dia selaku Panglima dan selaku Wakil Ketua Badan Pelaksana Pembangunan Daerah Irian Barat tidak sampai hati melihat dan memahami rakyat di daerah pedalaman "nomaditis" lebih lagi dalam keadaan miskin dan karena itu haruslah untuk menjadikan mereka dalam waktu setajam mungkin. Dengan itu Abub Zainal dengan operasi ini ingin membuatkan kepada dunia bahwa bumi Indonesia sangat menghadapkan keterbelakangan dari bumi Irian Barat dalam jangka waktu jang relatif singkat sebagai jalan menuju kebebasan untuk masyarakat daerah pedalaman. Dengan memberikan pelatihan rakyat dipelajari daerah Irian Barat dapat melanjutkan jangka waktu 100 buah mungkin 200 tahun yang akan datang. Dengan alasan2 ini maka Abub Zainal minta dan ingin agar untuk mengadakan operasi civilisasi daerah pedalaman, agar masyarakat mendapat perubahan dan dikuatkan dari posisi mengejutkan dengan mengadakan bantuan binaan sebesar 100 juta rupiah setiap tahun untuk penjelasan pokokan yang akan diberikan kepada rakyat dipelajari.

Alupun pelaksana dari operasi civilisasi tersebut akan dilaksanakan setajam mungkin, agar bisa segera dalam jangka waktu jang relatif singkat untuk memupuk kebajikan kepada rakyat daerah yang ada. Dengan operasi ini ada bantuan binaan sebesar 100 juta rupiah setiap tahun untuk penjelasan pokokan yang akan diberikan kepada rakyat dipelajari.

Struktur badan pelaksana operasi

Operasi Koteka dikordinir oleh satu komando (Komando Operasi Koteka) yang terdiri dari Djaipur. Komando operasi ini merupakan badan gabungan antara unsur2 sipil dan militer, diaman anggota2nya diambil
dari berbagai instansi sipil dan kesatuan ABRI. Komando terbagi dalam 4 kolomopk staf, yakni:
- Staf Operasi dengan tugas menjelenggarakan perantijana dan pengendalian operasional.
- Staf Administrasi/Personel dengan tugas menjelenggarakan administrasi dan urusans2 personel.
- Staf Logistik yang tugas menjelenggarakan perantijana dan penyuluran logistik.
- Staf Chemis/ahli dengan tugas memberikan sarana dan petunjuk2 yang dapat menunjang kelancaran djalanama operasi.

Guna mendjalin kelanjaran hubungan antara Komando dengan para petugas dilapangan maka diadakan 2 komando pembeu (Sub Komando Ope-
rasl) masing2 berkedudukan di Wamena dan Nabire, Sub Komando Operasi di Wamena bertugas mengkoordinasi pelaksanaan operasi daerah Bali, sedangkan Sub Komando Operasi di Nabire mengkoordinasi pelaksanaan operasi daerah Liar2alali dan Wagote. Anggota2 Sub Komando Operasi diambil dari instansi2 pemerintah dan kesatuan2 ABRI ditingkat Kabupa-
ten dan terbagi kodelm 4 kolomopk staf jaitu Staf Operasi, Staf Admin-
istrasi, Staf Logistik dan Staf Security/Intelligent.

Chusma untuk daerah Liar2alali dan Wagote berhubung karena letak-
nya dekat dari Sub Komando Operasi maka diadakan Komando Sektor Opera
si masing2 berkedudukan di Wamena dan di Wagote. Kedu Komando Sek-
tor ini mempunyai tugas dan tugas jaitu jang sama dengan Sub Komando
tetapi dalam ruang lingkup jang lebih ketijal jaitu hanja untuk daerah sekirarn2. Anggota2nya diambil dari instansi2 pemerintah/kesatuan-
ABRI asepomt.

Tugas pokok operasi:

Dalam usahaana menindaklanjut tanggal hari hidup dan mengembangkan kebudja
jaan raka4 perantijan daerah, Operasi Koteba merupakan suatu operasi
pembangunan jang serba guna yang mempunyai berbagai materi jang meliputi bidang2 ekonomi, sosial dan politik. Dari sekian banyak tugas2 itu maka tugas pokok jang harus dilaksanakan adalah:
- bidang ekonomi:
  - mendidik dan meninjau raka4 setjar2 praktis dalam berbagai kegiatan jang dapat mendo-
    rong peningkatan ekonomi raka4.
  - bidang social:
  - mendorong raka4 untuk menghadirkan jang berpekandangan tradision2 masing2 hampir telan-
    djang dan mengaktifkan jang dengan pakaian jang pantas.
  - mendorong masjarakat untuk mendidikkan ke-
    beratikan diri dan lingkungannya.
  - mendorong sumurnas masjarakat yang berkelom
    pok ketij22 dan ter-petajar2 disertai dengan fa
natisme kolomopk saeran masjarakat yang terob dan teratur serta saling tolung
    menolong.
Taknis pelaksanaan operasi:

Kegiatan pelaksanaan Operasi Koteka dibagi menjadi 5 fase, yaitu fase I disebut Operasi Perintis, fase II disebut Operasi Inti dan fase III disebut Operasi Pembinaan.

Pada fase Operasi Perintis kegiatan operasi ditiktokan kepada perdekanan (aprocoss) terhadap masarakat terutama perdekanan terhadap golongan tua agar mereka dapat menjadai ara maksud dan tujuan operasi dan selama juta tidak mengahalangkai dalaman operasi. Approach kepada golongan tua ini dilakukan melalui petugas2 atau asli pedada maul jasa sebagai alat utama pertolakan untuk membendaharap dan dapat seba
gai djarat bahasa, disemping itu pendekatan terhadap golongan tua dila
cukkan djanal sebagai para pedjaba menerintah setempat dan guru2 se-
kolah yang ada dideraah itu. Selain pendekatan kepada golongan tua
dan golongan muda terutama anak2 dengan diapros dengan mengadakan permasalahan lainnya oleh regu atau dengan mengadakan pertemuan2 disana para petugas menggunakan penggotuhan untuk menarik simpati mereka. Disam-
ing mengadakan pendekatan terhadap masarakat, pada fase Operasi Pe-
rintis dimulai usaha2 yang dapat mendorong peningkatkan ekonomi, a.l. dengan membuka kebun pertanaman, kolam ikan pertolongan, tontoh2 pemeliharaan ternak yang lemah, memperkenalkan alat2 pertanian yang lemah baik, misalnya tontoh, sekop, parang dan lain2 alat keper
luan sehari-hari yang dikenal oleh masarakat. Dalam fase ini dimi
laya pula usaha2 peningkatkan kebodolan kebasahan a.l. dengan memper
ukur kebodolan madi, memperkenalkan tontoh perkebunan yang lembah
lebih baik dan lebih sehat, memperkenalkan alat2 memeriksa rumah/jak
a, memperkenalkan tontoh masarakat, alat2 pembukaan jalan lemah, memper
kenalkan tontoh berperkalaan, dan disemping mengadakan pendidikan buta huruf
kepada anak2 yang tidak mendapat keempatan memasuki sekolah/sekolah yang memperkenalkan penggunaan bahasa Indonesia. Disemping itu pada fase ini dimuli
laya mendidik kader2 pembangunan yang terdiri dari pusda2 sekolah yang nantinya dapat membina usaha2 yang lemah dirintis oleh para petugas operasi bilamana operasi telah berasah.

Pada fase II (Operasi Inti) kegiatan operasi ditiktokan kepada perdekanan usaha2 intensifikasi dan ekstensifikasi usaha2 yang lemah dirintis dalam fase I. Intensifikasi dan ekstensifikasi tersebut dilakukan dengan memperluas dan memperbanyak usaha2 dalam bidang2 yang lemah dirintis sebelumnya sehingga lebih banyak penduduk yang terasakan. Disemping itu pada fase ini dilakukan kegiatan pembinaan yaitu:

- pengadaan pabala/ropang2 lainnya yang diperlukan diolah (penga
daan perlengkapan keluarga yang baru bagi masarakat),
- pengadaan rumah mandi dan tempat pembuangan kotoran (WC),
- mendirikan balai kampong ditambah kampung,
- nanggaheran penjualan hasil produksi rakyat dan lain2.

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

Adapun target yang akan ditjai dari tiap fase operasi ialah:

Fase I : 1. Bangkit dan mendingkatkan keadaan/keinginan rakyat untuk:
- memburukan diri/memburukan lingkungan berpekatangan yang penuis
- berkerja produktif
- mempermanen bahasa Indonesia
- mampu berhidangan.

2. Terpilih untuk pembangunan setempat.
3. Diteri di lokalis mali hidup dalam masarakat.
4. Pembangunan usaha2 yang lemah dirintis dan lemah terus

Fase II : 1. Sebahagian besar penduduk didorok sosial sudah biasa untuk:
- memburukan diri/mandi
- berpekatangan dan dapat melihab atau pakaiannya
- berharap berharap
- bekerja produktif
- borbaha, Indonesia dan mampu berhidangan.

2. Hasil produksi rakyat dipindahkan sudah makin mening
kat.
3. Sumberan kampung yang terdiri dan terus meningkat
dijadilah.


2. Masarakat telah dapat mengenal pokok2 sederhana te
lang Nopara Pantjasila.

3. Terdapat susunan masarakat yang terdiri dan terus

4. Didorok dari kehidupan yang bergairah untuk membina setempat.

Semua operasi berasah maka suka usaha2 yang telah dikordak

disewakan kepada Penorintas Deroer qg. Dinas/Djawaat yang berwenang
untuk dibina dan dikebakan. 

Evaluasi operasi

Setiap fase kegiatan operasi di evaluasi oleh tean ahli yang terdiri
dari tenaga2 ahli Dinas/Djawaat yang dibantu paut dengan bidang2
yang dikebakan dalam operasi. Bilamana dalam penilaian tersebut ter
dapat hal yang negatif untuk kegiatan operasi ditjai pada Trasi Pembinaan
yang bersangkutan akan dibebaskan untuk setentara untuk diadakan
cahaya. Bila dari hasil analisa ternyata bahwa keadaan masih bisa per
dora, operasi akan diteruskan dengan mengadakan beberapa perbaikan/
perbaikan sesuai dengan petunjuk yang sudah bahwa setif negatif
tadi; bila kena keadaan negatif disebabkan oleh hal2 yang tidak dapat

diproduksi lagi maka kegiatan operasi ditjai tersebut dihentikan
sean sekali.

Pemutup

Distas penulis mendjakan setjual ringkas tentang beberapa hal

Operasi Koteka, yang usumur penulis pelor dibincangkan menga
ngat banjirnya timbul keadaan faham mengenai tjaru2 pelaksanaan,

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Asmau tugasnya, Mahalan dengan tulisan yang singkat ini kealahan fa-
haman itu dapat dihilangkan dan mahalan tulisan singkat ini dapat 
beri gambaran yang agak dialas mengenai usaha2 yang didjalankan Opera 
si Koteka untuk mengekalkan taraf dan tata penghidupan masyarakat di 
daerah pedalaman. Jang hingga kini kebanyakan belum mengenal kemajuan 
sementara mereka hidup dalam "djaman apollo" dan meski sudah ada 
sempai kebalian. Kajian dipedalaman masih benjak jang hidup dalam "djia 
nan batu" dan merupak an satu2ngi peninggala dari masa "stone-age"jang 
sudah lengan dibagian2 dari lain jah ribuan tahun jang elan.

Penulis menyadari bahwa apa yang ditjita2kan dengan Operasi Ko-
teka tidaklah mungkin ditjepai 100% dalam djangka waktu yang demikian 
singkat, namun demikian maka jang terusirat dalam tulisna jang ini 
patut mendapat penghargaan.

Pada waktu tulisan ini dimulai maka Operasi Koteka berdasarkan ko 
putusan Moniter Dalan Negeri telah digabungkan dalan Task Force Jaitu 
mendjadi Task Force Fenebangan Majarakat Pedalaman Unit IV dengan 
nana Binbingan Majarakat Pedalaman.

Ijhaisar 1

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

Pengarang memilis berdasarkan atas penjaksian jyang berbagi peris-
tiva jang disaksikan jyang sendiri, djuga berdasarkan laporan2 jang di-
kemukakan oleh pegawai Pemerintah, Penjabar agama, antropolog dan 
pedagang2 barang2 kesenian.

Sebagai kesimpulan dari tulisan ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa hasil 
kesenian dan kerajinan tangan merupak an sumber pendapatan jang ter-
penting bagi daerah papua New Guinea yang belum berkembang ini. 
Di Sepik tidak ada usaha untuk merenungkan setjara mendalan terhadap 
nilai2 artistik, jang terpenting bakanah segi keindahan tetapi 
bagai sa mendapat sah kontan.

The Sepik is one of the worlds great rivers, navigable for nearly 
300 miles by small boats and by canoes, 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. Among this big 
muddy snake of a live are 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 Moreby, 1970.

NOTE: The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the writer 
and are not connected with his work for ILO.
Volkswende has about the same quantity from this region.  

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 been 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 male 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 Sepik village. I entered the men's secret house (haus tambaran) and examined the carved posts, big allitgongs(drum), 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 mosquitoes 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 tambaran 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 Tambaran 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 high. 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.

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 standstill 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 $500, a new one $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 $3500 in 1967, to $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 tambarans 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 recognise 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 countries 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 civilisation.

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 
realised; 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 
recognise Sepik art as art, and not as an investment.

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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 Kanoro vocabulary recorded by a crew member and a passenger on board the vessel Triton (Nedea 1630). Even earlier, an AN language of West Irian from one of the islands in the Kumanba 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 J.A.Wurm, DRS. D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve and T.J. 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 Amsat in 1969-62 and resulted in the publication of a detailed Amsat grammar (Voorhoeve 1969). 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 Guinean 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 Amsat 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), whose 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 Varis and Döra, are spoken on both sides of the border while a knowledge of village Malay is not uncommon in the Varis-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, Nanen, and Norap) 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 time. (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 Kromati 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 NAW 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), Haik-Biakoor, Waropen, Windesi-Wandamen, and Tarfia.
Leycock 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 (Sora, 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 NAM languages and large groupings of those have been discovered. At present there is no way of relating all the NAM 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 close 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 NAM 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 Anmat and Frederik Hendrik Island areas, of the Dani and Baliem valleys, the Karind languages, the Goliat languages and the Sentani languages. From the data in Voorhoeve (1971), it seems that the Tami languages of the Aruo 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 Sonagi family (Deva, Duka-Skoro in West Irian, and Sonagi 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 Nan languages of Vogelkop and Malimbu. The possible extension eastward in particular needs 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, Krism, 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, in 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 Norwapi found to the Southwest of the Awji (Tumi Stock) villages; Molof, Usu, and

Tofama, 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 isolated. Four more isolates, spoken along the Nambo-remo 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 Bombaral 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 languages.

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 'Koi', appears to have been obtained from the inhabitants of the island Liki, the most easterly island of the Kusnaha group. Though only a few words are available for comparison, it is very similar to the vocabulary from Wadke 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 Ail languages of West Irian, Territory of Papua, New Guinea and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.
4. A brief vocabulary of Fyu and Bikai is given as appendix II so that the languages may be identified. The villages of the former were given as Bikue 2 (in Australian New Guinea) and Yibu (further up the Bikue River); the villages of the latter region were named as Kuyi, Aiy, Ruru, and Repa, all towards the headwaters of the Bikue River.
5. Material may be sent to Professor S.A. Wurm, 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 Kamamba group, West Irian), recorded on the 1618 voyage of de Haere and Schouten: exact transcription from Dalrymple (1771):

Arrows
Bananas
Beads
Bread
Bread baked in cakes
Bone—comb
Bird, quite white
Certain Birds which they tire round their arms
Bow
Coconuts
Dog
Fish
A certain four-footed animal
Women's Garments
Dog
Dog's tooth
Iron
A Nail
A Knife
No

There is nothing
The name of another island
A yellow root like Cur cuna
5
Sun
To Sleep
To shoot at fish
Water

Appendix II

Wordlist of the Fyu and Biksi Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Fyu</th>
<th>Biksi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>breast</td>
<td>yibwi</td>
<td>nun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>ka lè</td>
<td>têl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>kaññi</td>
<td>ndwèl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>bâlî</td>
<td>fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>ajiyi</td>
<td>melèl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>aqìlyâ</td>
<td>rumülzî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>kelî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground</td>
<td>kube</td>
<td>promei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>takouî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>kaññì</td>
<td>yau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>kaññà</td>
<td>yau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>naññà</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>wè</td>
<td>mwañè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>nùru</td>
<td>ràvî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>ajiî</td>
<td>pitùmòî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni'în</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>naññî</td>
<td>naññî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>kwa wùglî</td>
<td>nyang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>türîîî</td>
<td>kass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>kâññî</td>
<td>ndûrafîî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>hüandagìàs türîîî</td>
<td>ndayîkàs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>ñürûbi</td>
<td>ñugôf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>kàbûra mâ ñô</td>
<td>ñupûran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>kèsîkkî</td>
<td>klî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>ñelîsîîî</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>röî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>nàyà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>pà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ndà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>nàma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>ndwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>pà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>türîîî</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>kàgi</td>
<td>lan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>yìkìîîî</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there is none</td>
<td>nöbùni</td>
<td>twìlì</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1. Kani memberi keterangan mengenai Irismi. Irismi adalah paruh daripada nama sekor burung tumbun2. Irismi adalah punja satu tjeritera dahulu tetapi sekarang kami tidak bisa kasih keterangan lebih lanjut karena tjeritera Irismi lebih pandang maka dengan ini kami akan memberi keterangan tentang Irismi lebih lanjut dijika kami mendapat waktu yang tajuk.

2. Garis daripada paruh Irismi adalah artinya tidak lain dari pada batasan daripada mulut atau paruh Ir.

3. Mata Ir tidak ada punja artinya lain daripada mata.

4. Kalau seorang pelukis atau pengukir mengerjakan satu daung ada perkiraan dengan kemauan sendiri adalah untuk didjual sadja. Lain daripada daung berukiran manusia yang tidak ada punja nama adalah untuk didjual sadja selain daripada yang ada punja gambaran manusia dengan ada punja nama masing2. Adalah termasuk yang sudah dibuat dengan upatjara terendiri atau pesta. Nama Kus ada kepala.

5. Nbi Unam itu batu yang ada punja lohang persegi emp.


7. O okos vou arti lainnya ukitan lingkaran (Gambar B)
8.  Mbi Unan djudi sekali lagi (Gambar 0)
9.  On sigi gigi ikan ju (Gambar 0)

Kami ingin sekali lagi menerangkan mengenai dajung yang berukiran manusia. Dajung yang ada punja manusia dua atau tiga diatas Iriabi, adalah untuk didjuai sadja, akan tetapi, selain daripada dajung jang pendajangnya dua atau tiga meter itu, chumas untuk manusia berdaing. Itu chumas untuk sempidi. Dikalau kita melihat satu ukiran yang berbulu kumari bulu kakatus dan lain2 matjan bulu burung mereka menghias supaja ukiran lebih baik dari pada jang belum dihias bermatjan bulu burung2.

Just a few days ago an Asmat man by the name of Komantaji brought an oar into the FUNWU Project 13 building in Agats. He offered this oar for sale.

Komantaji is the head of a family group called a Joo, and comes from a village called Beriten. Beriten is part of a Joo grouping called the Bolesan, which group includes the villages of Ewer, Sjuru, Jepes, Per, and Uus. Komantaji 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"; iagi, the last part of his name, means canoe or prahu.

This particular oar, illustrated on the previous page, is carved from iron wood, and is called in the Asmat language kawa nak po, an oar that has the carvings of human beings on it. Adrian Gerbrands in his book, Morepital, talks of the kawa (priam panum dialect) or ancestor which is the same as kawa 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 involved.1 (Number 1 to 6 refer to Fig.A).

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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

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1.  Iriabi, the beak of the hornbill. In the Asmat culture, according to Gerbrands in Morepital, 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 anas yow, 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 iriabi is the beak or mouth line.

3.  The eye, usually represented as a circle, here:hus 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 kug.

5.  One term for this diamond shaped figure in the Asmat language is sub unan, 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 yow : 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 yow or pig tusk that is represented in Fig.B. These figures are carved all around the shaft.

8.  Again also the sub unan 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 gia (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 elder men dress up with their nose decorations. The two most common are the abu pong, the tuskslike decoration that is made from the tajou, or shell pieces, and the azaq, the nose decoration made from the leg bones of the pig.

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

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

BOOK REVIEWS


Ichtisar


Meskipun terdapat beberapa kesalahan paham dan pokokangan dalam buku Prof.Heider, pada umumnya karangan itu sangat dipujai. Bagi buku yang harus mendidikkan suatu tugas untuk perkesanahan saudara2 kita dieraah Baliem, buku The Dugum Dani merupakan suatu sumber istimewa dengan adat-istiadat rakyat 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 Balem 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 anthropologists who accompanied the expedition have also published the results of their research. The Dutch anthropologist Jan Broekhuysen wrote his thesis, De Willem-Dani. Een cultureel anthropologische studie over religies en oorlogsovertreding in de Balim valley (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 Darat, Indonesia)" (Preface vii). Despite the trend towards more specialized 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 Balim 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 Balim 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 Balim people have already begun to use the name. I do not believe this. Several times I have heard from Balim people that they are not "Dani". They always call themselves "nit (akuni) Palemese"; that is, "we (people) of Balem". Yet, it seems to be true that "Dani" is the term by which the Balim people are indicated by tribal groups outside the Balim area (this is also borne out in a personal communications from D.Songtonau). In the same way that the Ekaagi have not agreed to the use of the word Kepauku, no more do the Balim people like to be called "Dani". Certainly not if the word should have been derived from the Mont term "ndii" (which means "stranger") as suggested by van Huna, or from a certain clan name, the Dinani-Nataua. Apart from this, the introduction of Indonesian has made things easier on this point. Today, one just as often hears people saying "Orang Balim", as "Orang Dani"; both words equally nice for the ear. Why not choose the name the Balim people themselves prefer?

The spelling of Balim words.

The reviewer's most serious objection and one that is a source of continuous annoyance throughout the book, is the spelling of Balim 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 Balinese 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 mistakes 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)\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>stands for</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>pronounced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>abe</td>
<td>(apé)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at beginning of word</td>
<td>pakai</td>
<td>(bagai)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>p ap</td>
<td>(ap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t dok</td>
<td>(tok)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>between two vowels</td>
<td>t t</td>
<td>(ptë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at end of word</td>
<td>t nrogot</td>
<td>(nokot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k egal</td>
<td>(ëkal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>between vowels</td>
<td>g ake</td>
<td>(aë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in consonant clusters</td>
<td>k hakse</td>
<td>(hakse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at end of word</td>
<td>k wetek</td>
<td>(wëtek)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Peters, H.L. (1965) Enkale Hoofdstukken Uit Het Sociaal Religieuze Leven Van Van Dani-Groen-Tanlo: Bagbald 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 "ay" (24) for "man" and "mep" (54) which means "blood" are spelled by Heider as "sw" and "moa". 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 "Dutubut" (183) is "Turubut".

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 "s" quite often wrongly used. According to the scientific orthography "s" is to be pronounced "k". That the author forgets this when he writes words like "weigat" (136) and "jugunat" (181) as he hears them is understandable. But when one finds "elago negal-negal" (181) which is to be pronounced "elago negal-negal", it is to be regretted that Heider did not give preference to a system of spelling Balinese 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., Nugina (69), Jallige (146), Navigatma (119) etc.,. Sometimes the scientific orthography is partially followed e.g., Yibiga (65) (pronounced "Jibiga"), Naktamugi (141) (pronounced "Naktamugi"), Dugiga (146) (pronounced "Dugiga"), but in a few instances it is completely adopted as in Widipko (65) which is to be pronounced "Witipko", or Amuk Falak (102) for "Amuk Falak" and Subula (180), 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 "n" which is heard quite often. "I" has to be pronounced as in the Indonesian "pikir", whereas the symbol "y" stands for "i" in the Indonesian "liidung".

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" (51).

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" (40)

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 men'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, 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 "hodallao". Another name for this is "hotalyma", and it means purifying (homin) 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 who have received the "hodallao", 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-

"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 who 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 abstinance. To us, however, it has become evident that in the case of baptized Balicin men great tensions occur as a result of this abstinance.

The non-Christian Balicin 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 Balicin 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 "avili-oka". There are several kinds of these. Some of them are thought to cause complete sterility. My impression is that the avili-oka are only sporadically used. They are traded by people from the Jiwika area and they are rather expensive.

Because of the prolonged abstinance 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 Balicin 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 Balicin 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 abstinance which is prescribed by the culture. This is no exaggeration.

It also quite often occurs that unmarried young men become "hunik-pelin". Some of them lose their heads completely for a full day running around with a spear or an ax, frightening everybody. People flee but at the same time laugh at them. Everybody describes this kind of behavior as sexual tensions. In Jiwika a special term is used for it: "hamugumu". 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 Balicin 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 Balicin 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 Balicin man has a normal, healthy interest in sex.

Terms of address for an especially important man (69).

According to Heider, these terms are "namana" or "najega", both of which mean "my dog". My informants denied this most decidedly. If, for example, one addressed Kurelu, the great chief he would regard it as a grave insult.
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 warak" (the trophies of war) to the recognised leader of the war alliance, Kurulu. In 1963 they attempted to organise the big pig feast which is the privilege of the greatest recognised leader. This attempt failed at that time. Another factor which furthered unrest was the presence of the police-post which was established at Mulina 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 no 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 warak" and the attempt to organise 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 Kurulu the leader in question had no part or practically no part in the war? Heider supposed that Kurulu met with a fate accomplice on the part of the younger leaders (119). Informants, however, have told us that Kurulu 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.

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 "nimagoja", our mother. The chiefs who are eligible for this term are: Kurelu, Silo, Hongoi, Opina and Bakum haeryk. They are indeed the greatest men in the valley.

**Conflict (90 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 Balam 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 *Warriors of War* also, as the title suggests, the photographs clearly show how in the Balam 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" (116 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.)**

These 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 Wittali, but they severed these bonds in order to link themselves to the Loga-Mabel, of which Kurulu was the great leader. Kurulu 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.
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 Wilinam-Walalus 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 Anukologina 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 Wilinam-Walalus 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 Balion 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. Balion 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 Nukoko and the Wallei some chiefs (chiefs) of the Wallei came to ask no whether the Nukoko 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" (134-169).

One who has lived in the Balion 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; Balion 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 cremation, 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 Balion thought in the chapter "Man and the Supernatural". In Watiuian is a house of the sun (no-ea) and a house of the moon (shut-ea). 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 Diabi-Mabel.

Heider himself paid a visit to Watiuian, and he mentions the "great wusa", the power which this house possesses. The sun is considered to be something male and is called "ninagoca", The moon is male and may be called "ninompe", our father. The big chief Nalimo 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". Nalimo 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 Balion 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 "wan cail 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 "pelaboe palin", putting off the morning, a term which is not used by Heider. In actual fact the men put on a new ponis-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 Koamonte had died as the result of an abortion. During the "pelaboe 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 "sumo" 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 panton for a new one. 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 Balian people often use little bundles of small sticks or cane. This has its own name, "o nataki". Heider does not mention it, but I have seen it several times at funeral ceremonies when payment for debts took place. Each time a part of the payment was given one of the small sticks was thrown away. I also once got a group of Balian 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 "diligien", from the southwest "wan alk", 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 "diligien" (correctly spelled "diligien") 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 "diligien". But in fact not all the rain which comes from over the mountains is "diligien". 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, "wan alk", 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 2.3 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.
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 it happen that Balioen 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 Balioen people do not think about change and that change comes so slowly 'may be' because Balioen 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 Balioen 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 Balioen 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 those 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 Balioen 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 Jaya, from the Fakfak division, populated by Mgi and Moni, up to the most eastern part of the Star Mountains. Actually, compared with all other areas the prospects for the Balioen Valley are better.

I think that Heider has overlooked one thing which may be very important. The Balioen people are characterised 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 Balioen 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 Balioen people should save them from disillusionment. "Detrobinalized parasites" I believe that this expression indicates a misunderstanding of the character and disposition of Balioen 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 Balian people and Dani culture. Indeed, it is the first comprehensive description of Balian 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 Balian 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 Balian culture. Anyone committed to a task in the Valley who wishes to obtain a thorough knowledge of the culture of Balian people will find Karl G. Heider's book a most useful introduction and guide.

Jules A.S. Cams, c.f.n.

THE SEARCH FOR MICHAEL ROCKEFELLER
(256 pages with Bibliography and Index)

Juchtan

Jang menjangah buku ini ialah Father Trenkenschuh seorang misi怎么看 America dengan ajabat bishop dan ia telah tinggal ber-tahun2 di antara penduduk Amat. Dalam kritikan terhadap buku itu, The Search for Michael Rockefeller, Father Trenkenschuh mengusulkan banjat sangat hanja.

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.246) motivated by fear. If the author cares to refer to my An Asmat Sketch Book—I 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 Presi
dent 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, accor
ding 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 Cassius
in order to explain why she was spending so much time there with
President Kennedy (whom everybody thought was dead).

Nachtlin'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 obsessional 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
Schmerz" 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, Nachtlin suggests an irreconcilable hos
tility between anthropologists and missionaries. "The anthropologists
as scientists, generally speaking, dislike and distrust the missiona-
ries 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 generalised 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 Munen, v.d.Bop, 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 Vorhein and Fr.Camps during his three stays in the Dani area.
David Blyde depended upon Zegwaard's writings and the interpretations
of Fr.D.Hesch and Mgr.A.Sowada. Voorhove (linguist) depended heavily
upon Fr.P.Drabbel.

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. Nachtlin
does a disservice to both science and religion by attempting to place
those in mock combat. It is merely a cover for his own lack of insight.

III. Mistaken Lot — a lot mistaken

Nachtlin, although he only indirectly alludes to visa problems,
ever 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 Salim Valley is approximately 120 to 150 miles from the Asmat
coast not 500 miles (p.8). Bnajepura is the correct spelling of the
Provincial Capital not Djajapura. Rev.Hockman would be the first to
point out that he is not a priest of the Roman Catholic Church.
There has been no evidence ever found that the Amat people obtain their stone for axe heads from the Yali people (p.209). Such a fabrication obviously fits the sinister need of the author to link Rockefeller in Amat - but such need does not indicate truth. Also, there has never been any solid evidence of homosexuality in Amat (p.104). Considering the cultural complexity of the entire south coast of New Guinea and the prevalence ritual homosexuality this absence of homosexuality in Amat 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 Nashlin's not misinforming the readers of his book.

IV. Toy Anthropology

A toy is something you play with. Nashlin uses anthropological data for a game he plays. The game seems to be a matter of accumulating enough vorlage to publish a book rather than a pamphlet; he had already published this Rockefeller story in a 1969 Argosy magazine. He finds this vorlage 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 buggeras" (p.27) and "rock apes" (ibid) who inhabit the island of New Guinea. Nashlin 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 Nashlin 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 Amat 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, Por, Oku and Swoer 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. Nashlin 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 Amat: True or False?

Michael Rockefeller disappeared at the mouth of the Betaj River,
Amat, on November 18-19, 1961. This is certainly a true statement. After all the verbiage, the main point of Hochlin’s book comes on p.246. The conclusion is that the people of Otajanop (particularly the war Téeder Lian) killed Rockefeller as an act of revenge on the Dutch Government officials Dias and Lepro. 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 Deni (pp. 192-205) would yet be alive. If fear could bring missionaries to enter into a covenant of silence, then Pr. Jan Smit (226-228) would still be working in Amat.

I do not personally know van Kessel. I do know that he claims to be certain that Otajanop killed Rockefeller (cf. pp. 134-145). I do know Fr. van der Worre and Fr. van Peij and I have heard them say that they think Rockefeller was killed by the people of Otajanop. Fr. van Peij however, thinks that the gossip and rumors about Lepro’s role in the killings which were avenged on Rockefeller was not as great as most people suggest. All of these men know the Amat people well. They have all worked for years among the people of Amat 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 Amat people. Other missionaries, also interviewed by the pseudonymous John Campbell (including myself, incidently) do not think that Rockefeller was so killed. Fr. Frank Pitha (pp. 206-211) who wrote the first “on the scene” report, did not think so. Bishop Alphonse Savina, who often discussed Amat art and culture with Rockefeller, does not think so. Delmar Beach (p.243) does not think so. Others here in Amat do not think that the people of Otajanop killed Rockefeller. They were hardly mentioned.

Loo and Simon did make it to shore. They were Amatitis who know the rivers, the currents and the tides (incidently, the Betaj River does not have a 20 feet tidal bore – p.10 and p.246. This is probably referring to the Digu 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 Amat people? I personally do not know. I have visited these villages (Guandesap and Otajanop) 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 no less than a science fiction novel would convince me of the existence of other worlds. The latter type of book makes no pretense or claim to proof. Personally I do not think that Rockefeller was killed by Otajanop. 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 Amat. 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.
The Brauza River has its source in the 3500 to 4000 metre high mountain ranges between Wamena and Sibili. For a considerable distance the Brauza is accompanied by the westward flowing Friensachap River and the Kolff River to the east. All three flow into the large Kilanden River. The Kilanden 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 Anatomy, the Institute of Zoology and the Institute for Electronic Microscopie Research. On the part of the Indonesians the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia and the Museum Zoologi 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 Cicinnurus regalis) 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 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 (hematofiles) 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 cosmopolit 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.C. Porsman, 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 Agata. Several excursions were made to the east, west, and north, always returning to Agata to prepare for the next trip. By way of Warso, Ataj, Jow, Chadesep, Warkai and Otajane we travelled up the Kronkel River where we stayed at Sanepai. In Sanepai we were able to catch the first Paradisaea apoda and Cimiculus regius -Birds of Paradise. With the help of the local people it was possible to obtain a good collection. From there we went via Basim to Baoun where Fr. Avo de Vouw had built a house for us. At Baoun we caught another pair of Cimiculus 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 Agata we had a good collection of mammals, birds, reptiles and insects. On a trip to James-Joni and Sawena-Erma with stops at Nomogo-Sagopo, Wejo and Pubis, we made a fine collection of birds. The Pomatu 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 Brasza River.

Initially we had had it in mind to collect in the Brasza 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 Asmatans.

These people 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 stones 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 Jiwila and then walked to Abenago where the Jelo 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 Saxons (Passidophrus alberti) and the sicklebill (Epinomis maya).

The Grammar of Lower Grand Valley Dani in Discourse Perspective

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 in his 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.
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 and 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 Retigima were multilithed on file slips, with one hundred copies of each slip 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 those larger units. The study is supplemented by more than sixty pages of verb paradigms and one sample text.
Koperasi di Amat
Co-operatives in Amat

Dr. Gottfried Lang, seorang Professor Antropologi dari Universitas Colorado, Amerika Serikat, sedang melakukan suatu penelitian mengenai manfaat Koperasi yang telah mula diadakan oleh Misai Katolik di daerah Amat. Penelitian tersebut diadakan atas perintahtan Uskup Alfonso Sowada Kapalai Misai Katolik di daerah ini. Dr. Lang tiba di Irian Barat pada awal bulan Maret dan diharapkan akan bermurah di Irian Barat selama kurun lembah 4 bulan.


Dr. Gottfried Lang, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Colorado, is carrying out studies in the Amat 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 Amat region for approximately four months. The research has been undertaken at the request of Bishop Alphonse A. Sowada, Amat Diocese West Irian.

Dr. Lang has carried out a number of studies on co-operatives in East Africa. In the Amat, 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 Agatsu, the centre for the Crescier Mission, at which prepared papers will be read. It is anticipated that these papers will be published jointly by the university of Tjenderawasi and the Crescier Mission. An article dealing with the co-operatives in the Amat written by Fr. Keller appears in this issue of the IRIAN.

the Editors

Berkat untuk Museum (Museum Grant)


Berhubungan dengan bantuan tersebut maka pada kesempatan ini Rektor Universitas Tjenderawasi dan Pdt. Kebun Lembaga Antropologi menampakkan rasa terima kasih dan penghargaan yang setinggi-tingginya kepada The JDR 3rd Fund.

The University of Tjenderawasi has been notified that a grant of US$25,000 is to be made available to the University Museum. The grant is from the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund, New York, to cover the costs of training a curator, equipment purchases and the collecting of ethnographic items within West Irian for display. Mr. Kowma 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 Rektor 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.

Studi Tour

Drs. Anwar 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 Djakjura. Dr. Sue Kiano Hadikomoro, Rector of the University, is also to attend the Waigani Seminar and it is anticipated that both he and Dr. Iskandar will read papers. After the seminar, Dr. Kiano is to undertake a study tour of a number of universities in the Pacific.

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Simposium


Sehubungan dengan akan diadakannya simposium tersebut, beberapa diskusi telah diadakan di Universitas Tjenderawasih yang berkisar soal situasi dan masalah pendidikan di Irian Barat. Diharapkan bahwa diskusi tersebut diadakan pula simposium yang akan datang akan sejalan membantu dalam membawa perobahan2 dalam pendidikan didasarkan ini.

From June 26th through 29th the University of Tjenderawasih is holding a symposium 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 representative 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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Pembukaan peluncuran untuk anak2 (Children Art Competition)


The University in cooperation 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 Key 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 IIIAN the price of the sketch Map of the Baliem Valley was incorrectly stated as U.S.$1.50. The correct figure is $2.00 or Rp200,-. 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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Suriadi Gunawan:

Dr. Gunawan graduated from the Medical Faculty of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta 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.


Soekismo Hadikeono:

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


Gunter Konrad:

Dr. Konrad, of the Zoologisches Institute, Universität Heidelberg, has taken part in a number of zoological expeditions including expe-
ditions 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 sodjumah penelitian zoologis, termasuk penjeli dikan zoologist kodenah Irian Barat. Dan ini membuatkan komponen por tungkai Heidelberg University untuk mengadakan pengumpulan atau koleksi terhadap binatang didenah Irian Barat.

Ken Keller :

Fr. Keller, an American, studied Philosophy and Theology at the Crevisor House of Studies, Port 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.


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 belajar sebagai Senior Fellow (Dusser Besar) di Djurusan Linguistik, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. Sejak tahun 1959 ia belajar dalam rangka mengajadik dan mengkajaidkan bahasa-bahasa non-Austronesia di New Guinea (Irian) dan sudah menulis beberapa artikel mengenai hel ternah.

Jorhina Nhait:

Jorhina Nhait, an A-sitter is a teacher of religion in the Agats region. He has also been associated with the FUNDI project for the export of Asmat carvings. Jorhina Nhait has a keen interest in the art work and mythology of the Asmat people.


Jorgen Petersen :

Jorgen Petersen 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 consultan export first in Papua, New Guinea, and now in West Irian.


Oscar H.T. Sirogar :

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

Oscar H.T. Sirogar adalah anggota Staff Iltchaga Anthropology University Indonesia yang dipindahkan pada staf Operasi Keteke. Sambilama ia bekerja pada Djurusan Anthropology Fak.Universitas Indonesia Djakarta dan pengallan field work didarah padaalaha 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).


F. Trenkenenschuh :

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

The editors of the IRIAN welcome manuscripts of a theoretical nature that directly or indirectly bear on West Irian. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, and may be submitted in either Indonesian or English. If articles are submitted in Dutch the editors will endeavour to have the material translated into one of the above languages. Two copies of articles are required. Each article must be accompanied by an abstract, of 200-400 words which, if possible, should be in the language other than that in which the manuscript is written. Articles should be accompanied by a brief biographical note on the author.

Note:
The views expressed in any material produced in the IRIAN are the authors' and do not necessarily represent those of the Government of Indonesia or local government authorities. The editors of the IRIAN and the University of Tjenderawasih accept no responsibility for statements that may appear in any article.

Pandangan2 yang dijatakan dalam artikel apa sadja dalam IRIAN ini adalah pendapat pengarang2 dan tidak perlu ujwakili pandangan dari Pemerintah Indonesia atau Pusbonas Pemerintah set-oprat. Para penertib dari Bulletin ini dan Universitas Tjenderawasih tidak memiliki tanggung jawab atas pertanyaan2 yang mungkin muncul dalam sesuatu artikel.